QUAID-I-AZAM
MOHAMMAD ALI JINNAH
PAPERS

PRELUDE TO PAKISTAN

20 February - 2 June 1947

M A Jinnah

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20 February - 2 June 1947

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Volume I
Part 1

Editor-in-Chief

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Foreword

Records are an invaluable source of information about the social, economic and political life of a people, preserved and handed down to posterity They bear an enduring testimony to the successes and failures of a society, the evolution and growth of its institutions and its observation and experience

If this is true of long established societies and nations, how much more important records would be for a new State, which had yet to bind and shape its people into a nation This has certainly been my belief, as a historian and as someone who as a student had been inspired by the idea of Pakistan and had worked for its realisation As the administrative capital of British India, from which Pakistan had been carved, was located at Delhi, all the central records of the imperial administration were taken over by India Therefore, Pakistan started its life lacking a major element in its officially recorded past

Provincial and local records of the British period remained, of course, in place in the newly constituted State of Pakistan, and their importance has been increasingly recognised by the historians of pre-Partition politics But given the Muslim League's critical role in the creation of Pakistan under the leadership of Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah—the history of the League being the history of independence for Pakistan—their papers were surely essential for future research into the origin and political identity of the Pakistan State and of Jinnah as well To collect, arrange, preserve and publish the Muslim League (ML) records and the papers of the Quaid-i-Azam was, then, a vitally important task The first volume of *Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah Papers* represents the end result of these efforts

* * * *

Editing a series of records is always a laborious business, a matter of steady, even dull routine, appropriate work for some established, grey-bearded scholar, many would assume But if the process of sorting and editing these records has proved laborious enough, that of finding and collecting them was far from dull—a subject rather for a detective with a touch of farce and high drama than for a plain historian A brief account of the tracking down and assemblage of the records may therefore be worth giving, if only to persuade young students and scholars of the excitement and adventure which the career of a historian can offer

By the early 1960s, the turmoil which accompanied the partition of

India had sufficiently receded to undertake a serious historical study of the events which had led up to it by scholars in Pakistan and India, in Britain and Europe, and in the United States This led Professor Cyril Philips, Director of the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), University of London, to suggest an international seminar on the Partition of India I was to contribute a paper on the Muslim League In 1965, I set about exploring where the Muslim League records were currently to be found—and discovered to my surprise that they were in the custody of the Police,[1] confiscated and sealed by the Martial Law authorities

If any of the League records were to be rescued, urgent action was clearly needed Contact was made with fellow historians in Pakistan and with various officials Fortunately I had known the then Governor of West Pakistan, the late Nawab Amir Mohammed Khan of Kalabagh, so it was possible to write to him directly[2] His son, Malik Muzaffar Khan, an old student of mine, undertook to apprise President Ayub Khan of the situation[3] Thanks to their intervention, I was able to gain access to the records in March 1966[4]

But where were the records being held? A lengthy correspondence, first with Mian Sadullah[5] and then with the Deputy Inspector-General of Police,[6] led to the suggestion that I should personally visit the Special Branch Headquarters I was informed that the records were lying in Karachi in charge of the Special Branch[7] (This correspondence incidentally revealed that the Special Branch held important pre-1947 Intelligence records also—which I undertook to retrieve in 1982)

Meanwhile I had also been in touch with other individuals in Pakistan who had played a significant role in the Independence Movement to ask about their private papers The response was mixed Some of those associated with the League had burnt their papers prior to their migration to Pakistan, others had lost them during the partition riots[8]

By now preparations for the SOAS Partition Seminar were well advanced and I was given leave to visit Pakistan In Karachi, I was able to examine the Police files These showed how seriously at risk the Muslim League records had been Neither the Directorate of Archives and Libraries nor the Liaquat Library had responded to police requests to take over custody of the ML records A committee from the Bureau of National Research and Reference (BNR&R) had inspected the records and affirmed the need to save such important material, but had taken no further action At one stage the District Magistrate had issued orders that they be auctioned—a fate from which they were saved through the intervention of a police officer who in his student days had been active in the Pakistan Movement![9]

If the confusion and economic constraints of early post-Independence years and subsequent dramatic changes in the personnel and location of Government might explain official inaction, the need to ensure the future safety of the records was evidently pressing In September 1966, therefore, I made a direct approach to President Ayub Khan, pleading for the preservation of the cultural treasures of the nation from loss and deterioration

> If this state of affairs continues, we shall wake up to realise that years of slumber and lethargy on our part have left us only to remorse for an irreparable loss and our sense of history—which can help us to shape our destiny—will remain shallow unless we have the full story of our struggle and achievements through a study of primary sources Your contribution cannot fail to attract the attention of the future historian—but he may have to search in vain for evidence of Government's interest in the essential field of collecting and preserving the raw material of history [10]

But if the records were to be released where could they be housed? I along with two friends, Professors Riazul Islam and M H Siddiqi, approached the Vice-Chancellor of Karachi University, Dr I H Qureshi, the renowned historian On Saturday, 2 October 1966, he had an interview with the President and secured orders for the release of the records to Karachi University Library No time was to be lost offices would be closed on Sunday and by Monday either one or both of the Pakistan Muslim League factions might renew their earlier claim to ownership of the records With the help of the University Librarian, Dr Moid, the shifting of the records was begun, at about 2 30 p m By 3 a m next morning four truck-loads of League records, rescued from their dungeon, had reached the University

This success was matched by the acquisition over the next six months of important private collections of papers essential for any comprehensive analysis of the Freedom Movement These included the papers of Sir Ali Imam, Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan, Maulana Zafar Ahmad Ansari, Muhammad Shareef Toosy, Dr Afzal Husain Qadri and Mujtaba Khan Contact was also made with the holders of other collections such as Abdur Rab Nishtar, M A H Ispahani and the Haroon family—two of these collections were added to the Archives of the Freedom Movement It was comforting to note that my efforts to save the forgotten and moth-eaten ML records were appreciated by Dr I H Qureshi who wrote to Professor Philips

> The work done by Dr Zaidi has been truly epoch-making It was largely through his unflagging and unremitting efforts that we were able to get for the University of Karachi the most valuable records of the AIML and

PML and six other important collections of records The amount of work which Dr Zaidi was able to accomplish during this period was nothing short of staggering [11]

This fruitful work, which required much personal visiting, was made particularly enjoyable and satisfying by the discovery, through Professor M H Siddiqi, of an unexpected treasure held by a venerable old man with an engaging personality This was the late Syed Shamsul Hasan who had joined the All India Muslim League in 1912 and rose to be its Assistant Secretary Sir Yaqub Hasan, Secretary of the All India Muslim League, had said of him in 1936 that he looked after the League "like a mother" [12] With a true maternal instinct he had guarded some eight large boxes of personal documents of the Quaid-i-Azam, and a huge collection of books, given into his custody for safe transfer to Karachi by the Quaid I was shown this zealously guarded Jinnah legacy, which was stored in an attic I was also allowed to undertake the organisation of the papers with the help of his son, Khalid Hasan, in 1966 and again between 1968 and 1969 Unhappily Khalid Hasan has chosen to treat the papers as a private inheritance so that this part of the Quaid-i-Azam's legacy remains separated from the main body of his papers

* * * *

The death of Miss Fatima Jinnah in 1967 raised the question of safeguarding the papers which she had inherited from her illustrious brother I suggested to Dr Qureshi that efforts should be made to add the *Quaid-i-Azam Papers* to the League Collection in Karachi, since we had agreed that both ought to be held at one place Dr Qureshi found President Ayub Khan favourably inclined[13] and at an interview with the President on 10 January 1967, I also pressed the point again Support was also sought from M A H Ispahani, though initially he was reluctant to move, holding that Government could not interfere with papers which had become the property of Miss Jinnah on the Quaid's death and, on her death, of her sister Shirin Bai [14]

On that point it was not possible to argue—and with someone wielding so sharp a pen and a tongue it could even have been dangerous What could be done was to impress upon him the urgent need for proper conservation of the papers, which, as I stressed, "should not be treated as records of a political party or as personal papers They belong to the nation whence my appeal for help and some of your money" [15] Finally, patient diplomacy bore fruit On Friday, 3 August 1968, the *Quaid-i-Azam*

Papers, together with those of Miss Jinnah's, joined the Muslim League records in Karachi University library.

The news was a cause for jubilation and in September 1968, though I had already taken a total of fourteen months leave from my University, I set off again for Pakistan, full of plans for a centre for repair and conservation of documents at Karachi University. I arrived on 4 September and went to see Dr Qureshi. As soon as I entered his office he said, "Dr Zaidi, you have come at the right time". He handed me President Ayub's order which read:

> President desired that the records about the Muslim League including *Quaid-i-Azam Papers* which were handed over to the Karachi University recently should be immediately brought over and handed over to the Bureau of National Reference and Research. After these papers have been indexed and arranged they will be returned to the Karachi University for further research.[16]

This was not a helpful proposition. If the papers were to be returned why move them, specially when the Presidential office nor the BNR&R had handled papers of such bulk and importance, and when no arrangements were in place for moving such fragile documents or for housing them. The Presidential order, if implemented, would have been as damaging for the records as the Government order putting them into police custody had been in 1958. Dr Qureshi, as Vice-Chancellor, was in too delicate a position openly to question the President's order, but I made clear my willingness to allow my obsession with the records to withstand the Presidential choice. Dr Qureshi was good enough, however, to contact Syed Fida Hasan, Adviser to the President, and to warn him of the risks involved in such a move. After a long wait we heard that our approach had led to the issue of a new mandate: the League records were to stay in the University and only the *Quaid-i-Azam Papers* were to be moved to Islamabad.[17] I accompanied the papers to their new home in the BNR&R, a part of the Ministry of Information, then headed by Altaf Gauhar. At his request, a comprehensive scheme for their preservation was drawn up by me which to my great surprise was immediately sanctioned and on a generous scale, with provision for recruitment of suitable staff.

There seemed much to be thankful for. However, within months of the transfer of the *Quaid-i-Azam Papers*, President Ayub handed over power to General Yahya Khan on 25 March 1969. Once again Pakistan came under Martial Law and the *Quaid-i-Azam Papers* were locked up. I informed the late Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad who apprised the General of the need to safeguard these papers. Moving these papers to the Ministry, he wrote, "though known to few was not

appreciated and doubts were cast by some about the intentions of the then Government" [18] At the same time, M A H Ispahani intervened with a long communication to the President, reporting that Miss Fatima Jinnah had decided to create a National Trust, using the Mohatta Palace for exhibiting the Quaid's relics and as a Memorial Library and Institute It had been her wish to keep the records in Karachi "She often said", he added, that "Karachi is the birth-place of Jinnah, it is here where he headed Pakistan's first Government as the first Governor-General and it is in Karachi that he lies buried" He urged that the records should be returned to Karachi University—"the only organisation in Pakistan with modern techniques in restoration and preservation of old documents " [19] Miss Jinnah's death had prevented the execution of this plan for a National Trust, but in the same letter Ispahani revealed that Shirin Bai, her sole heir, was "only too happy to carry out her sister's wishes If this assistance can be afforded by you", he urged, "our problem of accommodating the Jinnah relics and records will be solved" [20]

These approaches were acknowledged, but to Ispahani's increasing concern in the next three months no action followed I persuaded him, therefore, to approach the President again, and while he wrote to General Peerzada, Principal Staff Officer to the President, about the papers, saying "every citizen has an interest in their preservation for posterity",[21] I also telegraphed my concern about the disorganised state of historical records to the President direct, and sought an interview [22] I was asked to meet General Peerzada and was able to explain matters to him personally [23] The General informed Ispahani that the *Quaid-i-Azam Papers* had been lodged in a separate building and their preservation entrusted to the National Archives—"the natural and most suitable place for documents to be preserved" [24] Both the Muslim League records and the *Quaid-i-Azam Papers* had at last found suitable resting places, even though not all of the documents were as yet in public hands

But since no President's ruling is binding upon his successors, even when material so important for the memory and consciousness of the nation is concerned, the story does not end here A further chapter was added in 1982 when orders were obtained from President Zia ul Haq to transfer both the Muslim League records and the *Quaid-i-Azam Papers* to the Cabinet Division—a move made by the then Cabinet Secretary How they were to be housed, or what expertise the Division possessed for their preservation is quite unknown (Its own stock of documents was at the time stored in a private rented house in Lahore) And yet the entire body of material concerning the creation of Pakistan and its Founding Father, so laboriously collected and organised, was to be moved, to this uncertain future

To try to halt the transfer I secured an interview with President Zia ul Haq on 19 February 1982, explaining at great length the problems and techniques of document preservation. He showed great interest and was sufficiently convinced to call a special meeting of Ministers and Secretaries to discuss the preservation and utilisation of Archives.[25]

The meeting was held on 21 February with the President in the chair. It was the best possible forum in which to present my case against the transfer of *Quaid-i-Azam Papers* because of the damage and disorganisation inherent in such transfers. When asked about the future location of the Muslim League records I suggested that they, too, should be made part of the National Archives, now headed for the first time by a trained and experienced archivist, Atique Zafar Sheikh. To my great relief this suggestion won acceptance.[26]

1982 was a good year for these major collections. It was a good year also because a mine of records untouched for three decades, was discovered comprising old pre-partition records of the British period, including many Government publications till then lying in various records offices of the Special Branch and the Intelligence Bureau's sub-offices at Peshawar, Quetta, Lahore, Hyderabad and Karachi. Though these records were of historical interest only, they had remained mixed with current materials and were therefore closed to the public. They contained a wealth of information about various facets of society including the Pakistan Movement pieced together by the British Intelligence, information of real importance, not mere gossip or hearsay, and gathered after sustained study by efficient agents. Their study reinforced my conviction that one of the factors which had sustained British rule in India was the competence of its Intelligence Service which had been able to penetrate the most difficult and sensitive areas.

Under a special dispensation from the President, I was allowed access to these records and given authority to separate the pre-Partition records from current material and, after official inspection, to move them to repositories capable of preserving them for use by scholars. I had some nine torrid weeks in which to complete this operation, the "long vacation" of a British University coinciding with the sweltering summer months in Pakistan. Many of the files and volumes were much damaged, almost all thick with the dust of neglect. It proved possible, nonetheless, to retrieve 3,353 volumes and 737 publications and, except for the contents of one office, to have them all brought to Islamabad where they were catalogued and properly housed. A hand-list of the material, detailing its contents, was also prepared. The decision

was also taken to de-classify the documents and to publish selections from them in two or three volumes, the central records themselves being deposited with the National Archives while the provincial material to be returned to the provincial archives. Unhappily, at this point the retirement of the Head of the Intelligence Bureau meant the demise of his planned initiatives for all these assiduously collected records. His successor had other priorities.

* * * *

It is necessary, now, briefly to turn back to the 1960s, to the first year of this gathering together of the raw materials for the nation's history. Tracking down, rescuing or assembling the League records and the *Quaid-i-Azam Papers* was hard but exciting work, full of the unexpected, sometimes heart-warming, sometime frustrating. But what had been accomplished was only a beginning. To have the records properly housed in the Karachi University Library, or later in the National Archives, was like a patient's admission to hospital. These sick and injured records needed to be treated. As they were extremely brittle, handling them was difficult. Dampness had blurred ink and the sheer bulk of the records was daunting: some 113 gunnyfuls, together with the contents of 46 tin trunks and perhaps 70,000 copies of some 300 League publications. The *Quaid-i-Azam Papers* too needed immediate attention. There were no funds, no specialist staff trained in restoration to undertake their repair, and the sum allotted by the President, after nearly a year's delay, was a meagre Rs. 50,000.[27] But with some voluntary contributions and a skeleton staff recruited by Karachi University at least a start was made.

It was as though the sick and injured records had been admitted to a hospital without doctors. Men trained to undertake the highly sophisticated and complex work of restoration and preservation had now to be found. Back in London I worked upon a project for establishing a modern properly staffed conservation laboratory at Karachi University. Money was a problem for the University, but fortunately Professor Philips came to my rescue, applying his great skills as an advocate to the issue. A three-part scheme was prepared. The British Council agreed to make a grant for the purchase of machinery and materials for the laboratory and to fund the training of two Pakistanis in restoration work in London. At the same time the India Office Library and Records agreed that one of its senior craftsmen should be deputed to teach

restoration at a special workshop to be opened at the Archives of the Freedom Movement—a name given by me to the Muslim League Records The SOAS most generously agreed to allow me fourteen months' study leave, from September 1968

There remained only to get the agreement and support of the Pakistan Government for these proposals But, as Dr Qureshi commented, "the involvement of the Government greatly restricts the initiative and authority of the Karachi University in the matter" [28] Any request by the University had to be channelled through the Ministry of Education, of which Q U Shahab was the Secretary He was extremely courteous and polite but presided over the Ministry like a Mughal grandee, moving or not moving—only in his own time To my frequent pleas and reminders came only one reply, "We are fully seized of the matter and shall write to you again soon" [29] "You seem to think", Dr Qureshi wryly wrote, "that writing to Mr Shahab means that the Ministry will take action immediately That unfortunately is not so" [30] Worse still, as Dr Qureshi informed me, far from being seized of the matter, the Ministry had mislaid the file dealing with the request to the British Council Even Professor Philips wearied of the delays and warned me that the plan to grant me leave might have to be abandoned, "the arrangements seem to be moving so very slowly that I think we must question the interest and will of the people on the Pakistan side to go forward with this" He added, with intuitive understanding of the sensitivities of a new nation, "we should be very careful how we proceed, otherwise we shall be accused of pursuing our own self-interest" [31]

There were other difficulties One problem was that it was difficult for me to supervise the work from my position at London University For that reason I had raised with Altaf Gauhar the idea of resigning my post there so as to free myself for the creation of a proper repository of our country's historical heritage, which had become my dream [32] On hearing about this proposal my old teacher and benefactor, Professor Sheikh Abdur Rashid warned me not to do so

In the mean time, Dr Qureshi continued his own efforts to move Shahab, though with more resignation than I could afford, saying

> Nobody could have imagined that a requisition in connection with a scheme that has a personal support of the President would be handled like this We have to work under the handicaps which are inherent in our system and have to make the best of the situation as it exists [33]

The delay had one happy outcome Since no trainee technicians were on their way from Pakistan I persuaded my wife Parveen to learn

the conservation work. She proved very adept,[34] so much so that it was no longer necessary to depend on others for expertise in the restoration and conservation of documents. Henceforth, we made "A Husband-Wife Team".[35] Moreover, the trainees did eventually arrive and the British Council allocated funds for equipment. It remained only to acquire the services of a technician from the India Office Library and Records. Here a new ally was found in Altaf Gauhar, then pressing me for the establishment of an Institute of Records and Reference.[36] I had already had my meeting with President Ayub Khan to whom I explained the problems of conservation. The acquisition of the *Quaid-i-Azam Papers* by the BNR&R created the necessary sense of urgency—and a new avenue through which to express it. A request for the services of an expert craftsman was quickly forwarded to London and permission to recruit staff to arrange the *Quaid-i-Azam Papers* was obtained from the Public Service Commission.[37] Finally, a programme of training in restoration and conservation was started at Karachi University—the first of its kind—where trainees from all over Pakistan were given a four-month intensive training by a craftsman from the India Office Library and Records and my wife Parveen Zaidi. It was under this scheme that three of the officers now working at the National Archives were trained for the preservation of the *Quaid-i-Azam Papers*. At long last, the task of repair and conservation of the League records and the *Quaid-i-Azam Papers* got under way.

* * * *

The Quaid-i-Azam Papers

The *Quaid-i-Azam Papers*, which are preserved in the National Archives of Pakistan constitute the major part of the huge and voluminous papers of the Quaid. (The other two collections are the *Shamsul Hasan* and the *Rizwan Collections*.) These papers cover most of the Quaid-i-Azam's life and career (though with many gaps), reflecting not only his multifarious political activities but also personal, financial, legal and other aspects of his extraordinarily full and active life.

The *Quaid-i-Azam Papers* can be divided into five broad categories: (i) personal, (ii) political, (iii) published material, (iv) photographs and (v) maps and diagrams. The personal papers relate to property, share investments, bank and other accounts, receipts, vouchers and lists of

household effects, tour programmes, social activities and engagements, birthday greetings, correspondence with family and family friends and medical reports The political papers, which form the bulk of the collection, consist of correspondence with Indian and foreign leaders, government officials, party workers, students, as well as reports and memoranda, speeches, statements and interviews They deal with a wide range of subjects and events, including the All India Muslim League (AIML) and its provincial branches, the Indian National Congress (INC), the Home Rule League, Hindu-Muslim relations, the Khilafat Movement, Legislative Assembly affairs, and constitutional issues such as the various Government of India Acts, Provincial Autonomy and the Transfer of Power which led to the Partition of India Such external issues as the Palestinian problem and the question of Indonesian independence also have a place The published material in the *QAP* is mainly in the form of newspaper clippings, pamphlets, reports, books and journals on such varied subjects as party politics, international affairs, constitution, law, finance, education, agriculture, the press, even sports and health The photographs in the collection cover nearly fifty years of Jinnah's private and public life In all, there are about one thousand photographs ranging from individual portraits to those of groups and public rallies The small map section includes plans and diagrams of his houses in Bombay, Delhi and Karachi and maps showing the physical features, administrative boundaries and demographic distribution of provinces of British India

The *Quaid-i-Azam Papers* form a primary source of information for Jinnah's multi-faceted personality They help us greatly in unravelling the real Mr Jinnah from the widely held myths and images created by his opponents and devotees alike bringing out the man as he really was These papers give us an image of Jinnah, very different from the speculative stereotypes with which the casual reader is generally familiar The sheer bulk of the papers and the fact that they were so often closed or moved and are still unhappily divided has meant that no historian or author has so far been able to work his way through the entire body of papers This means that no complete analytical and objective study of Jinnah and his times has been possible The principal authors on Quaid, Hector Bolitho, M H Saiyid, Sharif al Mujahid, Aiysha Jalal and Stanley Wolpert have therefore provided only glimpses, or at best profiles, of certain aspects of his life [38] As a consequence, much remains to be said about him which perhaps ought to have been said and much has been written about him which perhaps ought not to have been written Besides these

evaluative studies, some of the documents from the *QAP* have also been published but such works have drawn upon a very minor part of the papers and have often been addressed mainly to the general reader.

It was with the idea of providing the primary evidence from which a much more complete understanding of Jinnah might be gained that in 1990 the decision to publish the *Quaid-i-Azam Papers* was taken by the National Archives of Pakistan Later that year, I was able to persuade the Government to have the papers fully edited with missing links and references supplied and full footnotes given In this Khwaja Shahid Hosain and Hasan Zaheer, the then Secretary Culture and Cabinet Secretary respectively, rendered invaluable help The present project is the first organised attempt to publish the entire body of papers, a fitting memorial to the Father of the Nation Such comprehensiveness required a choice of organising principles for handling them It was not possible, for example, to follow the pattern employed by the editors of the *Transfer of Power* volumes published by HMSO in Britain While they, too, were dealing with very extensive records, their documents converged on a single theme, i e the devolution of power in 1947 In our case, although the collection of papers revolves around the life and time of one man, there are several themes running side by side and the time span is much greater The *Quaid-i-Azam Papers* for purposes of publication have been organised, therefore, into different series, each series containing a number of volumes

The period to be covered by the various series and by the volumes in each series has been determined with reference to important events in Jinnah's personal life and the political processes he was caught up in and shaped In general terms, the scheme of publication follows a chronological pattern for each of its series

For reasons of logistics and because of the significance of the events immediately leading up to the partition of India, it has been decided to publish the volumes in reverse order The period 20 February to 14 August 1947 and 15 August 1947 to 11 September 1948 represented the fruition of Jinnah's struggle to secure Pakistan and the desperate, crowded months during which, as its first Governor-General, he was called upon to shape its basic structures This was the most momentous period in his long political career and one rich in evidence and documentation Since this period is also one in which many persons still living were actors or spectators and one still intensely interesting to them, there seemed every reason to make this the starting point for publication

Once the overall structure of the whole series had been agreed, it was necessary to decide how individual papers and documents should be

handled The conclusion was that since it is the whole document which forms the piece of evidence for the scholar to interpret—to excerpt it is to impose on others the value judgements of the editor—we should publish these papers in their entirity The evidence which a document conveys may be "trivial, revolutionary, scandalous, reasonable, pious, comic or dull", but the evidence has to be produced and preserved completely Nothing, therefore, has been omitted or suppressed Only where there are a large number of documents in stereotype form, they have not generally been included Where obvious gaps in the documentation occur, these have been filled wherever possible with documents from the British Library or such other sources as the newspapers and the *Shamsul Hasan Collection* It will be seen, too, that the papers relating to Jinnah's personal and family life will constitute a separate series, to be published later But, where items shed particular light upon his character or action—the letters from his daughter Dina, for example—they have been included in this first volume

The documents have been subjected to a minimum of editing Only where it was absolutely necessary, grammatical, orthographic or typographic corrections have been made, without otherwise tampering with the original form of the documents Where flagrant mistakes occur, such as gaps of words, they have been editorially provided within square brackets Where a word or a phrase has been written erroneously, the error has been indicated by using *sic* within square brackets in consonance with the usual practice At places, where appropriate, the corrected word has also been given A few documents were so replete with all manner of mistakes that they virtually defied editing These have not been included in the volume but summaries of all such documents have been given The editing of some other documents was virtually a nightmarish experience Document Nos 6, 127, 134, 166 and 398 are cases in point They could well be printed as they were But that would have bewildered the readers and had them all at sea Therefore, even though the going was far too heavy indeed, they have had to be edited

The volume has been divided into two parts Part I contains the main body of *Quaid-i-Azam Papers*, Part II consists of appendices to these papers The *Quaid-i-Azam Papers*, preserved in the National Archives, do not unfold an unbroken chain of events because of the many gaps in the collection In order to provide a continuous and coherent story, these gaps have been sedulously filled in by adding essential and relevant documents in the form of annexes, annexures and appendices [39] The appendices are intended to be aids to a fuller understanding of the topics discussed in Part I They are also a comprehensive record of

a number of important issues with which Jinnah was closely in touch like the Civil Disobedience Movements in the Punjab and the North-West Frontier Province

The total number of documents published in Part I of the volume, including enclosures, annexes and annexures, is 718 Out of these only 70 emanated from Jinnah Of course, he wrote many more—and those strictly of private nature or concerning property and shares will be included in a separate volume—but some appear to have been lost The small number of letters is certainly a departure from Jinnah's early practice of replying to most of the letters he received This paucity is perhaps a reflection on Jinnah's busy schedule when he was engrossed in organising and supervising the last arduous phase of the movement for Pakistan and in dealing with the enormous problems arising from the Transfer of Power Yet he was able to find time for a personal response even on ordinary matters as some of the letters included in this volume show Names and place names have also been standardised in accordance with the latest practice Thus, to avoid confusion, 'Quaid-i-Azam' has been adopted in place of such other variants as Qaed-e-Azam or Qaid-i-Azam, Muslim or Musalman in place of Muhammadan or Mahomaddan However, personal names have been given exactly as they were spelled by the correspondents themselves Exceptionally, because of the variations in the spelling of his own name used by Jinnah, (as late as February 1947 a document bears his name as Jinna), the spelling adopted by the Constituent Assembly, i e Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, has been used [40]

Barring a few documents in Asian languages like Urdu, Gujerati and Arabic, the bulk of the material is in English The Quaid himself wrote in English because he knew no other language, except perhaps for a smattering of Gujerati and a few sentences of spoken Urdu Urdu and Arabic documents have been translated into English and then included in the volume The documents included in the *Quaid-i-Azam Papers* have been indentified by reference to their respective sources The *Quaid-i-Azam Papers* held in the National Archives, Islamabad, are maintained in various files, each file bearing a number of folios Thus F 22/2-4 refers to File No 22, and folio numbers 2 to 4 Other sources are India Office Records (*IOR*), British Library, *Churchill Collection*, Churchill College, Cambridge, *Archives of the Freedom Movement* (*AFM*), Karachi, *Movement of Freedom Archives* (*MFA*), Collection of the National Archives, *Shamsul Hasan Collection*, (*SHC*), Karachi, The *Transfer of Power 1942-47* (*TP*) and some newspapers, mainly the *Civil & Military Gazette*, the *Dawn* and the *Pakistan Times* Documents

in Part I of the volume have been numbered in Arabic numerals, i e 128, whereas in Part II, they have been indicated as IX 128 IX here refers to the Appendix number, while 128 is the serial number of the document in that Appendix

* * * *

With the decision by the Government of Pakistan to launch the project for editing and publishing the *Quaid-i-Azam Papers*, of which this is the first volume, my personal dream and ambition, has been fulfilled As this narrative will have made it clear, there were many partners in this enterprise, senior figures who generously donated papers and the weight of their names, and many colleagues and friends whose enthusiasm and persistence was all the more encouraging and laudable because they had to work, as I did, under the day to day pressures of a society suffering all the growing pains of a young nation Not all, alas, have lived to see the publication of this volume, but for those who have, there will be a shared pleasure in having thus far secured the inheritance of our nation

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Z H ZAIDI

Quaid-i-Azam Papers Project
National Archives of Pakistan
Islamabad
23 March 1993

Notes

[1]After the imposition of the Martial Law in October 1958, political parties had been banned and their records confiscated
[2]Z H Zaidi to Governor of West Pakistan, 13 January 1966, *Zaidi Correspondence*
[3]Malik Muzaffar Khan to Z H Zaidi, 3 January 1966, ibid
[4]Mian Sadullah to Z H Zaidi, 24 March 1966, ibid
[5]Z H Zaidi to Mian Sadullah (Keeper, Punjab Records Office) 29 March 1966, ibid
[6]Z H Zaidi to D I G Police, 7 June 1966, ibid
[7]Mian Sadullah to Z H Zaidi, 19 August 1966, ibid
[8]Riaz-ul-Islam to Z H Zaidi, 29 March 1966, ibid
[9]Z H Zaidi s note perpared on the basis of the records of the Special Branch, Karachi, 21 September 1966, ibid
[10]Z H Zaidi to President Ayub Khan, 28 September 1966, ibid
[11]I H Qureshi to C H Philips, 8 March 1967 (copy), ibid
[12]Annual report, AIML Bombay Session, April 1936, vol 168, *Archives of the Freedom Movement*
[13]I H Qureshi to Z H Zaidi, 10 November 1967, *Zaidi Correspondence*
[14]M A H Ispahani to Z H Zaidi, 19 April 1968, ibid
[15]Z H Zaidi to M A H Ispahani, 7 May 1968, ibid
[16]Altaf Gauhar's note, 2 September 1968, (copy), ibid
[17]I H Qureshi's circular, 4 September 1968, ibid
[18]Raja of Mahmudabad to President Yahya Khan, 27 May 1969, (copy), ibid
[19]M A H Ispahani to President Yahya Khan, 7 June 1969, (copy), ibid
[20]Ibid
[21]M A H Ispahani to S G M M Peerzada, (copy), 8 August 1969, ibid
[22]Z H Zaidi to President Yahya Khan, 16 August 1969 Telegram, ibid
[23]Abdul Qayyum (Joint Secy , President's Secretariat) to Z H Zaidi, 20 August 1969, Telegram, ibid
[24]S G M M Peerzada to M A H Ispahani, 14 August 1969, (copy), ibid
[25]Circular No 2(3) 81-QAA, (Cabinet Division), 20 February 1982
[26]Minutes of a Special Meeting on the Preservation and Utilisation of Archives and Public Documents, (Cabinet Division), 13 March 1982
[27]Z H Zaidi to T G Nasir Khan, (Addl Secy , Finance), 17 May 1969, *Zaidi Correspondence*
[28]I H Qureshi to Z H Zaidi, 11 June 1968, ibid
[29]Q U Shahab to Z H Zaidi, 14 November 1968, ibid
[30]I H Qureshi to Z H Zaidi, 31 March 1969, ibid
[31]C H Philips to Z H Zaidi, 6 April 1968, ibid
[32]Z H Zaidi to Altaf Gauhar, 13 May 1967, ibid
[33]I H Qureshi to Z H Zaidi, 10 April 1968, ibid
[34]S C Sutton's note, 7 August 1968, ibid
[35]*Dawn*, 1 May 1986 A number of other articles on her work appeared in newspapers and journals See *UNESCO Features*, No 749-50 and *New Horizon* (London), April-May 1988
[36]S N Hashim (BNN&R) to Z H Zaidi, 6 April 1967 and Altaf Gauhar to Z H Zaidi, 14 April 1967, *Zaidi Correspondence*
[37]Sharif-ul-Hasan (BNN&R) to Z H Zaidi, 10 December 1968, ibid
[38]In their respective works Sharif al Mujahid has referred to *QAP* 3 times and *SHC* twice,

Aiysha Jalal to *QAP* 24 times and *SHC* 38 times and Stanley Wolpert to *QAP* 20 times and *SHC* 10 times

[39]The annexes (*ax*), are the documents added by the editors, the annexures (*ae*), are those mentioned in the enclosures and the enclosures (*enc*), are the documents which were enclosed with the primary documents

[40]*Constituent Assembly of Pakistan Debates*, 12 August 1947, p 47

Introduction

Jinnah was a very complex man as all great men tend to be His enemies demonised him Their portrayal of him distorts reality and insults history But the rarefied image our generation of South Asian Muslims held of him, and passed on to the next generation, reflected only partially the fullness of his complex personality Our need to idolise him quite ironically reduced Jinnah to a one-dimensional man He needs to be rescued from the constricting myths no less than the twisted polemics

History has been unkind to Jinnah's creation His squabbling successors betrayed the sacrifices and hopes of the new nation A succession of military dictators violated the constitutionalist's dream In the absence of government accountability to its citizens, injustices prevailed, inequalities grew, and the nation divided along ethnic lines In this environment of frustration and fragmentation, the Quaid-i-Azam and Islam were often invoked as symbols for purposes of political mobilisation In Pakistan, Jinnah was thus reduced to an icon outside the pale of history, an object of mystification and an instrument of political legitimisation I sincerely hope that the publication of the vast material of his papers will help to humanise him as a great man who carried with him the faults and foibles of manhood, and also as the Founding Father whose values of integrity and achievements can, nevertheless, truly serve as example and beacon to the country

Jinnah's extraordinary appeal to India's Muslims is an unexplained mystery of modern history To all appearances he was a most unlikely leader of their community—a community which claimed as its primary heritage the Urduised Indo-Muslim culture of the Indus-Gangetic plain, a heritage deemed threatened by sectarian Hindu domination Jinnah seemed a stranger to this Indo-Mughal cultural milieu Gujerati-speaking Jinnah adopted English as the working language of his adult life He never became fluent in Urdu which he designated as Pakistan's official language The real surprise, of course, lay in the delight millions of people took in listening to his occasional, heavily accented Urdu utterances

Unlike the Muslim intelligentsia of eastern, central and northern India, Jinnah was a cosmopolitan He was born and raised in Karachi and Bombay—two gateways of British India Eventually he would be tutored at Lincoln's Inn, tailored in Saville Row and driven to his London law offices in a chauffeured Bentley In appearance, education, life style and outlook, Jinnah was alien in so many ways to the thought and behavioural patterns of traditionalists of the Orient Yet he wrested the leadership of the Muslim community from colleagues

like Fazlul Huq in Bengal, Sikander Hyat Khan and Khizar Hayat Tiwana in the Punjab, Dr Khan Sahib in the NWFP and G M Sayed in Sindh, and competitors like Maulana Abul Kalam Azad who had deep roots in the heartland of Indo-Muslim civilisation and did so with an ease that baffled observers Why were people attracted so powerfully to someone who was so diametrically the opposite of themselves?

Jinnah himself made scant effort to overcome his seeming handicaps A Cartesian advocate, he was never the demagogue He was averse to the politics of symbolism A comparison with Gandhi and Nehru is instructive At first, one notes the similarities among them Gandhi's social background was fairly comparable to Jinnah's, though Nehru came from a higher social stratum and had an added exposure to the West as a school boy at Harrow and an undergraduate at Cambridge All three read law in England All three were influenced by Western, liberal political values, and all began as Anglophiles but became anti-colonial nationalists

But once into politics in India, Gandhi went native with a vengeance, taking on the trappings of a Mahatma Nehru followed Gandhi with just a touch of rose on the lapels Jinnah, however, stuck to his Western dress and Western ways He made obeisance but rarely to populist symbols, shunned mass rallies and avoided the display of emotion in public Even at those rare mass meetings, he spoke as though he were addressing a court-room or a university audience Logical and legal arguments were the hallmark of Jinnah's discourse This is not the stuff of which popular leaders are made What, then, turned Jinnah into the embodiment of Muslim hopes and aspirations?

What distinguished Jinnah from his great contemporaries is that he was, quite self-consciously, a modern man—one who above all valued reason, discipline, organisation and economy Jinnah differed from all other Muslim leaders in so far as he was uncompromisingly committed to substance rather than symbol, reason rather than emotion, modernity rather than tradition I suspect that while his other qualities—personal stature and integrity, tenacious advocacy of and commitment to Muslim rights—do explain the extraordinary adoration he came to elicit from India's Muslims, an important aspect of his appeal was that he appeared as the most modern of contemporary Muslim leaders How could a modern man so effectively appeal to a people laden with tradition and religious taboos?

This peculiar appeal worked, I think, because Muslim society in India had an ingrained, if inarticulate grasp of its recent history—a history which had not always accepted traditionalist alternatives

Neither the restorationist prescriptions of Shah Waliullah nor the fiery war cries of Syed Ahmed Shahid had provided cures for the ills afflicting Muslim society in India Rather it was the modernist Muslim view of the causes of Muslim decline and of the remedial action needed, especially as articulated by Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan, that had seeped into the psyche of the Muslim middle and lower middle classes In the 1930s the era of liberalism was reaching its culmination in the Muslim world From Morocco to Indonesia, Muslim nationalists were growing exponentially on the promises of modernism and reform Jinnah returned from England to find himself swept to the crest of this wave And with good reason he was the quintessential modern man who could most eminently pass the test of Muslimness—commitment to his community's quest for a just, respectable and sovereign existence in the modern world in concordance with Islamic values

There were other, external causes for Jinnah's emergence in the 1930s and 1940s as the supreme leader of Indian Muslims His nationalist rivals, working within the Congress, men such as Azad, were being undermined by the growing power of communalist elements in the Congress, by Gandhi's use of a Mahatama style in fostering mass support and at a different level by the cultural threat of Hindi proponents The conduct of the Congress-led provincial governments when they assumed office in 1937 and the persistent pressure for a strong centre within "a one-party polity in India that assumed the submersion of other Indian parties"[1] aroused deep anxieties amongst Muslims, in Muslim minority and majority provinces alike In the search for an alternative which would safeguard Muslim interests everywhere against these threats, neither Congress nationalists nor regional political Muslim leaders brought the necessary imagination, sensitivity and authority In an environment so denuded of viable alternatives and seeped in anxiety for the Muslim minority, Jinnah's very modernism and externality now became enabling assets His strength lay in orchestrating the common anxieties of desperately divided groups and parties hitherto engaged in parochial and local politics, and to give them an overriding sense of direction Thus the provincial Muslim leaders were turned into "sub-contractors", their hereditary pocket-boroughs becoming his to control Through watchful, patient but sometimes bold intervention, he established his position as spokesman of the Muslim community He organised the weak, divided and ramshackle Muslim League into a powerful mass movement His virtual monopoly of grass-roots loyalty and allegiance enabled him to appeal over the heads of his "sub-contractors" As a result even a Fazlul Huq in Bengal, a G M Sayed

in Sindh, or a Khizar Hayat Tiwana in the Punjab could be brought into line or dislodged altogether The Muslim League, still factious and substantially provincial and personal in its interests, desperately needed a national policy, a rallying cry, a straightforward, dynamic objective to hold it together and to mobilise the masses to realise it These Jinnah supplied The Pakistan national claim ideally fitted that need The Muslim League, through its flags, symbols and slogans, its own mass newspapers and crowd-compelling leaders had caught up with the Congress as an All-India force

Jinnah's relationship to tradition, Islam and modernity is central also in so far as it relates to the question of his vision for Pakistan Here there are crucial and largely unresolved issues for qualified historians to answer, utilising the whole range of sources to which it is hoped these papers will largely contribute For example, should the genesis of Pakistan be sought in the masterplans of individuals—Choudhary Rahmat Ali, Allama Iqbal and Mohammad Ali Jinnah—who first conceived the idea of a separate homeland for India's Muslims and then struggled to realise it Or did Pakistan's creation result from a looser process, a wider play of unorganised forces rather than from planning? Was Jinnah still open in 1946 to giving up or postponing the notion of sovereign statehood in return for a confederal arrangement that would ensure the preservation of Muslim rights? Why, after all, did he keep on investing in shares and looking for property in areas which were not to be included in Pakistan if partition was his absolute goal?[2]

Anyone writing on Jinnah should note the barrenness of the political landscape he commanded The Muslim League was not much more than a political faction, an interest group if you will Under Jinnah's leadership it turned, in telescoped time, into a mass movement, and in just about a decade founded a State One does not find giants in the party but rather mediocrities There were not many thinkers in it, the intellectuals were on the sidelines Workers and peasants were virtually absent from the higher councils of the party (even from the provincial committees), although when the time came for sacrifices, the common man gave all, and very nearly alone

The cost of some of these inadequacies was very high at the time, it became even higher and more apparent after Jinnah died To begin with, it put a burden on Jinnah too heavy for any one man to bear He was the inspiration, strategist, negotiator and organiser of the League—a sort of one-man political bureau Or by analogy with the Congress, he had to be a Gandhi, Nehru, Patel and V P Menon rolled into one man

This was Jinnah's uniqueness, it was also his and his people's tragedy. The worst mistakes were thus made when he was felled by exhaustion and disease, just when the nascent country could least afford them

* * * *

Mohammad Ali Jinnah was born early on Christmas Day morning, 25 December 1876, into a Khoja family settled in Karachi, and he died in the same city on 11 September 1948 as the first Governor-General of the new State of Pakistan Had he died before his sixtieth birthday, his name would now be unknown to the general public, and no more than a footnote in the history books of the period Nobody could have guessed, in 1936, that in a mere eleven years the British would have left India, and that power would have been transferred to two successor States, one of them founded as a national homeland for India's Muslims Even four years later in March 1940, when the All India Muslim League first put forward its demand for Pakistan, very few took it seriously, for in the 'thirties the League had been a negligible force which in the 1937 elections had failed to secure any sizeable Muslim vote and so lacked the right to speak for all Muslims[3] But it was M A Jinnah who in the eleven years from 1936 to 1947 dramatically transformed the Muslim League and led the Muslims of British India to the goal of Pakistan

What is proposed with the publication of Jinnah's voluminous papers begun in this volume, is to provide the means for a fuller understanding of the man and a more definitive and comprehensive account of the extraordinary political revolution he wrought Both aims go hand in hand, for the personal attributes to be discovered in the once not so well-known sixty-year-old were those which later shaped his political career In his career at the Bar, in his personal life, are to be found just those qualities of courage, of hard work applied to the mastery of detail, of concern for exactitude in language, and attentiveness to human relations which were needed in a public career Jinnah's political style, his legalistic turn of mind was not some theatrical mask donned only to confuse the Congress or to confound a succession of Viceroys, but a deep-seated basis of his complex character These were qualities particularly necessary when a party had to be organised, policies fashioned and unity hammered out without the benefit of a bureaucratic machine and the resources of a government Health—or the ability to push ill-health aside—and the physical toughness to

undertake endless campaigning was his asset Another—and it is not cynical to say so—was financial independence, some business sense The third, as vital as any weapon in the leader's armoury, was the ability to relate to other people, to forge personal links with a multitude of people—he personally signed Muslim League's subscription receipts—to resist unwarranted demands without causing offence, to elicit enthusiasm and sustain it by an active exercise of concern How could the autocratic, cold, calculating figure of popular myth have attracted the loyalty and affection of so many prominent and experienced politicians, and of countless party workers? It was not as a dictator that he exercised power, but as a man able to elicit the compromise of friends and enemies alike When he read and responded to so many communications addressed to him, it does not so much display his efficiency and legal-minded concern for detail but rather his concern for those whose leader he was It is only when Jinnah's correspondence is made available in full, rather than in selections, that a just judgement can be passed upon him It is not a flawless individual who emerges from the pages, but certainly a humane one—the sort of man to whom a daughter could write, "Do write Take care of yourself Papa darling Lots of love & kisses Dina" [4]

No definitive study of Jinnah and of different stages in his career can be written until all the documentation has been considered But publication of the documents had to start somewhere and the crucial nature of the events taking place between 20 February and 2 June 1947 made this seem an appropriate starting point By 20 February a date had been set for the departure of the British, by 2 June the die had been cast for partition and Pakistan

The importance of the British Government's 20 February 1947 Statement[5] lay in the fact that it was the first clear, unambiguous announcement by that Government that power would be transferred to Indian hands by a precise date—June 1948 Hitherto, the various Acts of British Parliament and policy statements on India had been merely pointers towards a goal, hedged in by so many clauses and sub-clauses deliberately introduced to delay the process of handing over power For the British, India had been, as Curzon put it, "the brightest jewel in the British Crown, a magnificent pendant hanging from the Imperial collar"—a happy dispensation of Providence There had been a natural reluctance to part with that jewel, both in Delhi and in Whitehall Even the framers of the Act of 1935, momentous as it was, had hoped that "sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof" If the goal could be seen "only dimly"—since the cleavages of "race, caste

and religion" and the problems of defence "blocked the view"—this was welcome It was "comforting" to see that "the rate of advance seemed much more likely to be that of a stage coach than of an express train" [6]

If the workings of provincial autonomy and the onset of World War II set the coach-horses galloping, the Cripps Offer of 1942, the Simla Conference of 1945 and the Cabinet Mission Plan of 1946 still seemed to doubting politicians in India to be stages in a further devolution of power rather than precursors of grant of full independence But with the 20 February Statement "constitutional gradualism" came to an end The declaration introduced a fixed timetable and imparted a sense of urgency to the British withdrawal and to the selection of political heirs to an Empire which had outlived its presence in India The modalities of transfer of power had to be worked out But it must be noted that even this Statement was not conclusive It was not clear where "paramountcy" over Indian States would lie in future nor "to whom the powers of the Central Government in British India should be handed over, on the due date, whether as a whole to some form of central Government for British India or in some areas to the existing Provincial Governments, or in such other way as may seem most reasonable and in the best interests of the Indian people" This clause suggesting that sovereignty could even be left to parts of provinces was particularly disturbing, though apparently noticed neither by Jinnah nor by Nehru at the moment This raised the spectre of total fragmentation if sovereignty was on offer to every group which wanted it [7]

The *Quaid-i-Azam Papers* throw light on the problems for a national leader which this possibility of provincial independence and separatism provoked Very soon provincial leaders were reading into this part of 20 February declaration a possible enlargement of their own role The leading instance is that of H S Suhrawardy, the Chief Minister of Bengal, a Calcutta man unwilling to be relegated to the backwaters of East Bengal, who acted as a mouthpiece for Bengali nationalism in floating the idea of an independent, undivided sovereign Bengal [8] Suhrawardy put out feelers to Hindu leaders for support to his plan for a greater Bengal Presciently, he sought to convince Jinnah that if Pakistan involved the partition of Bengal it would spell economic ruin for the Muslims trapped in the poorest parts of the province

> If Bengal is divided, both sections will be weak and negligible More so, our section which, although it has got a large enough population, is so deficit in foodgrains that no amount of intensive cultivation will be able to produce a sufficiency [9]

Suhrawardy tried his best to convince Jinnah through Liaquat that even if a compromise had to be made with the Hindus of Bengal, "it will be expedient to make that compromise in view of the terrible disaster that will overwhelm Bengal, and particularly the Muslims of Bengal, if Bengal is partitioned" [10] And he tried to persuade the Muslim League High Command that what he was advocating—a sovereign Bengal—was not against the spirit of the 1940 Lahore Resolution

> The Lahore resolution visualised Independent Sovereign States of those areas where the Muslims are in a majority Hence a Free State of Bengal subscribes to this criterion Nowhere do I find it stated that there must be a declaration from the beginning that it will be Pakistan or that it should form part of a Federation of Pakistan States

He warned If Bengal is partitioned, "the Muslims of East Bengal will be dead, they will have to pass not through one famine but through several famines "[11]

It should be noted that the British authorities at this point still thought that a sovereign Bengal, independent of Pakistan, was a serious possibility, a third Dominion Mountbatten prepared two alternative broadcast statements when he was in London Broadcast 'A' was to be used if Bengal came to be partitioned, broadcast 'B' if it emerged as an independent unified state [12]

While Suhrawardy wavered between loyalty to Bengal and loyalty to the League, there were discordant trends in other areas designated by the League to constitute Pakistan In Sindh the reaction to the wording of the 20 February Statement had been even swifter On 27 February Pir Ilahi Bakhsh was writing to Jinnah about the need "for drafting the Constitution of Sind", which along with the constitutions framed by other provinces, might be placed before the All India Muslim League Council for consideration and co-ordination [13] This was necessary, Ilahi Bakhsh argued, so as to be armed against any contingency and to ensure that "by the time the Britishers are prepared to hand over power we shall be in a position to have it and be ready to accept the responsibility" [14] If this was, perhaps, a tentative Muslim step towards a federal structure for Pakistan, Government turned the clauses of the statement into an open invitation to Balkanise India When the clarification of the issue of separate provincial states was sought from Mountbatten, he replied that he "would not object to the constitutionality or legality of the procedure " [15] Happily this response was firmly set aside by the Sindh Muslim League leaders who assured Jinnah of their continued support for Pakistan The idea of sovereign independent provinces, they said, was no more than a clever ploy by the opponents of the League for "destroying the unity of Islam in India" [16]

There were discordant voices in other areas too, which had been designated by the League as constituents of Pakistan In the North-West Frontier Province, the Provincial Muslim League had launched a vigorous Civil Disobedience Movement against restrictions on public meetings and processions imposed by Dr Khan's Congress Ministry The rush of volunteers courting arrest was such that Government had to make room for them by releasing thousands of other prisoners [17] Mountbatten had even to appeal to Jinnah to persuade the NWFP Muslim League leaders, who had all been arrested, not to insist on coming to conference with him as prisoners, but to accept parole and meet him as free men—which they did [18] A month later, however, the Congress Ministry and Abdul Ghaffar Khan joined forces, at the instance of Governor Sir Olaf Caroe, in a counter-attack on the League Their weapon was once again a threat of provincial independence and their method a propaganda campaign for a Pathan state, a Pathan national Province This appeal to ethnicity to forge political union, Caroe contended, was a "far more constructive one than that of Islam in danger" and was in fact suggested by Caroe himself Caroe wrote "The interesting local development in the political field is that my Ministry and Abdul Ghaffar Khan have started propaganda on a theme which I advised them to take up some months ago that of a Pathan national Province " [19] The propagation of this Pathanistan alternative to Pakistan was another threat to the ideological foundations of the Pakistan ideal

Jinnah had, in fact, constantly to prevent local loyalties and interests superseding those of the larger Pakistan In Sindh, for example, the problem had appeared of non-Sindhi Muslim immigrants from other parts of India, especially Bihar This volume of papers contains a few reports[20] on the communal riots of the period which were touched off by the great disaster in Calcutta in 1946 They deal with the carnage and sufferings experienced by Muslims in Bihar and Bombay—some, such as those described by Naranjan Singh Gill in his report on the Bihar riots of October-November 1946, being gruesome in the extreme Already, however, the consequence in the movement of peoples was being felt Bihar Muslims were hoping to be allotted 60,000 acres of land in Sindh, but local Muslim League leaders did not expect this to be available until 1952 M Yunus, President of the Bihar Muslim League, voiced the dilemmas which beset many Indian Muslims opting for Pakistan

> The difficulty with the minority provinces has been that these people claim that they have a right to expect from the Pakistan areas such help which is their due, owing to the fact that they have staked all and sacrificed themselves for the establishment of Pakistan [21]

The danger was that the prospect of using local resources to support Muslim refugees would alarm the Sindhi public and provoke ethnic and parochial prejudices. If Jinnah's leadership at the national level was not to be severely embarrassed, a consensual message from Sindhi League members had to be sent. So one letter from Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah to Jinnah, on 14 May 1947, carries a denial of his having ever advocated that Sindh should be for Sindhis only.[22] A week later Abdus Sattar Pirzada issued a statement making clear that Pakistan would be home for all Muslim immigrants from India. "Sind has been the gateway of Islam in India and it shall be the gateway of Pakistan too." The assertion of Muslim brotherhood by League leaders in Sindh is emphatic:

> The people of Sind have made their choice and that choice is Pakistan. Nor will the cry of Sindhi and non-Sindhi or *Mulki* and *Ghair Mulki* help anybody. It is certainly better for us in Sind to be linked with the Muslim State of Pakistan than with a Hindu-dominated State of Hindustan . . . we welcome our Muslim brethren from the minority provinces with open arms. Pakistan is as much their home as it is ours."[23]

The papers of this volume also demonstrate the constant effort demanded of Jinnah to deal with personal pride, ambition and jealousy among the leading figures in All India and Provincial Muslim League parties. Hidayatullah in Sindh complained about his "ill-assorted team" and that the League there was being "exploited for the benefit of individuals".[24] But in the Punjab, though the coalition Ministry of Sir Khizar Hayat Khan Tiwana had been forced to resign on 2 March 1947, no Muslim League Ministry could be formed, such were the stresses of factional politics over the question of leadership. The acrimony engendered and the problems faced by Jinnah are made evident by the angry letter an embittered Firoz Khan Noon wrote to him on 22 March 1947. "Will there never be an end to your mistrusting me? When momentous problems are facing us, do you think I have nothing better to do than to send messengers to canvass for me?"[25]

One other issue emerges in this period and appears in the documents in this volume—one to which the Muslim League, busy in establishing its primacy among the Muslims of British India, had paid little attention. That was League's relations with the Princely States, whose future too had now to be settled within the time span set by the 20 February Statement. A separate All India States Muslim League had been started in 1940 to deal with the Indian States, but except during the presidency of Bahadur Yar Jung, who died in 1944, it had existed only in name and on paper. Jinnah was overburdened and pre-occupied, and his lieutenants, embroiled in provincial politics, were mostly indifferent

After a precarious existence in the post-1944 years it was very belatedly decided, in February 1947, to reorganise the States Muslim League A small office in a flat in Daryaganj was opened But here too Jinnah's help was invoked "The work of organizing the Musalmans in the Indian States is a very difficult job and may not be possible without your kind help and guidance" [26] But Jinnah, engrossed with the partition plan and other allied matters, could only reply "It is not possible for me to attend to each and every problem, as you see I am already pressed with matters which leave me no time"—and suggested that he should seek Nishtar's advice instead [27] The comparative organisational weakness of the League meant that even in 1947 there was still no adequate League policy towards the Princely States other than that of passive non-interference

The Muslim League lacked an active and sustained policy towards the Indian States It seemed to have no charter for their future Jinnah's busy schedule afforded him little time to deal with the problems of the Indian States His lieutenants had neither the capacity nor much inclination to delve into intricate matters There was no Patel in the Muslim League hierarchy Jinnah had good relations with the rulers of such States as Hyderabad, Kalat and Bhopal, some of whom supported the Pakistan movement [28] But though the six letters to Jinnah sent by the Nizam of Hyderabad included in this volume are most complimentary to "the life-giver of the whole community" and "the cynosure of all eyes throughout India and also beyond the seas", the Nizam also made it quite clear that it was out of the question for Hyderabad to consider "joining any Unit in British India" If he pleaded with Jinnah to come to Hyderabad and give him the desperately needed advice, it was only in connection with his claim over Berar and his intention "to announce my Independence the day the British leave the shore[s] of India" [29] There were other, perhaps more important matters discussed with the Nizam but this correspondence passed through the hands of Sir Walter Monckton, the Nizam's constitutional adviser, and of this there is no trace in the *Quaid-i-Azam Papers*

Jinnah was also close to Nawab Hamidullah Khan, the ruler of Bhopal and Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, but Bhopal's letters are mainly indicative, beyond a general goodwill towards a Muslim Pakistan, of a desire on his part and that of other rulers to avoid any Muslim League or Congress interference in their affairs [30] Jinnah here was on the horns of a dilemma Having succeeded in mobilising the Muslims of India for active support of the Pakistan movement, how

could he remain indifferent towards Muslim organisations and their demands in the Princely States?

The dilemma was most acute in regard to Kashmir—as was the sense of neglect and abandonment expressed by Muslims in that State

> Personally, I am convinced that if it were not for the League's non-interventionist policy *vis-a-vis* the States, we would not have found ourselves so desperately alone I am not unmindful of the higher political strategy which necessitates such a course of action, but I think it could still be reconciled with a slightly more practical interest in the affairs of Kashmir, even indirectly Mamdot, Daultana, Nishtar, Qaiyum, etc, all agree with me, but they are powerless without Quaid-i-Azam's permission [31]

It was perhaps unfortunate that the Muslim League had no consistent policy for the Indian States and their people and unfortunate, too, that while Jinnah maintained a strong control over the party, as the conclusion of the letter demonstrates, he was not at ease delegating decision-making It is significant, too, that whereas Bhopal or the Nizam wrote directly to Jinnah, the Muslim leaders in Kashmir usually wrote to his Kashmiri private secretary, K H Khurshid—as though an intermediary was needed to put their case across

So when Ghulam Ahmad wrote on 16 March 1947, it was again to Khurshid He wrote enthusiastically, "Only God knows what a miracle the Quaid-i-Azam has played [*sic* for performed] on the minds of Kashmiri Muslims that at present there is not even a smallest child who doesn't know him and respect him" [32] Others, however, complained of the failure to make use of this enthusiasm, of "the complete indifference" and the "attitude of the League *vis-a-vis* Kashmir" Shaukat Ali accused that the League had been "over-cautious not to offend the Princely Order" [33] He complained that whereas the Congress was actively engaged in supporting the National Conference led by Sheikh Abdullah, the Muslim League seemed shy of taking a corresponding interest in the Muslim Conference Moreover, there was considerable division amongst the leaders of the Muslim Conference It was time for the Kashmiri Muslims to be motivated by the same spirit which had spurred the Muslims elsewhere to demand Pakistan Shaukat Ali wrote

> I feel that you have ignored the emotional basis Pakistan has been for the great renaissance in the Muslim Nation Kashmir Muslims could not afford to remain unconcerned or untouched by its appeal or its possibilities It is for this that I have all along urged a more active interference from the League [34]

Unfortunately a pre-occupied Quaid-i-Azam could not respond Meanwhile Jinnah's success in welding the various disparate Muslim

groups and parties together to produce the emergent unity of a Muslim State had won him a large number of Muslim votaries abroad They had also begun to require some consideration of the foreign relations which Pakistan would need to create Organisations like the Arab League, the Akhwan al-Muslimeen and its President, Sheikh Hassan al-Banna, and the Muslim Brotherhood all lent support to the Muslim League [35] In thanking Iranian Muslims for contributions to the Bihar Relief Fund, Jinnah was at pains to emphasise the brotherly bonds between the two peoples—which without doubt "will lead us to closer and closer contact in the future" [36] He wrote in the same vein to Abdul Rahman Azzam, Secretary-General of the League of Arab States "together we shall be able to realize our aspirations in both India and the Middle East" [37] A determined effort was made to cultivate contacts with senior political figures in Syria, Iran, Iraq and the Lebanon—in the case of the last two countries with their Presidents[38]—as also in Trans-Jordania, Turkey and Egypt where links were forged with Nahas Pasha, the Grand Mufti and senior staff of Al-Azhar University respectively [39] Even before independent statehood had been secured, the outlines of a foreign policy and of a diplomatic structure were being sketched in

And while all these activities required Jinnah's attention, he was subjected to a constant barrage of further demands upon his time, as the papers constantly reveal Many of these demands for advice, help or personal intervention were not political at all, or were so in the widest possible sense A request that he should lay the foundation stone of a Medical College at Aligarh[40] or advise on a new Vice-Chancellor for the Muslim University[41] were perhaps legitimate But there were requests that he should become an Honorary Adviser to the All-India Gliding Club,[42] nominate someone to supervise the religious education of Godfrey Hoare, a British Army officer turned Muslim,[43] or that his name might be used for business enterprises [44] Such requests were a constant distraction—specially since he tended to respond to them personally, usually in conciliatory, if firmly negative terms

Jinnah was not prone to accept unreasonable suggestions, even those which might have been of advantage to the League or himself At no cost would he compromise his principles and probity He was a man of unimpeachable integrity—integrity in business transactions, in personal dealings, even in politics. For him, politics was like a "game of chess" where all moves were to be made after a great deal of deliberation and calculation, for his was not the swoop of a hawk He was not given to political expediency, nor temptation of power could distract him from the high moral standards he had set for himself Even when

the stakes were high as, for instance, during the general elections of 1945-1946, he refused to be tempted by the political gains, promised by Nazimuddin, from coalescing with "corrupt elements"[45] in order to form a Ministry in Bengal for ensuring a landslide.

> I see no light. I am between two alternatives: either try to run the Ministry with the help of the corrupt elements or get a Hindu Group to coalesce. The former is undesirable and the latter is not easily possible.[46]

Nazimuddin either did not quite know Jinnah or had hoped that Jinnah might succumb to the temptation of a League Ministry being in power in order to fight the elections and produce the desired results, as the battle of Pakistan had to be fought and won through these elections. As unwavering adherence to principles and utter disdain for expediency were ingrained in Jinnah's mental make-up, it was hardly surprising that he rejected Nazimuddin's suggestion out of hand and remarked:

> I would not, under any circumstances, have anything to do with the corrupt elements and as regards coalition with the Hindu group, yes, but on honourable terms. I would rather be in opposition with honour than run a precarious Ministry. If you are determined and pursue a strong course, I feel confident that no Ministry can be formed without the Muslim League in Bengal, which would be stable, or can continue for long, and I would certainly not be afraid, if I were in your place, of [Section] 93. Let it be so.[47]

Jinnah's advice was always sought on almost all political matters. He was inundated with work and yet he did not cease to be involved in ordinary day-to-day living—attempting to secure the release of his bungalow in Lahore commandeered by the Defence authorities,[48] pursuing plumbers or builders whose work had been unsatisfactory,[49] dealing with his tenants,[50] writing candid references for his cook[51] or securing hospital treatment for his *mali*,[52] and again and again dealing with the various doctors to whom he turned as his illness worsened.[53] There is a mass of correspondence in the papers which is of interest to the social historian as well as revealing for the student of Jinnah, the politician, which demonstrates the demands upon his time and energy which business and domestic affairs imposed. Who but Jinnah could find time, on a day like 2 June 1947, when he was totally engrossed in the final and crucial phase of deliberations on the Partition Plan to write about a bank draft for the Bihar Relief Fund.[54] In private as well as public matters his character was all of a piece. He was consistent in his methodical, business-like handling of affairs, in his legal sense of what was just and due in the leader's constant concern for all the countless individuals who followed him. And at every point the one person whom he did not spare was himself. This makes all the more astonishing the energy and the prolonged [illegible]

all through these months to the great political events ushered in by the 20 February Statement Reading the papers as a whole reminds the historian, vividly indeed, that politics, even at the highest level, is conducted by men and women totally caught up in the complexities of daily life

* * * *

Prior to Mountbatten's departure for India as its Governor-General in 1947, Clement Attlee had briefed him to try for a unitary form of government in accordance with the Cabinet Mission Plan [55] In doing so, Attlee had failed to realise that the rescuing of that Plan was a non-starter with Jinnah and the Muslim League Mountbatten was nevertheless constrained by the mandate of his Chief to try to resurrect that Plan, which would have been his own preferred solution and was also what the Congress wanted

On arrival in India on 22 March 1947, therefore, where the new realities of the political scene remained blurred for him, he initially set off in the wrong direction While sounding out the Indian leaders—Gandhi, Jinnah, Nehru and Patel and many others—he continued to lay stress on the Cabinet Mission Plan His efforts proved as fruitless as Gandhi's "wild" suggestion[56] that Jinnah should be invited to form the Central Government—a ridiculous proposition which Jinnah was bound to reject, especially when Gandhi's own colleagues in the Congress Working Committee opposed it [57] There were other difficulties Mountbatten did not meet Jinnah with an open mind His description of the Muslim League leader to his staff and to the Secretary of State as "frigid, haughty and disdainful",[58] after his very first meeting with Jinnah, reveals his prejudice He wanted Jinnah to submit to his dictates and threats Jinnah was not the man for that

Jinnah warned Mountbatten, without mincing his words, that the only solution was a "surgical operation",[59] and that it was "valueless entering the Constituent Assembly or even trying to go back to the Cabinet Mission plan" [60] The Plan, he argued, enshrined a brute Hindu majority of three to one in a strong centre [61] Even the Viceroy was eventually driven to acknowledge that what "most frightened Mr Jinnah was the prospect of a Centre permanently dominated by the Hindus", and that "Mr Jinnah's fears had some foundation" [62] He agreed with Jinnah's judgement that the insistence of the Congress that it had accepted the Cabinet Mission Plan in full was deceitful, "I feel that Jinnah has some justification to fear that the Congress do not mean to stick to their acceptance" [63]

After six meetings with Jinnah between 5 and 10 April 1947, the last most notably, the Viceroy accepted that there was no way out except partition. On 11 April, he directed Ismay to work out plans for a possible partition.[64] Accordingly, Ismay provided the "bare bones" of a draft. He asked V. P. Menon to "put some flesh upon it".[65] From April to August and even afterwards, it is Menon who appears to be the king-pin. No policy paper was usually transmitted without him, nor any scheme was formulated without prior discussion with him. Thus Menon had a rare opportunity to play the Congress card and lead the British official hierarchy, pied-piper fashion, down the Congress path.

The outline plan which Ismay produced envisaged the demission of British authority by June 1948 to Provinces or to "confederations of Provinces", independence for the Indian Princely States with freedom to join any confederation, partition of Assam, Bengal and the Punjab, a general election in the NWFP, progressive transfer from the Centre to the Provinces of all subjects except Defence, Foreign Affairs and Communications which were to be administered by the Centre until the date of the transfer.[66] This was the thrust of Ismay's directives to Menon who was authorised to "amend the draft in any way" he liked and to suggest necessary procedures for the partition of provinces as well as for other important matters.[67] By mid-April two plans—Plan "Union" with a weak Centre and Plan "Balkan" which offered a truncated Pakistan—had been prepared.[68]

Jinnah's reactions to these proposals can be followed in the papers gathered in this volume. Despite the partisan stance of the Viceroy and Menon's involvement in shaping the detail of the plans and procedures, Jinnah stood his ground well. His courage and confidence never failed him. He repeated his earlier protest about the ruinous effect which "cutting out half of the Punjab and Bengal including Calcutta"[69] must have, and denounced the move as a most dangerous proposition. It was, he said, "a sinister move actuated by spite and bitterness", designed "to unnerve the Muslims by repeatedly emphasising that the Muslims will get a truncated or mutilated and moth-eaten Pakistan".[70] Neither the Hindu Mahasabha in Bengal nor the Sikhs in the Punjab whom the Congress had propped up would be gainers by partition, he stressed. Indeed, the Sikhs would lose greatly. As "a solid minority" in an undivided Pakistani Punjab, they could play "a very big part" in the new state, whereas partition would leave them "split into two halves".[71]

Nehru had opposed the Plan provision for a general election in the NWFP. Jinnah saw the Muslim League's vigorous Civil Disobedience Movement[72]

undermine its authority and popularity At the same time Patel used the press to demand that all power should be transferred to the Central Government as a Dominion Government He said, "Let the Viceroy stand out and not interfere Then you have a strong Centre, which would be capable of dealing with the problems facing the country " [73] Jinnah made it clear in press statements that a transfer of power meant a complete division of everything

> If the British decide that India must be divided and it follows that the armed forces must be divided and power transferred to the divided parts, then the Central Government must be dissolved and all power should be transferred to the two Constituent Assemblies

Nor could there be any question of a Centre voting on Pakistan The demand for Pakistan was based on the Muslims' "right of self-determination" Jinnah asserted—"an inalienable right of a nation and the recognition of the sovereignty of the people of that nation by a democratic process" [74] Jinnah sent his statements to Attlee and Churchill, so that there was no shadow of doubt that there could be a compromise so far as the demand for Pakistan was concerned

He made it no less clear that the existing "rump" Constituent Assembly could have no jurisdiction over the areas which would form Pakistan [75] Nor could there be any transfer of power to an Interim Government, such as Patel had wanted Power, Jinnah insisted, would be transferred to two states "absolutely free, independent and sovereign" And to forestall any attempt at coercion by the Central Government, Jinnah demanded the division of the Defence Forces prior to partition [76] In all this Jinnah had marshalled his arguments and presented them, in public and in private, in masterly fashion

This he did despite the fact that he never enjoyed the facilities which were available to Pandit Nehru He was not even kept properly in the picture When on 17 May Jinnah received the proposals for the "Transfer of Power during the Interim Period on the basis of Two Independent States"[77], they came without Nehru's letter of that date Jinnah had to ask the Viceroy for the letter, which was to be delivered on the morning of the 18th, it wasn't delivered Jinnah had to write to Mieville, "It is now 3 15 p m and until I get a copy of that letter I will not be able to make my comments on these proposals" [78] Brockman sent the letter, with an apology, at 8 p m [79] But what was then delivered were only extracts from Nehru's letter, along with a set of proposals which differed from those given to Nehru [80] Jinnah did not give vent to the anger he felt, but submitted his comments next morning as promised But he made it quite clear that he found the episode slighting and strange

> It is somewhat difficult for me to gather from these extracts what exact attitude of the Congress, as I find them rather confusing The A and B consist only of 3 paragraphs, whereas Pandit Nehru's refers to paragraph 5, which does not exist in the drafts furnished It shows that Pandit Nehru's comments refer to some other draft a to the draft on which my views are sought [81]

Such carelessness, which might have also been seen as duplici the part of the Viceroy's staff was beautifully judged

This was not an isolated case When Jinnah had discusse preliminary draft of the Plan with Mountbatten he had to wa seven days for his copy He had sometimes been forced to be enough, as when he was shown the notes of his discussion tak Ismay which he pushed aside with a disdain, "That is your sc not mine" [82] However, Jinnah refused to be put out, unnerv intimidated When in mid-May he was asked to sign the "Hea Agreement" prepared by Menon, he did not do so Thereupo Viceroy threatened Jinnah that unless he did so, power wou devolved upon the Interim Government on a Dominion status Mountbatten found Jinnah's reaction "rather disturbing" when he told the Viceroy that "he could not stop such a step in any event" wonder Mountbatten had to seek Churchill's intervention to pers Jinnah to accept Dominion status [84] So determined was Jinnah's for Pakistan that Mountbatten had to concede its effectiveness A India and Burma Committee's meeting on 19 May 1947, he rep that "It had become clear that the Muslim League would res arms if Pakistan in some form were not conceded In the face o threat, the Congress leaders had modified their former attitud Jinnah had won Pakistan The papers now published in this vo demonstrate more clearly than ever before the variety and seriou of the obstacles which the Quaid-i-Azam had had to surmount– the magnitude of the victory he had achieved

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Pakistan was Jinnah's personal statement in history Mountbatten, too, saw 1947 as the year in which he would confi claim to fame, and the *Quaid-i-Azam Papers* throw revealing light his character One consistent theme which must strike the read Mountbatten's correspondence is the Viceroy's obsession with hi and his future image He was to be the last of the great proconsul heroes of "the masterful will , the stout heart, the active brain calm nerves, the strong body" [86]

It was because he had his eye on history that Mountbatten directed Ismay, while drafting partition plans, to insert "a most careful preamble to be written that his [Mountbatten's] view had all along been completely impartial" [87] The crowning example of this impartiality was, of course, to have been Mountbatten's joint Governor-Generalship of both the new Dominions This would have been the greatest possible tribute to him personally and to the *Raj* over whose demise he was shortly to preside The idea may have been initiated by Menon [88] But once the idea had been floated, the Viceroy used every possible means and pressure to secure its acceptance The Congress readily agreed to the proposition [89] Could the Muslim League be persuaded? Mountbatten first sounded out Liaquat Ali Khan, whom he found "surprisingly receptive" [90] Jinnah's reaction was quite opposite "he felt that it would be better to have two Governors-General" [91] Had Mountbatten known the man he would have taken the hint Instead he laboured the issue, pressing Jinnah to give an undertaking that if the British Government found the two Governors-General proposal "impracticable"[92] Jinnah would accept a common Governor-General Jinnah was in no mood to entertain the Viceroy's suggestion and "violently opposed" it [93] When pressed further to give his comments in writing, "he said that he would think it over" [94] In the meantime, Mountbatten had already left for London On 19 May, Jinnah sent a letter to the Viceroy which contained comments on the proposals for Transfer of Power and on Nehru's views regarding the Partition Plan but nothing on the vexed issues of a common Governor-General or an "arbitrator" [95] According to Mountbatten, Jinnah's objections to a common Governor-General for Pakistan and Hindustan had been that such a Governor-General would be resident in Delhi, on Indian soil, and that, when his term expired, "Congress would attempt to secure one of their own nominees for the post" [96]

Jinnah, by avoiding to continue the discussion on the issue of Governor-Generalship, had sought to close the chapter But so overweening was Mountbatten's vanity that instead of accepting the situation gracefully, he still sought to persuade Jinnah explaining through Mieville that Jinnah had the opportunity to secure a British arbitrator by choosing the same man for both the new States [97] Jinnah's response was now dramatic, a final rebuff to Mountbatten by announcing that Jinnah would be the first Governor-General of Pakistan [98] This was "a terrible shock" to the Viceroy and his team, a bombshell which forced Mountbatten to acknowledge his clumsy misjudgment, first to Attlee, "I do not want to conceal from you that I consider the whole of this

situation to be my fault I should have foreseen it",[99] and then to Cripps [100] In his subsequent Personal Report, Mountbatten admits " Jinnah scores an undoubted victory over Congress from a psychological point of view in having an Indian Governor-General for Pakistan "[101]

There is yet another issue which Mountbatten seems to have stumbled through It pertains to the controversial Radcliffe Award which was allegedly altered at Mountbatten's instance It is worth noting that while the boundaries of Pakistan had been settled, by and large, in Wavell's time,[102] their actual demarcation took place during Mountbatten's Viceroyalty The drawing and re-drawing of maps envisaging the division of Bengal and the Punjab was mainly the work of V P Menon who also provided for Hindustan a corridor to Assam [103] The Pakistan area had been "reduced" in order to jolt Jinnah into realising that such an area would not be viable It was hoped thereby to coerce him into participating in a loose federation [104] Mountbatten's Partition Plan had also been "designed to produce minimum Pakistan"[105]—a "moth-eaten" one [106] By dividing Bengal and the Punjab, he had sought to "give Pakistan a greater chance to fail on its demerits" [107] In the Punjab, the Plan had initially envisaged conceding to Pakistan only Muslim-majority districts Even this was further curtailed by Menon's introduction of a new factor under the guise of "geographical reasons" in order to award Gurdaspur to India [108]

In the event, Gurdaspur did go to India along with Ferozepur and Zera *tehsils* as a result of the Boundary Award Allegation has it that Radcliffe was prevailed upon by Mountbatten to alter the original award [109] Exhaustive documentation on this controversy will be given in a later volume but it may not be inappropriate to provide an interesting glimpse at this stage After partition, as a sequel to an inquiry into this matter, Philip Noel Baker, Commonwealth Secretary, had this to say

> There is some reason for thinking that Sir Cyril Radcliffe at the last moment altered his boundary award so as to assign to the E Punjab a salient in the original demarcation of the W Punjab boundary which included Gurdaspur But we have no knowledge that this was done on the advice of Lord Mountbatten [110]

Noel Baker's view was also supported by T S Tull of the Foreign Office who recorded

> There are also considerable grounds for thinking that the Radcliffe Award was altered Mr Scott (of the Japan Dept and presumably [then] on Lord M[ountbatten]'s staff) tells me that Sir C Radcliffe was asked to give a preliminary indication of his award, so that troop dispositions could be made, and that somehow this leaked to the Press Subsequently the Radcliffe award in its present form was less favourable to Pakistan Mr

Scott had discussed the matter with Lord Ismay [111]

There is yet another episode which calls in question Mountbatten's judgement. This was his ludicrous attempt to inveigle Jinnah into accepting an honour so that he himself could be sure of receiving a similar award Tucked away in the *Mountbatten Papers* is an extract from a telegram of 14 July 1947 marked "Strictly Private and Personal", from Mieville to Ismay, which reads "May I suggest that you ensure that Governor-General designate of India gets G C M G on 15th August" [112] This was followed next day by a despatch from Mountbatten to the Secretary of State reporting that he had discussed with Jinnah whether Jinnah would wish, as future Governor-General of Pakistan, to have his name put forward for the customary honour of G C M G According to Mountbatten, Jinnah was immensely "tickled with the idea and obviously wanted to accept",[113] though he might prefer a Privy Councillorship which could also "tickle his fancy and become the thin end of the wedge" [114] There is an apparent vulgarity in the ideas and their wording here, and once again Mountbatten can be seen to be trying to manoeuvre Jinnah so as to ensure that he, Mountbatten, secures a prize The incident also demonstrates how he totally misjudged Jinnah No one was less likely to be "tickled" by the idea of an award In 1942, when the Muslim University, Aligarh, had wished to award him an honorary Degree of Doctor of Laws,[115] he refused saying "I have lived as plain Mr Jinnah and I hope to die as plain Mr Jinnah I am very much averse to any title or honours and I will be more happy if there was no prefex to my name" [116]

In August 1946, in the course of the Direct Action campaign he had asked Muslim Leaguers to return all British-bestowed titles, which they did [117] Jinnah could not have afforded to accept a G C M G , and nothing in his character suggests that he would have wished to Mountbatten got rapped over the knuckles for discussing the award of an honour with Jinnah and was told off "It is accepted practice that before any approach is made, however informal, to a candidate for an honour, the King's formal authority is sought before hand" [118]

It was as "plain Mr Jinnah" that the Quaid-i-Azam became the first Governor-General of Pakistan, the nation he had brought into being

Z H ZAIDI

Notes

[1]Z H Zaidi, "Aspects of the Development of Muslim League Policy, 1937-47", in C H Philips and M D Wainwright, eds, *The Partition of India, Policies and Perspectives 1935-1947*, London, 1970, p 245
[2]Z H Zaidi, "M A Jinnah The Man, His Glimpses Through Personal Correspondence", in A H Dani, ed, *World Scholars on Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah*, Islamabad, 1979, p 60
[3]S R Mehrotra, "The Congress and the Partition of India", in C H Philips, op cit, pp 190-91, also see Z H Zaidi, "Aspects 1937-47", p 253
[4]Dina to Jinnah, 28 April 1947, *Jinnah Papers*, vol I, Part I, (hereafter referred to as *JP*), No 359, pp 625-26
[5]Statement by British Government on Indian Policy, 20 February 1947, ibid, No 1, pp 1-3
[6]Zetland to Linlithgow, 24 January 1939, *Zetland Collection*, IOR, MSS Eur D 609/17
[7]Statement, 20 February 1947, *JP*, I, Part I, No 1, pp 1-3
[8]H S Suhrawardy to Liaquat Ali Khan, 5 May 1947, ibid, No 387, pp 696-97
[9]Ibid, p 696
[10]H S Suhrawardy to Liaquat Ali Khan, 21 May 1947, ibid, enc 1 to No 479, p 868
[11]Ibid, pp 868 and 870
[12]Erskine Crum's note, 31 May 1947, *TP*, XI, No 1, p 1
[13]Pir Ilahi Bakhsh to Jinnah, 27 February and 1 March 1947 *JP*, I, Part I, No 46, p 107 and No 68, p 159
[14]Pir Ilahi Bakhsh to Yusuf Haroon, 27 February 1947, ibid, enc 2 to No 68, p 160
[15]Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah to Jinnah, 22 March 1947, ibid, No 184, p 359
[16]Statement by Abdus Sattar Pirzada, 21 May 1947, ibid, No 461, p 838
[17]*Pakistan Times*, 1 April 1947
[18]Mountbatten to Jinnah, 27 April 1947, *JP*, I, Part I, No 351, p 605
[19]Olaf Caroe to John Colville, 22 May 1947, *TP*, X, No 512, p 944
[20]See App Nos IV and V, *JP*, I, Part II
[21]M Yunus to Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, 7 March 1947, ibid, Part I, enc 3 to No 182, p 356
[22]Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah to Jinnah, 14 May 1947, ibid, enc to No 421, p 760
[23]Statement by Abdus Sattar Pirzada, 21 May 1947, ibid, No 461, p 839
[24]Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah to Jinnah, 25 March 1947, ibid, No 227, p 406
[25]Firoz Khan Noon to Jinnah, 22 March 1947, ibid, No 192, p 368
[26]Manzar-i-Alam to Jinnah 9 March 1947, ibid, No 107, p 212
[27]Jinnah to Manzar-i-Alam, 24 March 1947, ibid, No 212, p 393
[28]Khan of Kalat to Jinnah, 14 April 1947, ibid, enc to No 317, p 549
[29]Nizam of Hyderabad to Jinnah, 26 April and 12 May 1947, ibid, No 346, p 601 and No 410, p 735
[30]Nawab of Bhopal to Jinnah, 12 April and 29 April 1947, ibid, No 310, p 521 and No 361, p 627
[31]Shaukat Ali to K H Khurshid, 23 February 1947, ibid, enc to No 27, p 78
[32]Ghulam Ahmad to K H Khurshid, 16 March 1947, ibid, No 141, p 270
[33]Shaukat Ali to K H Khurshid, 24 March 1947, ibid, No 207, p 383
[34]Ibid, p 384
[35]M Karam Ali to Jinnah, 4 March 1947, ibid, No 80, pp 178-79 and Mostafa Momin to Jinnah, 24 March 1947, No 219, p 399
[36]Jinnah to Razzaq Zadeh, 2 April 1947, ibid, No 281, p 484
[37]Jinnah to Abdul Rahman Azzam, 3 April 1947, ibid, No 284, p 486
[38]M A H Ispahani to Jinnah 5 and 9 April 1947, ibid, No 293, pp 496-98 and No 300, pp 510-12
[39]M A H Ispahani to Jinnah 30 April and 10 May 1947, ibid, No 363, pp 629-30 and No 400, pp 718-19
[40]Obaidur Rahman Khan to Jinnah, 23 February 1947, ibid, No 22, p 71

[41]Nawab of Rampur to Jinnah, 9 April 1947, ibid, No 301, pp 512-13
[42]A Raab to Jinnah, 25 February 1947, ibid, No 36, p 86
[43]Godfrey Hoare to Jinnah, 14 March 1947, ibid, No 130, pp 255-56
[44]Jinnah to Mohamed Tanwani, 23 May 1947, ibid, No 475, p 864
[45]Nazimuddin to Jinnah, 14 April 1945, *SHC*, Bengal, vol III
[46]Ibid
[47]Jinnah to Nazimuddin, 25 April 1945, ibid Earlier, when the Sindh Premier, Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah had included Moula Baksh Soomro, a non-Leaguer, in his Cabinet in order to shore up the ML Ministry and thus avert the imposition of Section 93, Jinnah disapproved of the step asserting that the ML could not sacrifice its principles because of Section 93 See Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah to Jinnah 26 February 1945 and Jinnah to Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, 28 February 1945, *SHC*, Sind, vol V
[48]Garrison Engineer, Lahore to Jinnah, 1 May 1947, see Z H Zaidi, "M A Jinnah The Man, His Glimpses Through Personal Correspondence", in A H Dani, ed, op cit, p 61
[49]Jinnah to Gannon Dunkerley & Co, 18 January 1943, ibid, p 62
[50]Jinnah to Wilkinson, 10 July 1941, ibid, p 63
[51]Testimonial by Jinnah, 11 November 1944, ibid, p 64
[52]Jinnah to House Surgeon, K E M Hospital, Bombay, 3 October 1943, ibid, p 64
[53]Albert Batty to Jinnah, 13 April 1945, Jinnah to Albert Batty, 24 April 1945, Jinnah to Dinshah K Mehta, 19 October 1944, Jinnah to Ial Patel, 25 April 1945, ibid, pp 68-70
[54]Jinnah to M A Shakur, 2 June 1947, *JP*, I, Part I, No 523, pp 982-83
[55]Attlee to Mountbatten, 18 March 1947, *TP*, IX, enc to No 543, p 972
[56]Viceroy's Staff Meetings, 5 April 1947, ibid, X, No 76, p 126
[57]Gandhi to Mountbatten, 11 April 1947, ibid, No 123, p 197
[58]Record of Interview between Mountbatten and Jinnah, 5 and 6 April 1947, *JP*, I, Part II, App No XIV 7
[59]Ibid
[60]Record of Interview between Mountbatten and Jinnah, 7 April 1947, ibid, App No XIV 9
[61]Statement by Jinnah, 11 May 1947, ibid, Part I, enc to No 420, p 752
[62]Minutes of Viceroy's Ninth Miscellaneous Meeting, 1 May 1947, *TP*, X, No 264, p 507
[63]Viceroy's Personal Report No 5, 1 May 1947, ibid, No 276, p 541
[64]Viceroy's Staff Meetings, 11 April 1947, ibid, No 119, p 192
[65]Ismay to V P Menon, 11 April 1947, ibid, No 120, p 193
[66]Ibid, enc to No 120, pp 193-94
[67]Ibid, No 120, p 193
[68]Viceroy's Staff Meetings, 12 April 1947, ibid, No 129, pp 207-9
[69]Record of Interview between Mountbatten and Jinnah, 10 April 1947, *JP*, I, Part II, App No XIV 13
[70]Statement by Jinnah, 30 April 1947, ibid, Part I, enc to No 379, p 681
[71]Ibid, p 682
[72]See App No VIII, ibid, Part II
[73]Patel's Interview, 9 May 1947, ibid, Part I, ax I to enc to No 420, p 753
[74]Statement by Jinnah, 11 May 1947, ibid, enc to No 420, pp 750 and 752
[75]Ibid, p 750
[76]Statement by Jinnah, 30 April 1947, ibid, enc to No 379, p 682
[77]Paper received from Viceroy's Office, 17 May 1947, ibid, No 440, p 790
[78]Jinnah to Eric Mieville, 18 May 1947, ibid, No 441, p 792
[79]R V Brockman to Jinnah, 18 May 1947, ibid, No 442, pp 792-93
[80]Extracts from Pandit Nehru's letter, 17 May 1947, ibid, enc to No 442, pp 793-94
[81]Jinnah to Eric Mieville, 19 May 1947, ibid, enc to No 444, p 796
[82]Viceroy's Personal Report No 3, *TP*, X, No 165, p 299
[83]Minutes of Viceroy's Thirty Third Staff Meeting, 16 May 1947, ibid, No 454, p 841
[84]Record of Interview between Mountbatten and Churchill, 22 May 1947, ibid, No 513, pp 944-46
[85]India and Burma Committee, 25th Meeting, 19 May 1947, ibid, No 485, p 896

[86]Quoted by Z H Zaidi, "British Historical Writing on Pakistan", in A H Dani, ed , *Historical Writings on Pakistan (Methodology and Interpretation)*, vol II, Special Seminar Papers, Islamabad, 1974, p 43
[87]Viceroy's Staff Meetings, 11 April 1947, *TP*, X, No 119, p 192
[88]Note by V P Menon, undated, ibid , App to No 222, pp 438-40
[89]Nehru to Mountbatten, 17 May 1947, *JP*, I, Part I, No 452, pp 814-18
[90]Interview between Mountbatten and Liaquat Ali Khan, 15 May 1947, ibid , Part II, App No XIV 30
[91]Interview between Mountbatten and Jinnah and Liaquat Ali Khan, 17 May 1947, ibid , App No XIV 31
[92]Ibid
[93]Ibid
[94]Ibid
[95]Eric Mieville to Mountbatten, 20 May 1947, Telegram, ibid , Part I, ax II to No 444, p 798
[96]India and Burma Committee, 26th Meeting, 20 May 1947, *TP*, X, No 494, p 918
[97]Mountbatten to Eric Mieville, 23 May 1947, Telegram, ibid , No 526, p 972
[98]Mountbatten to Attlee, 3 July 1947, *TP*, XI, No 483, p 863
[99]Mountbatten to Attlee, 5 July 1947, ibid , No 523, p 922
[100]Mountbatten to Cripps, 9 July 1947, ibid , XII, No 35, p 34
[101]Viceroy's Personal Report No 12, 11 July 1947, ibid , No 65, p 97
[102]Wavell to Pethick-Lawrence, 6 February 1946, *JP*, I, Part II, App No XII 53
[103]V P Menon to George Abell, 5 February 1946 ibid , App No XII 52
[104]The Viceroy's Delimitation of Pakistan, IOR, L/PO/6/114
[105]IOR, L/P&J/10/79
[106]Record of Interview between Mountbatten and Jinnah, 8 April 1947, *JP*, I, Part II, App No XIV 10
[107]Minutes of First Day of First Governor's Conference, 15 April 1947, *TP*, X, No 147, p 251
[108]Wavell to Pethick-Lawrence, 5 February 1946, *JP*, I, Part II, App No XII 50
[109]Noel Baker's note, 27 February 1948, PREM 8/821, XC 182848, YS No 3/48, PRO
[110]Ibid
[111]T S Tull's note, 9 March 1948, F 3315/76/85G with FO 371/69729, PRO Also see Beaumont's statement, *Daily Telegraph*, 25 February 1948
[112]Eric Mieville to Ismay, 14 July 1947, Telegram, IOR, L/P&J/12596
[113]Mountbatten to Listowel, 16 July 1947, Telegram, *TP*, XII, p 182
[114]Ibid , pp 182-83
[115]Ziauddin to Jinnah, 23 April and 30 September 1942, Shamsul Hasan, ed , *Plain Mr Jinnah*, Karachi, 1976, pp 76-7
[116]Jinnah to Ziauddin, 4 October 1942 ibid , p 77
[117]Text of Resolutions Passed by the Council of the All India Muslim League at its Meeting held on 27, 28 and 29th July 1946, *JP*, I, Part I, ax III to No 386, p 693
[118]Listowel to Mountbatten, 24 July 1947, Telegram, *TP*, XII, No 225, pp 327-28

Abbreviations

A F M — Freedom Movement Archives
A I A M — All India Achhutistan Movement
A I C C — All India Congress Committee
A I M L — All India Muslim League
A I R — All India Radio
A M S A — Association of Muslim Students in America
A N S — Army Nursing Service
A P A — Associated Press of America
A P I — Associated Press of India
C C I — Cricket Club of India
Chur — Churchill Collection
C I D — Criminal Investigation Department
C P — Central Provinces
Cr P C — Criminal Procedure Code
C S I — Companion (of the Order) of the Star of India
D C P — Deputy Commissioner of Police
D I G — Deputy Inspector General
D S P — Deputy Superintendent of Police
D T M — District Traffic Manager
D T O — Divisional Telegraph Office
F C R — Frontier Crimes Regulations
G C I E — Knight Grand Commander (of the Order) of the Indian Empire
G C M G — Knight Grand Cross (of the Order) of St Michael & St George
G I P R — Great Indian Peninsular Railway
H E — His Excellency
H E H — His Exalted Highness
H H — His Highness
I C S — Indian Civil Service
I G — Inspector General
I N A — Indian National Army
I N C — Indian National Congress
I O R — India Office Records
I T O — Incharge Telegraph Office, Income Tax Officer
J P — *Jinnah Papers*
K B — Khan Bahadur
K C I E — Knight Commander (of the Order) of the Indian Empire
K C S I — Knight Commander (of the Order) of the Star of India
K S — Khan Sahib
L R — Land Revenue
L R C — Land Revenue Code

M C S	Member of the Council of State
M F J	*Miss Fatima Jinnah Papers*
M L.	Muslim League
M L A	Member of the Legislative Assembly
M L.C.	Member of the Legislative Council
M.S F	Muslim Students Federation
MSS Eur	European Manuscript (India Office Records)
N W F P	North West Frontier Province
P B.U H	Peace Be Upon Him
P C	Police Constable
P I T	Press Inland Telegram
P M G	Postmaster-General
P M S F	Punjab Muslim Students Federation
P R O	Public Record Office
P S	Police Station
P V C	Pro-Vice-Chancellor
P W D	Public Works Department
P&T	Posts and Telegraphs
Q A P	*Quaid-i-Azam Papers*
Q A P P	Quaid-i-Azam Papers Project
Re	Rupee
R I	Rigorous Imprisonment
R.I A S C	Royal Indian Army Service Corps
R I N	Royal Indian Navy
Rs	Rupees
R S S S	Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh
S A	South Africa
S E A C	South East Asia Command
Sec	Section
S H , S H O	Station House (Police Station), Station House Officer
S H C	*Shamsul Hasan Collection*
S I	Sub Inspector
Sj , Sjt	Shrijut (Hindi for Mr)
S O A S	School of Oriental and African Studies
S P	Superintendent of Police
U P	United Provinces (now Uttar Pradesh)
U N O	United Nations Organisation
V C	Vice-Chancellor
V C P	Viceroy's Conference Paper

Note Abbreviations usually given in the dictionaries have not been included

Members of the Working Committee, All India Muslim League, 1947

President
Mohammad Ali Jinnah

Secretary
Liaquat Ali Khan

Treasurer
Muhammad Amir Ahmad Khan
(Raja of Mahmudabad)

Bengal
M A H Ispahani
Khwaja Nazimuddin
Mohamed Akram Khan

United Provinces
Nawab Mohammad Ismail Khan
Chaudhry Khaliq-uz-Zaman

Delhi
Begum Maulana Muhammad Ali[1]

Bihar
Syed Hossain Imam
Moulvi Latifur Rahman

Bombay
I I Chundrigar

Central Provinces and Berar
Syed Abdur Rauf Shah

Punjab
Mian Bashir Ahmed
Shaikh Karamat Ali
Iftikhar Husain Khan Mamdot

Madras
Haji Abdul Sattar H Essak Sait

Sind
Mohammad Ayub Khuhro

North West Frontier Province
Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar
Sardar Muhammad Aurangzeb Khan

Baluchistan
Qazi Mohammed Isa

Assam
Abdul Matin Chaudhury

[1] Died on 28 March 1947

Chronology of Important Events

1947

February

20 British Government announces withdrawal from India by June 1948 and replacement of Wavell by Mountbatten Jinnah regards the British Government Statement as very important Frontier ML asks the Government to restore civil liberties and continues its Civil Disobedience Movement (CDM) Jinnah is requested to help find a new Vice-Chancellor for Muslim University Aligarh Suhrawardy complains about Fazlul Huq's move to topple the ML Ministry in Bengal

21 Wavell urges Nehru to get the ML into the Constituent Assembly, also sees Liaquat Ali Khan

23 Jinnah lauds the sacrifices of Bihar Muslims Hindus object to various provisions of the Sind University Bill, Jinnah expresses inability to intervene

24 Jinnah demands that the Khizar Ministry remove restrictions on the ML and release all those detained in connection with the CDM launched by the Punjab ML on 24 January 1947

25 Khizar Ministry yields to the Punjab ML demands Jinnah promises fair and just treatment to all minorities in Pakistan

26 ML calls off CDM in the Punjab

27 Pir Ilahi Bakhsh suggests that a Committee be set up to draft a constitution for an independent Sind

28 Liaquat presents Central Budget for 1947-48

March

2 Khizar Ministry in the Punjab resigns

3 Jenkins asks Mamdot to explore the possibility of forming a Ministry in the Punjab

4 Tara Singh's inflammatory speech sparks anti-Pakistan demonstrations and communal riots

5 Governor's rule imposed in the Punjab

8 Congress Working Committee demands partition of the Punjab

9 Nehru demands partition of Bengal in addition to that of the Punjab

10 Assam ML launches CDM against the eviction of Bengali Muslim settlers

17 Jinnah directs the Punjab ML leaders to co-operate with the Punjab Government in restoring order in the province, exhorts the Punjab Muslims to help protect the minorities

19 Abdul Rahman Azzam assures the Indian Muslims of Arab sympathy and support for their cause

19-20 The Punjab Disturbed Areas Act is promulgated in order to control communal disturbances

22 Jinnah invests Rs 3,500,000 from the balance in the Bihar Relief Fund in Government bonds Mountbatten arrives in Karachi, Hidayatullah discusses with him the questions of transfer of power to provinces and of splitting up of the Army between Pakistan and Hindustan Mountbatten invites Jinnah to see him Sind Government offers to rehabilitate Bihar Muslim refugees in the province Jinnah urges observance of the Pakistan Day in a peaceful manner

23 Pakistan Day celebrated by Indian Muslims throughout the country

26 Jinnah plans to meet Mountbatten in early April

27 Jinnah rules out a united India

April

3 Liaquat reiterates to Mountbatten ML's rejection of the Cabinet Mission Plan Jinnah appeals to the members of the Jam'iyyat al 'Ulama-i-Hind to join the ML

5-6 Jinnah in his first interview with Mountbatten urges a "surgical operation" of India

7 Mountbatten urges Jinnah to accept the Cabinet Mission Plan which he rejects outright and calls for early hand-over of power

8 Jinnah briefs Mountbatten about the origin of the Direct Action and justifies ML's CDM in the NWFP Liaquat demands reorganisation of the Armed Forces to facilitate their division in the event of partition

9 Mountbatten suggests the partition of Bengal and the Punjab while Jinnah strongly opposes the move

10 Jinnah rejects the imposition of the Cabinet Mission Plan by Mountbatten, the Viceroy threatens division of Bengal and the Punjab if India is partitioned

13 Khan of Kalat supports the demand for Pakistan

15 Jinnah and Gandhi appeal for peace. Liaquat asks Mountbatten to end the Governor's rule in the Punjab and invite the ML to form a Ministry

21 Muslim India Information Centre launched in London

23 Jinnah warns Mountbatten against the partition of Bengal and the Punjab, asks for the division of the Armed Forces before June 1948 Mountbatten asks Jinnah to advise the Frontier Muslims to maintain law and order during the Viceroy's forthcoming visit to that province

24 Frontier Government announces unconditional release of the CDM volunteers and removal of ban on peaceful meetings Jinnah directs Frontier Muslims to remain calm during Mountbatten's visit to NWFP

26 Jinnah urges Mountbatten to end Governor's rule in the Punjab and to afford Mamdot an opportunity to form a Ministry there

27 Mountbatten asks Jinnah to persuade Frontier ML leaders not to insist on seeing him as prisoners Suhrawardy visualises the emergence of Bengal as a sovereign independent state

28 Mountbatten asks the Frontier ML leaders to call off the CDM which they refuse

28-29 On Mountbatten's visit to NWFP, ML demonstrations demand removal of the Khan Ministry Mamdot reiterates to Jenkins his claim to a majority in the Punjab Assembly

30 Jinnah reiterates opposition to the Congress demand for the partition of Bengal and the Punjab

May

1 Mountbatten approves a redrafted plan for transfer of power for discussion with the British Government Yusuf Haroon suggests Karachi to be the venue of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly

2 Jinnah discusses Frontier affairs with Mountbatten and demands the holding of fresh elections there Ismay leaves for London to discuss with the British Government the redrafted plan for transfer of power

4 Jinnah discusses with Mountbatten the holding of a referendum in the Frontier on the issue of accession to either Pakistan or Hindustan

5 Jinnah retorts that he would accept a portion of the Sind desert rather than the Cabinet Mission Plan Suhrawardy presents a scheme for a sovereign independent Bengal,

Maulana Akram Khan opposes it

7 Jinnah upholds Frontier ML decision to continue the CDM against the Khan Ministry, advises Muslims to remain peaceful Jenkins informs Mamdot that the formation of ML Ministry in the Punjab is inopportune

9 Patel calls for transfer of power to the Interim Government on the basis of Dominion Status

11 Jinnah sharply assails Patel's proposal, demands dissolution of the Interim Government and transfer of power to the two Constituent Assemblies

12 Nizam of Hyderabad seeks Jinnah's advice on joining the Constituent Assembly, claims the return of Berar and resolves to declare independence after the British departure

13 Mountbatten invites Indian leaders' comments on the revised Draft Plan for transfer of power

15 Burrows informs Mountbatten of a tentative agreement between Bengali Muslim and Hindu leaders on independent Bengal

16 Nehru comments on the Draft Plan V P Menon draws up Heads of Agreement which provide for a common Governor-General for Pakistan and Hindustan, Jinnah does not favour the proposition

17 Jinnah opposes partition of Bengal and the Punjab as envisaged in the Draft Plan V P Menon draws up two alternative proposals "A" and "B" for transfer of power

18 Mountbatten leaves for London to discuss the Draft Plan with the British Government

19 Jinnah comments on alternative proposals "A" and "B", finds Congress attitude confusing and complains of suppression of full information Bihar Muslims demand division of the province into Hindu and non-Hindu regions

20 The British Cabinet Committee approves the Draft Announcement for transfer of power, turns down Jinnah's proposal for a referendum in Bengal and the Punjab

21 Jinnah reiterates his demand for dissolution of the Interim Government and the transfer of power to the two Constituent Assemblies, maintains his opposition to the partition of Bengal and the Punjab, demands a corridor between East and West Pakistan Amin al-Hussaini proposes to Jinnah that the 27th of *Rajab* be celebrated by Indian Muslims as the Palestine Day

22 Jinnah suggests the holding of a referendum in West Bengal and a free-port status for Calcutta, claims Purnea for East Pakistan, envisages friendly relations with Hindustan, promises just and fair treatment to the minorities

23 British Government approves the Draft Plan in principle AIML Committee of Action allocates operational and budgetary control of city, district and provincial ML National Guards to respective ML bodies

24 Congress rejects Jinnah's demand for a corridor between East and West Pakistan

28 Nehru rules out Bengali Hindus ever agreeing to an independent Bengal

30 Congress pressurises Janjira State to join the Constituent Assembly Mountbatten returns to India after the British Government's approval of the statement on Indian Policy

31 In a meeting with his staff the Viceroy discusses threatening Jinnah into accepting the Partition Plan but is advised that Jinnah "would not be taken in" by any threats

June

2 Jinnah along with other Indian leaders attends a conference called by Mountbatten to discuss the final British Government Plan for partition of India into Pakistan and Hindustan

No	*Description*	*Date February 1947*	*Summary*	*Page*
1	Statement by British Government on Indian Policy	20	Attlee declares in Parliament that it was the "definite intention" of the British Government "to take the necessary steps to effect the transference of power into responsible Indian hands by a date not later than June 1948", informs that his Government was considering as to whom power should be handed over to on the due date, "whether as a whole to some form of Central Government for British India or in some areas to the existing Provincial Governments, or in such other way as may seem most reasonable and in the best interests of the Indian people"	1
2	Abid Ahmedali to Jinnah Letter	20	Citing instances of anti-ML activities of Dr Ziauddin Ahmed, ex-Vice-Chancellor of the Aligarh Muslim University, appeals to him to ensure that he (Dr Ziauddin) was not reinstated by the University Court, suggests names of Khwaja Nazimuddin, Azizul Haque and Firoz Khan Noon as alternatives	4
3	Anonym to Jinnah Letter	20	Describes the predicament of the Muslims of Meharh Taluka in the wake of the communal riots, informs of the systematic persecution of the Muslims by the Hindus, the Congress leaders and the District authorities, with the result that their lives and properties were most insecure	8
4	Indian Muslim Students in USA to Jinnah Letter	20	Express sympathy for the victims of the Bihar riots, remit contributions towards the Bihar Relief Fund	9
5	Muhammad Ishaq to K H Khurshid Letter	20	Explains the situation in Kashmir after the elections and the position of the Muslim Conference, informs that Ch Hamidullah would try to contact Jinnah as suggested by him (Khurshid), thinks that the Conference would win two out of the three Muslim seats in the Constituent Assembly	9
6	Besh Lall to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	20	Encloses a copy of resolutions passed at the Working Committee meeting of the All India Achhutistan Movement (AIAM) held at Gaya on 16 February, declaring, *inter alia*, that no constitution for India would be valid until the Achhut community was given adequate representation and the AIAM was recognised as the sole representative body of the community in all constitutional and other matters	11

7	A M Mecklai to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	20	Informs that his letter of 20 January, offering his services, had been acknowledged by the Private Secretary to the Finance Member of the Interim Government, encloses a copy of the press report about his interview to Reuters in regard to the Bill introduced by the Finance Member in the Indian Legislative Assembly for substituting nickel for silver coinage	15
8	H S Suhrawardy to Jinnah Letter	20	Complains about Fazlul Huq's machinations for toppling his Government through the use of students, seeks advice for taking disciplinary action against him	17
9	Zamindars etc of Karachi Taluka to Jinnah Letter	20	Draw attention to their "pitiable plight" and request him to direct the ML Government of Sind to provide relief by passing Debts Bill, revising rates of land revenue and abolishing lease money	20
10	Bakar Khan (& Others) to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	21	Point out the abnormally high land revenue rates in *barani* villages of Karachi Taluka and seek his intervention for relief, enclose copies of two petitions already submitted to the Sind Government	22
11	D B Advani to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	22	To safeguard the rights of the minorities, submits a number of amendments to the Sind University Bill on behalf of the Citizens' Committee, encloses the Committee's printed statement	33
12	Fazal Ahmed to Jinnah Letter	22	Requests acknowledgment of the paper on Baluchistan politics sent earlier, encloses a letter on behalf of the Kalat State ML	41
13	Abdullah Ghani to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	22	Encloses a note on the discontentment prevailing among the pro-ML students and staff of the Aligarh Muslim University due mainly to Dr Ziauddin's machinations to regain the Vice-Chancellorship from which he was forced to resign by the students, emphasizes the dangerous implications of Dr Ziauddin's reinstatement as Vice-Chancellor	41
14	Syed Haboby to Jinnah Letter	22	Expresses deep appreciation of his efforts for the cause of Islam, wishes him success in his endeavours as well as the Favours and Blessings of Allah	55
15	Hassan Ispahani to Jinnah Letter	22	Requests him to interview Salman Ahmed Ali for appointment as Publicity Officer of the AIML, states that he (Ispahani) along with the four League nominees to the Interim Government, while waiting at Liaquat's house for his return from the Viceroy, discussed issues arising from Attlee's Statement of 20 February	56

No.	From/To	Date	Summary	Page
24	Habib Bank, Delhi, to Jinnah Letter	24	Seek instructions about disposal of three dozen pullovers received from Java Hosiery Factory, Ludhiana, for the victims of the Bihar riots	73
25	Ahmad Ispahani to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	24	Gives details of the proposed Muslim Bank and its promoters, seeks advice on including a non-Muslim director as suggested by Ghulam Mohammed, informs of the snags in securing a licence to operate the Orient Airways to Burma and Kabul	73
26	Jinnah to Ahmed Jaffer Letter	24	Agrees to attend the marriage of his sister, Mariam, if he was available in Delhi	76
27	Hamidullah Khan to K H Khurshid Letter & Enclosure	24	Seeks interview with Jinnah at Delhi, forwards a letter from Shaukat from the Riasi sub-jail explaining the political situation in Srinagar following the leaders' arrest, suggests that Jinnah meet the Maharaja of Kashmir in order to put an end to the machinations of Premier Kak who was disrupting the Muslim Conference and misruling "in the teeth of universal opposition", believes that the AIML's policy of non-intervention in the States could still have been "reconciled with a slightly more practical interest in the affairs of Kashmir, even indirectly", claims that prominent AIML leaders agreed with him but were powerless without Jinnah's permission, pleads some steps in this connection	76
28	Ram Rai to Jinnah Telegram	24	Exhorts him to be India's Kamal Ataturk, hopes to meet him in Bombay	79
29	S S Talwar to Jinnah Letter	24	Regards ML agitation in the NWFP over the return to the Sikhs of a girl converted to Islam as ill-advised, appeals to him to direct provincial League leaders to call off their movement	79
30	V B Muhamed to Jinnah Letter	24	Introduces himself as the only foreign qualified Muslim doctor from Cochin, Travancore and Malabar, offers his services for Ghazanfar Ali Khan's proposed Health Plan	81
31	Viceroy to Governor, Sind Telegram	24	Requests him to pass a message to Jinnah expressing desire to see him on his return to Delhi	83
32	PS to Jinnah to Cypher Assistant Letter	25	Requests him to inform the Governor of Sind of receipt by Jinnah of the Viceroy's message and of Jinnah's expected arrival in Delhi by 10 March 1947	84
33	Jinnah to Wavell Letter	25	In reply to No 31, informs of his expected return to Delhi by 10 March	84
34	Commendation by Jinnah Letter	25	Writes a letter of commendation for his driver, Ghulam Qadir	85

35	Pothan Joseph to Jinnah Letter	25	Seeks interview on 10 March at Karachi *en route* to America or at Bombay if he happened to be there earlier	85
36	A Raab to Jinnah Letter	25	Informs about the formation of a Gliding Sports Club, solicits patronage as an honorary adviser	86
37	Anonym to Jinnah (& Others) Circular	25	States that No 1 indicated the British Government's inability to bring about a settlement between the INC and the AIML, appeals to the leaders to settle amicably the problems besetting India by abandoning communalism, believes that the Cabinet Mission Plan and the British interpretations thereof were quite reasonable	87
38	M H Khan to Jinnah Letter	26	Informs of the great love and enthusiasm among the Mahsuds of Waziristan for him and the ML, lauds the work done for the Party by Pir of Manki Sharif, offers his services to the League	88
39	U Khattab & M Zaman to Jinnah Letter	26	Enclose a copy of their letter to Habib Bank, Delhi, forwarding the donation of the Muslims of their Unit to the Bihar Relief Fund	90
40	B K Lashari to Jinnah Letter	26	Requests his intercession with the Revenue Department of Sind Government for rendition of account in respect of the supplicant's encumbered estate	90
41	Mrs Rallia Ram to Jinnah Letter	26	Explains the delay in getting hold of Professor Brij Narain for interpretation of his article, informs that she was prepared to send as many copies of the *Tribune* carrying the said article as he wished, congratulates him on the release of the Punjab ML leaders and the success of the CDM, resents the way the Hindu Press suppressed or downplayed Muslim news and his statements	91
42	W B Scott to Jinnah Letter	26	Pleads for appropriate changes in the rules of the AIML to enable Anglo-Indians to become its members	93
43	H S Suhrawardy to Jinnah Letter & Enclosures	26	Encloses copies of (i) Sardar Naranjan Singh Gill's report on the Bihar carnage, attributing it to the exaggerated propaganda about the Noakhali riots, the ML's celebration of their massive electoral victory and the Bihar Government's ineptitude in handling the situation, (ii) his own report on the Bihar situation holding the Bihar Government responsible for the deplorable condition of the Muslim victims of the riots, (iii) his letter to the Premier of Bihar stressing the need to reassure Muslims by associating the Provincial ML with the relief and rehabilitation work and by taking steps to compensate them	93

No.	Document	Date	Summary	Page
			for their losses, and (iv) his letter to the Governor of Bengal pointing out how unprepared Bengal was for becoming an independent State following the British Government's Statement of 20 February 1947 and emphasizes the need for setting up some sort of organization to advise on framing a constitution for Bengal	
44	Kazi Akhtar to Jinnah Telegram	27	Petitions for Junagadh's right to send one representative to the Constituent Assembly of India according to its population	105
45	Rahman Ali to DC, Jubbulpore (Copy to Jinnah) Letter	27	Reports against the Hindu *Naib Tehsildar* of Sehora for inciting Hindus of Amoda and the outlying villages to violence against Muslims, requests immediate inquiry into the matter by an impartial officer, demands drastic action against the culprit	105
46	Pir Ilahi Bakhsh to Jinnah Letter	27	Suggests that, in view of the possible transfer of power, he should urgently set up a committee or committees of prominent Leaguers from the "Pakistani Provinces" to draft constitution(s) for the provinces or at least for Sind to avoid any vacuum, proposes that the draft constitution(s) be placed before the AIML Working Committee meeting scheduled for March 1947	106
47	A K Dosani to Jinnah Resolution	27	Submits a copy of the resolutions passed by the Ahl-i-Sunnat-wal-Jama at, Junagadh, asking the Junagadh State not to join any grouping or union of Princely States, demands the right to send one representative to the Indian Constituent Assembly from Junagadh	107
48	H Rahman to Jinnah Telegram	27	In the light of Attlee's and Addison's statements, requests him to devise a constitutional scheme to safeguard Muslim interests	109
49	M F Islam to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	27	Announces formation of the Assam-Bengal branch of the Markazi Pakhtun Association of Delhi, seeks his patronage and guidance	109
50	Ahmad Khadbai to Jinnah Letter & Enclosures	27	As a manufacturer of hosiery and textile goods at Porbandar, submits a scheme for setting up a hosiery and textile mill at Karachi and requests him to recommend the case to the Sind Government	111
51	A G F Khan to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	27	Encloses a report by the Secretary of the Dapoli ML, detailing the atrocities perpetrated by the Hindus and the police on the local Muslims of Dabhol, Ratnagiri, asks for a fresh impartial enquiry	114

52	A Krishnaswami to Jinnah Letter	27	Requests him to recommend to Chundrigar to include him in the delegation to an international conference on the problems of trade and employment at Geneva in April	117
53	M L Qureshi to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	27	Encloses a note on the adverse constitutional and economic implications for Pakistan of the recommendations made by the Government of India's Advisory Planning Board, criticizes authorising the proposed Planning Commission and Tariff Board to exercise complete and effective control over provinces and the centralization of important industries	118
54	Mrs Rallia Ram to Jinnah Letter	27	Sends some more newspaper clippings on Hindu reaction to No 1, draws attention to the news given by API that Sind planned to declare itself an independent State in June 1948 and to a para therein implying possible creation of Pakistan, warns against conspiracies by the INC, which, together with the Mahasabha, was out to exterminate Muslims, asks him to be prepared to expose the anti-Muslim designs of the Caste Hindus to the new Viceroy, Mountbatten	124
55	Brij Narain to Mrs Rallia Ram (Copy sent to Jinnah by Mrs Ram) Letter	27	Advises her to approach the Editor of the *Tribune* for permission to reproduce his articles in pamphlet form, thinks that no useful purpose would be served by that exercise	125
56	G Rasul to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	27	Encloses a copy of the resolution passed by the Anjuman-i-Islamia, Baluchistan, thanking him for his donation and for affecting recovery of money from Qazi Isa, requests his permission for naming the new hall of the Islamia High School, Quetta, as Jinnah Hall	126
57	A K I Bayat to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	28	Informs him of sending a donation of £280 by Muslims of Pietermaritzburg in Natal for the Bihar Relief Fund, promises further remittances	127
58	Hassan Ispahani to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	28	Explains the political situation in Bengal following a bid by Fazlul Huq to replace Maulana Mohamed Akram Khan as President of the Bengal ML, encloses a copy of his letter to Fazlul Huq, denouncing the latter's criticism of Bengal's League Ministry	129
59	Yusuf Quraishi to K H Khurshid Letter	28	Writing from Srinagar jail, informs that "our friends from Jammu" were engaged in endless squabbles and were indifferent to Kashmir, complains that they were compromising the freedom struggle by confining their activities to securing the release of *detenus*, informs that like the	132

			National Conference *detenus*, who had gone on hunger strike, he was also thinking of resorting to "direct action", asks him to write about the latest situation as no Muslim newspapers were available	
60	H A Shaikh to Jinnah Letter	28	Seeks a message for the first issue of the *Morning Herald*, an English daily scheduled to be published from Bombay on 1 March 1947, informs that the newspaper would always espouse the cause of the AIML	133
61	Akbar Sultan to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	28	Requests a message for special number entitled "Martyrs of Bihar" to be published by the Isha'at Mahal of Hyderabad, encloses an Urdu circular regarding collection of information on, and funds for, the Bihar victims	134
62	Note by Anonym	n d	Terms the Statement of 20 February as incredibly vague as it failed to resolve any vital problem and lacked any clear-cut policy, finds the status of Muslim-majority provinces under the Congress Ministries undefined, suggests amendment of the Government of India Act 1935 for ascertaining public opinion in provinces like the NWFP, queries whether provinces would also be divided	138
63	S Felter to Jinnah (& Others) Letter	n d	Refers to No 1, suggests that India, instead of being split, should become a Republic or Commonwealth like the USA, with the large provinces divided into three or four parts based on religious or linguistic majorities and the smaller ones remaining united, also suggests that the country should draft the national Constitution and Bill of Rights on the lines of those of the USA, eliminating discrimination on grounds of religion, caste, creed, etc , counsels the progressive Indian leaders to welcome help from the UN for solving India's socio-economic problems	141
64	Note by Iskander Mirza	n d	Suggests immediate preparations to meet the situation arising from No 1, points to the precarious position of Muslims in the Armed Forces and proposes the formation of an Islamic confederation of Muslim States and the Tribes in the North-West in order to obtain a large fighting force, advises utmost secrecy and even a little "gun running" to get the job done	143

No	Description	Date March 1947	Summary	Page
65	Nazir Ahmad to Jinnah Letter & Enclosures	1	Submits two notes highlighting the harmful implications for Pakistan, of the persistent efforts of the Central Government, with the tacit consent of the INC, to extend its control over provincial matters, points out the harmful effects of the policy of setting up of various scientific and technical institutions in Hindu-majority provinces and with a low representation of Muslims on them	145
66	Rahman Ali to Burhanul Haq (Copy to Jinnah) Letter	1	Sends a copy of his telegram (withheld by local telegraph office) to the CP Government officials about communal tension in Jubbulpore, also encloses a copy of his petition to the District Magistrate, praying for necessary action	155
67	M A Alizai to Jinnah Letter	1	Requests him to accept a *karakuli* cap as a humble token of his gratitude, asks for the size of his cap	158
68	Pir Ilahi Bakhsh to Jinnah Letter & Enclosures	1	Encloses copies of his letters to Hidayatullah and Yusuf Haroon asking them to take urgent measures to draft a constitution for the future independent Sind, in case the British government decided to hand over power to some of the provinces, requests him to direct them to give this matter their prompt attention	159
69	A Hakim to Jinnah Letter	1	Forwards a clipping of an editorial from the daily *Sydney Morning Herald* and urges him to sue the publisher and his London correspondent for slandering him	161
70	Rusi Mistri to Liaquat Ali Khan (Copy to Jinnah) Letter	1	Sends a copy of his telegram to Liaquat congratulating him on his excellent budget which would break Fascism and check Capitalism	161
71	D B Advani to Jinnah Letter	2	Acknowledges No 19, complains that ML Government of Sind had totally ignored the amendments to the Sind University Bill proposed by him and seeks Jinnah's help in getting them suitably incorporated so that the affiliation of the existing institutions to the Bombay University was continued	162
72	Mirza B M Ahmad to Jinnah Letter	2	Informs that Tiwana and Qizilbash had agreed to resign from the Punjab Cabinet	164
73	Jinnah's membership form for Primary ML, Bombay	2	The form states his age, address, pledge and payment of "two anna" membership fee	165

74	A Abdullah to Jinnah Letter	3	Invites him on behalf of the Jami'yyat al-'Ulama-i-Islam, Bombay, to visit their hospital established for the treatment of Muslim victims of riots	167
75	Central Government Civil Servants from the Punjab to Jinnah Letter	3	Urge him to arrange election of Noon as ML Party Leader in the Punjab Assembly and Premier of the Province in place of the inept Mamdot who was wholly under the undesirable hold of Daultana and Ghazanfar Ali Khan, also suggest some names for the Provincial Ministry	168
76	Aziz Hindi to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	3	Outlines strategy for achieving Pakistan, the main points of which are (i) the AIML should not join the Indian Constituent Assembly, (ii) special attention be paid to the position of Sikhs in the Punjab, (iii) the AIML should send deputations to the free tribal territories and Assam to win their support, (iv) efforts be made to effect unity among the Muslims of the Kashmir State, (v) a defence committee be set up, (vi) Pakistan Constituent Assembly be formed without delay, (vii) various States be dissuaded from joining the Indian Constituent Assembly, and (viii) an all-India representative body of the Muslim Chambers of Commerce and Industry be set up	171
77	Qazi Isa to Jinnah Letter	3	Sends a cheque for Rs 505 donated by Lt Col Anis Khan of Aligarh, informs about his exhaustive tour of Baluchistan, where he found everybody in favour of the ML	176
78	A Humble Pakistani to Jinnah Letter	3	Requests his immediate presence in Lahore to sort out the messy affairs of the Punjab ML and to settle the question of party leadership in the Provincial Assembly before it was too late	177
79	President, Havelian ML to Jinnah Telegram	3	Draws attention to the problems of hunger and cold being faced by 206 men arrested from Havelian, warns that the Government would be responsible for any mishap	178
80	Karam Ali to Jinnah Letter	4	Informs of his success in bringing together the badly divided Muslims in Cairo to form a Muslim society to work along the AIML lines, also informs of the Arab League support for Pakistan and his partially fruitful meetings with Abdul Rahman Azzam of the Arab League and Hasan al-Banna of the Akhwan al-Muslimeen	178
81	Yusuf Haroon to Jinnah Letter & Enclosures	4	Encloses a letter from Pir Ilahi Bakhsh urging immediate action by the Sind Provincial League to prepare a constitution in order to take over power after the	180

			imminent British withdrawal, encloses his reply to Ilahi Bakhsh, seeks Jinnah's advice on calling a meeting of the Provincial League Council for the purpose, feels that the matter should be decided by the AIML Working Committee	
82	Jinnah to A R Ahmed Letter	4	Acknowledges No 23, extends good wishes for his chemical company but does not permit calling it "Jinnah Chemical Industries" as that could create an impression that he had some interest in the said concern	181
83	Jinnah to M Habib Letter	4	Encloses a letter received from Singapore for necessary action	182
84	Jinnah to Habib Bank, Delhi Letter	4	Acknowledges No 24, advises that the parcel of pullovers received by them from Messrs Java Hosiery Factory, Ludhiana, for the Muslim victims of Bihar riots be sent to Mohammad Yunus in Patna	182
85	Jinnah to Habib Bank, Delhi Letter	4	Sends two bank drafts, received from the USA and Kenya, for credit to the Bihar Relief Fund, with instructions that receipts be issued directly to donors	183
86	Jinnah to M Hasan Letter	4	Asks him to supply immediately a certified copy of the *Dawn* Trustees and to let him know about the progress of securing premises for the Central League Office	184
87	Jinnah to Ahmed Ispahani Letter	4	In reply to No 25, intimates having received a letter from Singapore Muslims about the non-existence of a Muslim Bank in Singapore, disapproves of the idea of having an ornamental Hindu director, prefers a Parsi, a Christian or a Scheduled Caste instead	184
88	Jinnah to Kazura & Co , Singapore Letter	4	Informs that their proposal for the establishment of a Muslim bank in Singapore was being examined and hopes that it would be implemented	185
89	Jinnah to Sheikh of Mangrol Letter	4	Explains that he could not inform him in advance of his visit to Mangrol as he did not know that his ship was going to anchor there, thanks for hospitality ashore extended in his absence	186
90	Jinnah to Mrs Rallia Ram Letter	4	Acknowledges her letters and telegram, advises her not to worry about Brij Narain's article as the situation was well under control	186
91	Jinnah to Hasan A Sheikh Letter	4	Acknowledges No 60, conveys his pleasure over the launching of the English daily *Morning Herald* which would support the AIML	187
92	I Y Khan to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	4	Suggests that a students' delegation be sent to the Middle East to establish contact between the AIML and the Muslim countries there, encloses a copy of his	187

No.	Document	Date	Summary	Page
			election manifesto for the presidentship of the Muslim University Union, seeks interview for discussing some important issues	
93	S E Abbott to Iftikhar Mamdot (Copy to Jinnah) Letter	5	Invites him to see the Governor at his earliest convenience	189
94	E B Abdulrehman to Jinnah Letter	5	Encloses a draft for Rs 16,551 contributed by Muslims, mostly Arabs and Iranians, of Bahrain Island to Bihar Relief Fund, together with a list of donors	190
95	A S Chowdhury to Jinnah Telegram	5	Alleges vast damage done to Chittagong businessmen's property by ML National Guards under orders of Fazlul Qadir Chowdhury following their refusal to pay an exorbitant "donation" of Rs 5 lac, requests his intervention	191
96	Iftikhar Mamdot to Evan Jenkins (Copy to Jinnah) Letter	5	Intimates that following the resignation of Tiwana's caretaker Punjab Ministry he was in a position to form a new Ministry	191
97	Evan Jenkins to Iftikhar Mamdot (Copy to Jinnah) Letter	5	Acknowledges No 96, asks him to produce written evidence of support from the ML and non-ML members of the Assembly for heading a Ministry in the Punjab, informs about proclamation of Governor's rule under Section 93, suggests that a joint statement signed by him and the leaders of Hindus and Sikhs condemning the communal violence be issued	193
98	M A Sheikh to Jinnah Letter	5	Encloses a draft for Rs 2,655 raised by the Nyanza Muslim Social Service League of Kenya as their contribution to the Bihar Relief Fund, prays for the success of the struggle for Pakistan	194
99	Mir Badshah to Jinnah Telegram	6	Conveys strong resentment of Waziristan tribes against the Patel Committee's proposed visit, declares that only an ML Committee would be welcome	195
100	Omar el-Madany to Jinnah Letter	6	A Muslim citizen of Saudi Arabia, who had become destitute in Paris, seeks financial help from him, appealing to his well-known concern for Muslims and Islam	195
101	A K I Bayat to Jinnah Letter	7	Informs that in addition to £ 280 sent earlier, a further donation of £ 150 by the Muslim community of Pietermaritzburg had been remitted for the Bihar Relief Fund	196
102	Najmul Huq to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	7	Submits a scheme for the regrouping of Muslims and of certain parts of India to create new States like Azadisthan, Oudh, Jharkhand, etc , requests that the AIML	197

No.	Document	Date	Summary	Page
			help frame an ideal constitution for each of them, encloses a copy of his letter to Henderson, urging the British to drop their distrust of Muslims and, as part of their post-World War II global strategy, establish friendly relations with the Muslim States to stem Russian inroads into the British sphere of influence	
103	A Sacoor to Jinnah Letter	7	Informs that Jinnah had been elected patron of Iqbal Study Group, Durban, hopes that it would meet with his approval	208
104	Habib Bank, Delhi to M Yunus (Copy to Jinnah) Letter	8	Refer to No 84, despatch a parcel of 3 dozen pullovers for the Bihar Relief Fund received from Java Hosiery Factory, Ludhiana, and seek acknowledgment	209
105	J S Husein to Jinnah Letter	8	Seeks interview to pay respects to "the saviour of the Muslim World" and to bring to his notice "something very important"	210
106	Aga Khan to Jinnah Letter	9	Informs about his visit to Gandhi along with the Nawab of Bhopal to explore the possibility of a meeting between him (Jinnah) and Gandhi to discuss the future constitution for India, and that Gandhi had instead suggested a meeting with the President of the INC, proposes that the Nawab of Bhopal arrange such meeting if he agreed	210
107	Manzar-i-Alam to Jinnah Letter	9	Regrets that the All India States Muslim League (AISML), for want of efficient organization, had failed to organize the Muslims of the Indian States, seeks his guidance in this formidable task, informs that, to be able to carry out this responsibility, an office of the AISML had been opened in Delhi, seeks interview to discuss steps for strengthening the AISML, or, alternatively, a message to the press in support of that organization	211
108	A A Haji to Jinnah Letter	10	Thanks him for the supply of literature on the AIML and seeks an interview	213
109	M A Khan to Jinnah Letter	10	Requests an interview to convey some important information which he had gathered from his influential friends in England regarding the struggle for Pakistan	213
110	Munshi & Dadabhoy to Jinnah Telegram	10	Privately warn him to beware of Yusuf Dadoo and Naiker who were leaving for India, as they were staunch Communists and pro-Congress Gandhiites	214
111	S M Tayeb to Jinnah Letter	10	Requests a reply to his earlier letter conveying his plan to establish a general hospital for Muslims at Bombay or to grant him an interview	215

No.	From/To	Date	Summary	Page
112	S Tyabji to Jinnah Letter & Enclosures	10	Encloses the letter which the Anjuman-i-Islam received from the Government of Bombay eliciting reaction to the proposed introduction of religious education in all educational institutions in the Bombay Province, as well as the draft resolution of the Anjuman's Committee of Management on the issue, seeks interview to obtain his views	215
113	Consul for Iraq to Secretary to Jinnah Letter	11	Sends for Jinnah's perusal a booklet on Palestine based on Iraqi Prime Minister's press interview	219
114	Mohiud Din to K H Khurshid Letter	11	Recognises the heavy odds faced by the AIML but deploress its policy of non-interference in the States in contrast with that of the Congress, analyses quantum of pro-ML support in the Kashmir State Assembly session beginning from 27 March and points out the need of roping in the nine Muslim members of the Assembly who were not toeing their line	219
115	Munshi & Dadabhoy to Jinnah Letter	11	Further to No 110 forward a bank draft for Rs 13,218/9/5 as donation on behalf of "The Servants of the AIML" of South Africa, for the relief of the Muslim victims of riots in India, express full faith in the success of the Indian Muslims' struggle for Pakistan under his leadership, caution him against trusting Drs Dadoo and Naiker who were going to India and to call on him, inform that they were Communists as well as anti-Muslim and so was M A Dinath, President of the Transvaal ML and a Vice-President of the Transvaal Indian Congress	221
116	M A K Tareen to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	11	Encloses a copy of the *News Bulletin* of the Association of Muslim Students in America, requests a message for the next issue, expresses deep concern of the Muslim students in America over the riots in the Punjab	223
117	R H Usmani to Jinnah Letter	11	Requests a message for the Conference of the Indian students resident in England, scheduled for 29 March 1947	231
118	Statement of Accounts of AIML Central Fund	12	Contains names of persons on whom cheques were issued giving details of amount and position of rendition of accounts	232
119	Jinnah to M A Alizai Letter	12	Thanks for No 67 and suggests that he send the *Karakul* skin to him so that he could get a cap made to his own specifications	234
120	Khan of Kalat to Jinnah Telegram	12	Enquires about the date of his arrival in New Delhi	235

121	Khan of Kalat to Jinnah Telegram	12	Informs that he would reach Bombay on 17 March	235
122	S J Rahimtoola to Jinnah Letter	12	Conveys the request of the Chief Justice of the Bombay High Court to release Room No 11 of the High Court Building as he was no longer practising in the High Court so that the chamber could be allotted to Setalvad	236
123	Ahmad Ispahani to Jinnah Letter	13	Points out that Budget proposals levying new and additional taxes, especially those relating to the Business Profits Tax and the Capital Gains Tax, were detrimental to the financial and industrial fabric of the country, suggests following the US model in levying Capital Gains Tax	236
124	Liaquat Ali Khan to Jinnah Letter	13	Hints at the difficulties caused by Government colleagues, suggests that he be available in Delhi at the time of the new Viceroy's arrival, for guidance in the negotiations that were likely to take place, and that a meeting of the Working Committee of the AIML be also convened, informs of the suggestion made by the Secretary of the INC that committees appointed by the Working Committees of the two organizations meet to discuss political matters, enquires whether Pir of Manki's voluntary financial help could be utilised for the pro-Pakistan movement then taking place in the NWFP	237
125	Zafarali Qureshi to Jinnah Letter	13	Suggests that to thwart INC move to have the Punjab and Bengal partitioned, Muslims from the neighbouring Hindu-majority provinces and States should settle in sufficiently large numbers in those districts of the two provinces where they were in a minority in order to tilt the demographic balance in favour of Muslims, proposes to set up an industrial concern as an incentive	240
126	A D Shroff to Jinnah Letter	13	Informs that Mr Farouki, a trusted representative, had been authorised to collect the promised envelope from his house	245
127	M M Ali to Nawab Ismail Khan (Copy to Jinnah) Letter	14	Criticizes the irresponsible behaviour of the office-bearers of the Provincial and District Leagues in the Madras Presidency, requests immediate remedial action	245
128	Mir Aziz to K H Khurshid Letter	14	Explains at length the circumstances which led to Amin's and Dallal's expulsion from the Muslim Conference, believes that Ghulam Abbas's inept and wavering leadership was mainly responsible for the rift and disruption in the Muslim Conference and for precipitating	249

			a clash with the Government, criticises Jinnah for "spoiling" the Muslim Conference and believes that the AIML and the INC had nothing to do in the States where the people knew their game better, denies charges that they were doing nothing to obtain the release of the *detenus*	
129	Statement by the Executive Committee, Jinnah Club, Aligarh	14	Condemns the resolution of the INC Working Committee advocating partition of the Punjab and urges the Congress to withdraw the resolution forthwith or else face unfavourable consequences	254
130	Godfrey Hoare alias Anwar Khan to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	14	Newly converted to Islam and impressed by the concept of Pakistan, expresses a keen desire to serve Pakistan gratis in any role assigned to him, attaches his curriculum vitae	255
131	Ahmad Jaffer to K H Khurshid Letter	14	Intimates his arrival in Bombay on 16 March and requests him to arrange interview with Jinnah	258
132	M O Kokil to Jinnah Letter	14	Informs that the Bombay City ML had elected him (Jinnah) a delegate to the Bombay Provincial ML Council	259
133	R Prasad to Jinnah Letter	14	As one who did not differentiate between people on religious grounds, urges him to work for the welfare of the society at large and not for the Muslims alone	259
134	Anonym to Jinnah Letter	15	Accuses him of being a British agent who was responsible for the killings in Bengal and the Punjab in a bid to put the ML in power, appeals for the ML's participation in the Constituent Assembly for securing India's freedom, warns that use of force by the League would be met by force	260
135	Imperial Bank of India, Bombay to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	15	Referring to his visit to the Bank, enclose a note by the Registrar of Securities on the liability of income tax in respect of the property held under trust by the AIML	261
136	S B Khan to Secretaries, Provincial ML Committees (Copy to Jinnah) Letter	15	Informs that the tribal Pathans of the Waziristan Agency were holding a big *jirga* on 20 March to prepare for the national struggle for Pakistan, expresses their resolve to fight to the last man and the last bullet for the cherished goal	262
137	Rawail Singh to Jinnah (& Others) Telegram	15	Informs that the minority community of the Kurram Valley was at one with the Turi community in accepting the principle of Pakistan	263

138	Achmed Soekarno to Jinnah Letter	15	Thanks him for his letter of 8 February and expresses sincere appreciation for his moral support in Indonesia's struggle for independence, shows concern for his health and prays for his recovery and long life	264
139	S Tyabji to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	15	Encloses a copy of an appeal for moral and financial support to the Anjuman-i-Islam highlighting the social and educational activities of the Anjuman and its financial position	265
140	Hassan Ispahani to Jinnah Letter	16	Highlights the warm reception given to their Trade Delegation at Baghdad, conveys the sentiments of local Indian Muslims towards Pakistan, and requests supply of the ML literature, also informs about Baldev Singh's plan to reorganise purely Hindu and Sikh regiments but retaining Muslims in mixed regiments, apprehends that the Congress might try to capture power before departure of the British from India	268
141	G A Jeweller to K H Khurshid Letter	16	Informs how the political situation in British India was affecting Kashmir politics, says that the National Conference leaders were seeking a way out of the party and some were even thinking of compelling Sheikh Abdullah, when released, to start the Muslim Conference afresh, eulogizes Jinnah's contributions and influence on Kashmiri Muslim mind, thinks that the political situation in the Punjab and the Frontier had subdued the Kashmiri Hindus	269
142	Colin Reid to Jinnah Letter	16	Encloses a copy of No 1, thanks him for the recent interview at Bombay which was "a fund of enlightenment"	271
143	A R Taimoori to Jinnah Letter	16	In continuation of his earlier letters, requests despatch of English translation of the Holy *Qur'an*	272
144	A Hamid to M A Ghafoor (Copy to Jinnah) Letter	17	Assures him that the suspicion that someone from the *Eastern Times* Press had disclosed his identity as the anonymous writer of articles was baseless and attributes it to the mischief of his enemies who were trying to coerce him into confessing to having written those articles	272
145	Aziz Ahmad to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	17	Encloses a confidential note on the coordination of the post-partition defence of the Indian subcontinent by the successor States of India, Pakistan and (possibly) the Union of Indian States in peace conditions as well as in emergencies	274

146	M A Ali to Jinnah Letter	17	Sends a booklet portraying the life of the Holy Prophet (PBUH), requests his views for publication on its cover	276
147	Jinnah to A D Shroff Letter	17	Sends a list of some educational institutions which needed financial help, hopes that the Tata Trust would give a fairly substantial amount as compared with the Rs 50,000 donated in May 1943	277
148	M Hasan to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	17	Encloses a copy of the memorandum of the Postmaster-General, Punjab & NWF Circle, authorising him (Jinnah) and others to send bearing Press Inland telegrams to the *Dawn*	278
149	B N Rau to Jinnah Letter	17	Circulates a questionnaire regarding the framing of the new Constitution, dealing mainly with the Centre	279
150	C M Trivedi to Jinnah Letter	17	Asks for a suitable date for reception to be given by Bombay Bar Association in his honour on his having completed 50 years as a distinguished member of the Bar	280
151	L Lobo to Jinnah Letter	18	Feels happy over the AIML's membership having been opened to the Minorities and declares his resolve to serve the cause of Muslims and Minorities, regards the campaign for Pakistan as the "only road to liberation", believes that as a "predominantly Hindu organization", the INC was only interested in imposing a "*Bania* Rule" over India, emphasizes unity between the Muslims and Minorities of India for thwarting the evil intentions of the Hindu Congress, feels confident of the establishment of Pakistan	281
152	Mohamadali Habib to Kazura & Co Singapore (Copy to Jinnah) Letter	18	Refers to No 88, assures that Habib Bank would give first consideration to opening a branch at Singapore, sends (separately) literature pertaining to Habib Bank as well as some application forms to be filled in and returned by educated and experienced Muslim candidates	283
153	H M Mohidin to Jinnah Letter	18	Requests a letter of appreciation for inclusion in the annual number of the paper *Al-'Ilm* published by the Jemiyath'ul Ulama, Colombo	284
154	A R Azzam to Jinnah Letter	18	Refers to his letter of 8 February, explains that the delegates to the Inter-Asian Relations Conference at Delhi were merely to keep abreast of the important developments in Asia and not to support any political party against another, assures him of Arab sympathies for Indian Muslims	285
155	Khan of Kalat to Jinnah Letter & Enclosures	19	Encloses (i) a letter from his *Wazir-i-Azam* to Griffin, justifying Kalat State's claims to independent sovereign status after the	286

			British withdrawal and demanding the return of areas ceded to the British, (ii) a note prepared by a legal adviser validating the State's claim, (iii) a draft memorandum, prepared by Chundrigar, for submission to the Government of India, and (iv) a printed copy of the various treaties between the Kalat State and the British Government of India	
156	Manzar-i-Alam to Jinnah Letter	19	Requests him to pay a visit to the All India States ML at Delhi, seeks interview for discussing the problems of the Muslims of the Indian States	308
157	Malik Muhammad to Jinnah Letter	19	Considers INC move for division of the Punjab as dangerous for the local Muslims, suggests that to save Muslims of East Punjab districts from Hindu atrocities, some Muslim landlords from elsewhere should purchase agricultural land there and settle Muslim farmers on it, informs of readiness for sacrificing all at his signal	309
158	Ishaq Qureshi to K H Khurshid Letter	19	Thanks him for his letter of 14 March, explains that the situation in the valley was confused owing to Mir Waiz's dereliction but hopes it would become clear after the State Assembly meeting on 27 March, says that their deputation to Kak for release of the *detenus* had not borne fruit, informs that the Government had banned the forthcoming annual provincial session of the Muslim Conference of Jammu scheduled for 20 March, feels that it was inopportune to switch over to the plan outlined by him, conveys his reactions and suggestions, emphasizing that he should be sure of Jinnah's reactions to the proposals	310
159	Colin Reid to K H Khurshid Letter	19	Acknowledges No 142, informs that he had already sent a copy of No 1 but if it had not been received, he would send another, advises subscription to Hansard and indicates procedure, inquires when Jinnah was going to comment on No 1 so that he could publish those comments	312
160	Abdul Haye to Jinnah Letter	20	In continuation of his previous offer of services, offers to work as the General Secretary of the AIML in place of Liaquat Ali Khan who had joined the Interim Government, seeks interview in the first week of April	312
161	Waheed Ansari to Jinnah Letter	20	Suggests that AIML join forces with the All India Momin Conference, to reinforce its various demands for Muslim uplift and political goals, requests him to sign	313

			an agreement accepting the Momin Conference's demands for equality in (i) educational facilities, (ii) government jobs, and (iii) membership of the Working Committee of the AIML	
162	Mrs Roquia Anwar to Jinnah Letter	20	Invites him to the opening ceremony of the Training Centre of the Bengal Provincial Headquarters of the Ladies Section of the All India Muslim National Guards, Calcutta, on 23 March	315
163	S S Husain to Jinnah Letter	20	Requests a short interview begs a telegraphic intimation	316
164	H F al-Hamdani to Jinnah Letter & Enclosures	20	Requests a message for the first number of *al-'Urwa*, the organ of Indo-Arab Cultural Association, Bombay, encloses a copy of the Association's Constitution and a booklet explaining its aims and programme, seeks interview	316
165	Aziz Hindi to Jinnah Letter	20	Anxious to serve the cause of Pakistan, requests that he be appointed a member of the AIML's Committee of Action	327
166	Abdul Aziz to Jinnah Letter	20	Expresses deep concern over an almost total lack of AIML publicity regarding the political aims, activities and programme of the Indian Muslims in the Arab World, particularly when the INC was vigorously carrying out its propaganda campaign there, requests supply of all possible literature on the Indian Muslims' struggle for Pakistan	328
167	Jinnah to S J Rahimtoola Letter	20	Acknowledges No 122, requests him to inform the Chief Justice of the Bombay High Court that as he did not intend to resume practice at that court, he was releasing the room that had been allotted to him and to thank the Chief Justice for keeping his lien on the room for a long time	329
168	H M Mauritiuswalla to Jinnah Letter	20	Encloses a draft for Rs 3,150/4/- as contribution to the Bihar Relief Fund	330
169	Akhtar Mir to Jinnah Letter & Enclosures	20	Informs that the grievances of the Muslim employees of the Armed Forces were voiced in a joint conference, stresses the need for reorganizing the ML in Ambala Division and Simla and the adjoining Hill States, encloses a copy of the letter he published in the *Dawn* highlighting the discriminatory behaviour of Ambala officials against Muslims during the Civil Disobedience Movement	330

170	K M Mustafa & K A Rahman to Jinnah Letter	20	Inform about the high respect that he was held in by Goan Muslims and conveys their best wishes, solicits his advice in view of the impending independence of Goa from the Portuguese rule	333
171	Abdussattar Niazy to Jinnah Letter	20	Emphasizes the need to have a clear conception of the type of Pakistan demanded and to have a consistent policy for achieving it, urges constitutional methods for realizing the goal and suggests setting up of another organization under him to take up the struggle from the ML after the British had left India, wishes to discuss important suggestions when he came to Delhi	334
172	Mrs Rallia Ram to Jinnah Letter	20	Encloses clippings on contemporary events, informs him of the evil consequences of the tours of the Punjab by Nehru and Baldev Singh, approves of the Governor's action in declaring a number of towns as disturbed areas, praises the *Dawn's* editorial, "A Word to Sikhs", which highlights the cruel manner in which the Hindus were exploiting the Sikhs for their own political ends, informs him of rumblings in the Congress quarters against Liaquat's budget	337
173	G B Velkar to Gandhi (Copy to Jinnah) Letter	20	Complains of the exorbitant and rising prices of the daily necessaries of life and of the total failure of the Congress Ministries to control them, suggests a number of controlling measures, requests Jinnah to get the letter published in Muslim papers for eliciting and mobilizing public opinion on the issue	339
174	Yusuf Haroon to Jinnah Letter	21	Encloses educational and character certificates of Walimahomed Vellani, Barrister-at-law, and requests him to use his influence to have a post of Deputy Advocate General created in Sind for Vellani in order to counter Hindu dominance in the Law Department, suggests that in case the post of Deputy Attorney General could not be created by the Law Minister, the proposal be referred to Justice Tyabji who was shortly going to succeed Sir Godfrey Davis as Chief Judge	343
175	S B Khan to Jinnah Resolutions	21	Sends resolutions passed by a joint *jirga* of the Waziristan Tribes reiterating their demand for Pakistan as their birthright, calling upon Dr Khan Sahib to resign and make way for a ML Ministry and warning the Patel Committee of serious consequences of their proposed visit to the NWFP	345

176	A H Mirza to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	21	Citing past services and absolute allegiance to him and Pakistan, reaffirms his whole-hearted loyalty, requests not to be misled by the malignant reports of his (Mirza's) enemies, explains that he went to Bengal because Chhotu Ram and Tiwana had made his life miserable in Lahore	346
177	Narayanan to Jinnah Letter	21	Receiving no help from Hindu leaders, requests Jinnah for Rs 200 as charity	348
178	A R Azzam to Jinnah Letter	21	Sends an emissary to explain the problems besetting the Arab world	349
179	T Raman to Jinnah Letter	21	Invites him to the Third Calicut Hotel Workers Conference suggesting that in case he was not able to come, he send his message and good wishes	349
180	A Wahid to K H Khurshid Letter	22	A native of Leh, briefs him on Indo-Tibetan-Chinese relations, informs that the British interference in Tibetan affairs was resented by China as claimant to the territory, states that Bhutan and Sikkim had an important part to play and that Bhutan's representatives in a meeting with Nehru indicated the formation of a non-Muslim Central Asian bloc, believes that the Chinese province of Chinghai was averse to Chiang's rule as well as Communism but fears that the British move to harass the Chinese *hajis* in transit through Tibet might be part of a plot to support the Tibetan claim on Leh by blocking approach to Sinkiang, a Muslim State	350
181	K I Ghariaya to Jinnah Letter	22	Requests an interview to place before him the grievances of the Muslim employees of the HMI Dockyard, Bombay, especially with regard to the Government's discriminatory policy against them in recruitment, promotion and maintenance of the Muslim quota	351
182	Yusuf Haroon to Jinnah Letter & Enclosures	22	Informs about the Sind Government's efforts to settle the Bihari Muslim refugees in Sind, as well as its desire to further receive as many of them as possible with a view to increasing Muslim population and labour reservoir in the province, regrets that the differences between Hidayatullah and Khuhro tended to discourage further inflow of the Bihari Muslims, to the detriment of Sind, requests him to ask Muslim leaders of Bihar to encourage Bihari Muslims to migrate to Sind in large numbers, encloses (i) copy of Sind Government's communique on its Plan to help Bihari	353

			immigrants, (ii) letter from Yunus to Khuhro, and (iii) letter from Yunus to Hidayatullah	
183	Yusuf Haroon to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	22	Encloses a letter from L Leiner, Managing Director of Treforest Chemical Company of Cardiff, who favours the establishment of Pakistan, which, he says, would be possible if the ML played its cards correctly	357
184	G H Hidayatullah to Jinnah *Letter & Enclosure*	22	Reports on his discussion with Viceroy-designate Mountbatten on the Constitution for Pakistan, division of Armed Forces between Pakistan and Hindustan, maintenance of law and order, and the possibility of delay in transfer of power beyond June 1948	358
185	G H Hidayatullah to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	22	Emphasizes the urgency of taking measures preparatory to the possible take-over of power from the British Government in case they decided to transfer power to the existing provincial government in accordance with the policy laid down in No 1, encloses a draft resolution providing for the appointment of a committee in the Sind Legislative Assembly to advise in case of such an eventuality, requests that the draft resolution be considered in an early meeting of the AIML Working Committee	360
186	Message from Jinnah on Pakistan Day	22	Commends Indian Muslims' solidarity due to which realisation of Pakistan was well within sight, appeals to observe the Pakistan Day solemnly and quietly in the interest of communal peace, reiterates that a united India was an impossibility and that Pakistan was the only practical solution of India's constitutional problem, exhorts Muslims to bury the hatchet and remain absolutely united in the struggle for the establishment of Pakistan under the banner of the AIML	363
187	Jinnah to Habib Bank, Bombay Letter	22	Instructs that Victory Loan Bonds of the face value of Rs 3,500,000 be purchased from the Bihar Relief Fund and endorsed in his favour	365
188	Habib Bank, Bombay, to Jinnah Letter	22	Refer to No 187, confirm having purchased Victory Loan Bonds of the face value of Rs 3,500,000 from the Bihar Relief Fund and inform him that they, duly endorsed in his favour, would be delivered by 25 March	365
189	Sharif Mateen to Jinnah Letter	22	Draws attention to the colossal loss of life and property caused by communal riots in the Punjab which he attributes to the	366

No.	Document	Date	Summary	Page
			Congress-League agreement was the only safeguard against riots and would ensure peace in the Punjab	
190	Mountbatten to Jinnah Letter	22	Intimates having arrived that day in Delhi and hopes that he (Jinnah) would be able to come to the Capital soon to see him	367
191	Muslims of Chitral State to Jinnah Letter	22	Inform that they were averse to the ML because of the cruel attitude of the Mehtar who posed as a Leaguer, pray that Prince Hissam-ul-Mulk, who had been imprisoned for the last one year, be freed from the clutches of the Ruler	367
192	Firoz Khan Noon to Jinnah Letter	22	Feels hurt by Jinnah's mistrust of him, says he had better things to do than send messengers to canvass for him, reports about the persecution of Muslims in Rawalpindi	368
193	Bashir-ul-Hassan to Jinnah Letter	22	Narrates instances of injustices done to him by Hindu Congressite officials of the GIP Railway at Mathura and seeks his intervention for redressal	369
194	Begum Rasool to Fatima Jinnah Letter	22	Invites her to the meeting of AIML Women's Sub-Committee at Delhi scheduled for 5-6 April and requests intimation of her acceptance, spells out the agenda	371
195	N A Rizvi to Jinnah Letter	22	Seeks permission to print Jinnah's photo on the bundle-labels of the *biris* to be manufactured by his firm	371
196	Nazir Ahmad to Jinnah Letter	23	Requests supply of his writings and other literature on the AIML and Pakistan to enable him to counter the overwhelming political influence of the Ahrars	372
197	S M Alam to Jinnah Letter	23	Informs of his arrival in Bombay the next day and requests an interview for discussing a few points of national interest	374
198	M A Begg to Jinnah Letter	23	Wishes to start a school for young Muslim boys interested in industrial arts, and solicits interview for that purpose	374
199	Hassan Ispahani to Jinnah Letter	23	Warns him against trusting Dr Sheikhzadeh and counsels ignoring his letters and overtures	375
200	Hassan Ispahani to Jinnah Telegram	23	Prays for the speedy achievement of Pakistan and also for his health and long life	376
201	Balay Mohamed to Jinnah Telegram	23	Informs about the celebration of Pakistan Day by Indian Muslims in Ceylon with the resolve to promote the cause of Pakistan, prays for his success and appeals for unity of all Indian Muslims under the ML banner	376

No.	From/To	Date	Summary	Page
202	G A Parvez to Jinnah Letter	23	Wishes to know if he was planning to come to Delhi in the near future or intended to stay at Bombay for some time more, informs that he himself was on leave till September	377
203	Yusuf Quraishi to K H Khurshid Letter	23	Describes the plight of political detainees in the Central Jail, Srinagar, deplores the characterlessness of a number of political colleagues who were harming the political struggle in Kashmir, criticizes the jail authorities' restrictions on supply of newspapers and personal goods from home, wishes to be fully informed of the happenings in the Kashmir State, wishes that the State Assembly had met so that the charlatans could be exposed	377
204	M M Ahmed to Jinnah Letter & Enclosures	24	Encloses copies of his letters and reminders to Suhrawardy and Fazlul Huq requesting confirmation if Pakistan Cotton Mills, about which advertisements had appeared in Delhi newspapers, had actually been set up at Calcutta, also complains about their inattention to his request	379
205	Yusuf Quraishi to K H Khurshid Letter	24	Details the appalling treatment meted out to the political *detenus* by the Srinagar Central Jail authorities as a punishment for demanding democracy and freedom for the Muslims of Kashmir, requests him to give wide publicity to the atrocities of the jail authorities as well as to take other appropriate steps to help the cause of the Kashmiri Muslims	381
206	Faiz Ali to Jinnah Letter	24	Requests appointment of an inquiry committee to investigate the misconduct of *Salar-i-Subah* of the Muslim National Guards of the Bombay Province	382
207	Shaukat Ali to K H Khurshid Letter	24	Informs that his (Khurshid's) plan proposing aloofness from Pakistan as a bait to keep the Maharaja away from the INC was discussed by the Muslim Conference leaders, expresses surprise at the AIML's indifference towards Kashmir and pleads for a more responsive attitude, suggests that Nishtar and Daultana be sent to Jammu to tackle Kak who was perpetuating the rift in the Muslim Conference, emphasises the emotional basis of Pakistan as an ideal for Kashmiri Muslims and urges a more active role by the AIML, thinks that the AIML's policy needed a radical revision for bringing pressure on the Maharaja and his Premier and	383

			praiseworthy persons	398
217	M A Mahomed to Jinnah Letter	24	In continuation of his letter of 18 February, seeks urgent permission to name the tea he proposed to start selling as the "Quaid-i-Azam Tea" as this would help him (Mahomed) tide over his current financial difficulties	399
218	M A Maricar to Jinnah Telegram	24	Informs that in the Pakistan Day meeting, Indian Muslims living in Kuala Lumpur resolved to make any sacrifice for achieving Pakistan under his leadership	399
219	Mostafa Momin to Jinnah Telegram	24	Sends hearty Pakistan Day greetings on behalf of the Muslim Brotherhood	400
220	President, Indian ML, Singapore, to Jinnah Telegram	24	Informs that the Singapore Muslims celebrated Pakistan Day and expressed confidence in his leadership	400
221	Habib Rahimtoola to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	24	Encloses evaluator's report on the value of machinery and materials of the Sanj Vartaman Printing Press	402
222	H A Sattar to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	24	Suggests that the ML leaders get in touch with the financially strong business community of Memons in Kathiawar to persuade them to promote industries and commerce in the "Pakistan Zones", requests that the ML Ministries be instructed to give every facility to Muslim investors, encloses a copy of a letter he published in *Dawn* urging the Memons to "concentrate on industrializing the Pakistani Zones", seeks help for saving Indian Muslim businessmen in Burma from the 'wicked tactics" of INC to "incite the Burmese public against the Muslims"	404
223	G Thaver to Jinnah Letter	24	Encloses a copy of the *Vatan* weekly which reproduces photos of his (Jinnah's) visit to Cairo on his way back to India from England, seeks interview	404
224	M Yaqoob to Jinnah Telegram	24	Informs of Pakistan Day celebration by a mammoth meeting of Muslims at Mhow in which full faith was reaffirmed in Jinnah assuring him of all sacrifices for the achievement of Pakistan	405
225	M Yunus to O R Khan (Copy to Jinnah) Letter	24	Acknowledges his communications, informs that his letter seeking funds for Bihari students at the Muslim University, Aligarh, who were suffering financial difficulties had been delivered to the Governor of Bihar, authorizes him to spend up to Rs 5,000 on Bihari students' relief, assuring him that even if the Governor did not help, the amount would be reimbursed by the Bihar ML Central Relief Committee	

226	French Indian ML, Ambagaratur, to Jinnah Telegram	24	Inform that the Pakistan Day was celebrated on 23 March	406
227	G H Hidayatullah to Jinnah Letter	25	Confidentially draws attention to the difficulty with which he was carrying on with an ill-assorted team which was exploiting the ML for the benefit of individuals	406
228	Jinnah to G H Hidayatullah Letter	25	Refers to No 185, informs him that the Working Committee would meet in the first week of April to review the whole situation, agrees that decision should be taken without delay but emphasizes the need for absolute unity	407
229	Jinnah to A H Mirza Letter	25	Refers to No 176, cautions him that as a member of the ML he had been given no special authority or allowed to be a representative of the former, he should only work under the Constitution and rules of the ML	407
230	Jinnah to C M Trivedi Letter	25	Refers to No 150, declines invitation to a reception in his honour by the Bombay Bar Association because of a slender majority of its supporters whom he thanks	408
231	G A Merchant to Jinnah Letter	25	Encloses an article entitled "Russia's Interest in Pakistan" and draws attention to some Bengali Hindu students' propaganda that there were many differences between the Muslims of India and those of other countries as well as to their campaign against Jinnah and the League	409
232	ML, Havelian, to Jinnah Telegram	25	Inform him that as a result of the firing on a peaceful procession one person died and one was seriously wounded	409
233	Habib Rahimtoola to Jinnah Letter	25	Refers to his earlier conversation, encloses a cheque for Rs 5,000	410
234	G R A Sheikh to Jinnah Letter	25	Informs of the decision of the ML party in Bombay Corporation to give reception to him at the Taj Mahal Hotel and requests him to intimate the date and time convenient to him	410
235	Anonym to Jinnah Letter	25	Comments on Liaquat's budget and proposes a firm stand against pressure to amend it	411
236	Hifzur Rahman to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	25	Emphasizes the need for all Muslim political parties of India to develop political consensus instead of pursuing their separate programmes, suggests formation of a consultative council for this purpose, encloses a resolution of the Working Committee of Jam'iyyat	412

			al-'Ulama-i-Hind inviting AIML to participate in the proposed council and to work for a commonly acceptable political programme for the Muslims	
237	A J Begum to Jinnah Letter	26	Encloses a cheque for Rs 200 as her donation to the Bihar Relief Fund	414
238	Habib Bank, Delhi, to M H Khan (Copy to Jinnah) Letter	26	Advise that his request for assistance needed for settlement of Bihar refugees be referred to Jinnah	415
239	M Hanif to Jinnah Letter	26	Informs that following the recent communal riots, the life of the Muslims was unbearable in Bihar, so much so that many Muslims in the Government service were seriously thinking of migrating to Sind, seeks his guidance in the matter and enquires if such migrants could be given suitable corresponding jobs under the postwar reconstruction scheme of Sind	415
240	Aziz Hindi to Jinnah Letter	26	Stresses the political desirability of the Delhi ML entertaining the delegates of Muslim countries then in Delhi for the Inter-Asian Relations Conference, thinks it was better if he also invited them in order to wean them from the INC which had convened the conference in a bid to establish its hegemony over most of Asia	416
241	S M Jamil to Jinnah Letter	26	Acknowledges his letter of 24 March, clarifies the position of the All India Muslim Chamber of Commerce & Industry *vis-a-vis* the Federation of Muslim Chambers of Commerce & Industry highlighting the services of his Chamber to Muslim merchants, seeks interview to present his proposal for ending differences between his own Chamber and the Federation	417
242	Jinnah to Mountbatten Letter	26	Acknowledges No 190 and informs that he (Jinnah) would return to Delhi in early April when he would be glad to see him (Mountbatten)	418
243	Mrs Rallia Ram to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	26	Forwards a proposal made by a correspondent of the *Civil & Military Gazette* for ending agitation against the NWFP's Congress Ministry which envisaged fresh elections, draws attention to the Sikh and Hindu propaganda against Muslims and warns him against the hostile activities of D B Singha and Tara Singh, the latter having even gone to Bengal to spread the "poison" of partitioning that Province, hopes that Muslims of India would rally round the ML under his leadership as the	419

			Ahrars and the Momins had done	
244	Rawalpindi Muslims to Governor, Punjab (Copy to Jinnah) Telegram	26	Inform that Hindus and Sikhs, in complicity with the anti-Muslim Gurkha and Madrasi Hindu troops deployed in the area, were harassing, looting and killing innocent Muslims, pray that the Disturbed Areas Act be replaced by the normal law for house searches and that the troops deployed in the area consist either of British troops or of equal portions of Punjabi Muslims and Pathans, urge immediate action	423
245	City ML, Ahmedabad, to Jinnah Telegram	27	Express their desire to call on him at Ahmedabad airport during his stop-over on way to Delhi	424
246	Muslim Volunteer Corps, Johannesburg to Jinnah & Viceroy Telegram	27	Inform that the Corps, in their meeting on 23 March, endorsed the Lahore Resolution of 1940 and urged the Viceroy of India to implement the resolution in the interest of Indian peace and progress	424
247	S R U Qabil to Jinnah (& Others) Circular Letter	27	Highlights the plight and insecurity of Muslims in Delhi even under curfew, mainly because of wanton killings by Sikhs, complains that Sikh police officers, instead of protecting Muslims, connived at the brutalities of Sikh *goondas*, suggests a number of remedial steps to restore a sense of security among Muslims	424
248	Habib Rahimtoola to Jinnah Letter	27	Explains the position regarding the purchase of the *Sanj* and informs that the proprietors had reduced the sale price to Rs 15 lac, suggests closing down the *Mumbai Vartaman* which was showing a loss, informs that Editor Mehta had been asked to contact him for further instructions	426
249	Mrs Rallia Ram to Jinnah Letter & Enclosures	27	Forwards analysis of the Punjab disturbances as seen by communist observers confirming that the Akalis backed by the Congress or the RSS were the aggressors in the Punjab riots, exposes the double-faced tactics of the Hindu mind hiding under the so-called unity and oneness of Indians, also blames the Muslims for not exposing the horrors of their misery, suggests that details of Hindu atrocities be publicized in London where papers talked of Muslim brutalities	427
250	Suzanna to Jinnah Letter	27	Requests certain books on Islam, offering some books on Indonesia in return	431
251	M H Bahar to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	28	Encloses a statement by members of the Bengal ML Parliamentary Party on the gravity of situation in Bengal and requests his immediate intervention to avert the crisis, the enclosure criticizes	432

			Suhrawardy's Ministry in Bengal for its alleged inefficiency and malpractices, suggests immediate replacement of the Ministers by the "best and ablest" men	
252	Omarjee Ebrahim to Jinnah Letter	28	Encloses a draft for Rs 7,931/2/5 as the Cape Muslim League's donation, requests acknowledgment	435
253	Liaquat Ali Khan to Jinnah Telegram	28	Enquires about the date of his arrival in Delhi	435
254	K A Kuthoos to Jinnah (& Others) Resolutions	28	Forwards resolutions passed by Chittarkottai ML on 24 March expressing, *inter alia*, full confidence in his leadership, demanding establishment of Pakistan, recognizing AIML as the only representative party of Indian Muslims and declaring their resolve to sacrifice all for Pakistan	436
255	Secretary, Mian Channu ML to Jinnah Telegram	29	Informs that the Sikhs, after having surrounded Mian Channu, along with non-Muslim military personnel, were shooting at innocent Muslims, thereby posing great danger to the Muslims of the area, solicits immediate intervention	437
256	Report by Anonym on Bombay Riots	30	Confidentially reports the major riot incidents that occurred in various parts of the Bombay City on 30 March, as well as the details of visits to the affected areas and the relief measures taken there	437
257	Report by Anonym on Bombay Riots & Enclosure	31	Describes visit by Muslim leaders to various riot-affected areas of Bombay to assess of the extent of damage to property and of casualties among Muslims as a result of rioting the previous night, encloses official statement on the disturbances carried by *Times of India*	438
258	A W Akhtar to Jinnah Letter & Enclosures	31	Hails his statement that Pakistan would be a socialist, and not a theocratic State "where there would be no difference as to race, caste or colour' as well as his call for "transfer of population", seeks interview to discuss a number of issues, encloses copies of two of his articles, one an eulogy of his (Jinnah s) qualities as a man and as a statesman, and the other critical of the Congress role	440
259	Habib Bank, Bombay, to Jinnah Letter	31	Inform that the balance in the Current Account of the Bihar Relief Fund after the purchase of Victory Loan Bonds for Rs 3,591,511/3/4 was Rs 146,349	452
260	Habib Bank, Bombay, to Jinnah Letter	31	Enclose their payslip for Rs 5,000 as donation for the construction of the Sind Madressah Girls' High School, Karachi, or for any other purpose considered fit	453

			Hakumat", feels that the ML had failed to reciprocate the Tribes' genuine support for it, suggests that instead of following the British "Forward", "Close Border" and "Inducement" policies towards the Tribes, Pakistan should win their loyalty by removing their poverty and illiteracy, thinks that the material and human resources of the Tribal Areas were of such quality as to be helpful in the development of those areas, suggests that a fact-finding commission of the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan should seek solutions to the problems	
271	A Kakroo to K H Khurshid Letter	n d	Expresses love and devotion for Jinnah and concern over his ill-health, informs that the announcement that the AIML had nothing to do with the States, had come as a disappointment to Kashmiri Muslims, thinks that the League's policy should change and asks him to persuade Jinnah to intervene actively in Kashmir politics	473
272	S S M Khan to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	n d	Remits donations from the Indian and Iranian Muslims of Zahidan for the Bihar and Bengal Muslim sufferers, requests that a letter of appreciation by him be sent to the traders of Zahidan through Aghai Razzaq Zadeh	474
273	Firoz Khan Noon to Jinnah Letter	n d	Draws attention to points with regard to the area around the Sutlej (i) in case of a notional division the preponderantly non-Muslim police would pose a threat to the Muslims whose pogrom and exodus could not be ruled out, (ii) most of the Sikhs in East Punjab who owned lands would not want to leave Pakistan and, therefore, they, as well as the Christians and the Scheduled Castes, should be allowed to participate in the plebiscite for Pakistan in contiguous areas where Muslims were not in majority but more than 20 per cent, (iii) the Kangra District, though 95 per cent Hindu, being vital for irrigation and hydro-electricity, must remain in Pakistan, whereas all territory west of the Sutlej and a 10-mile strip along its east bank would be a good boundary	475
274	M Saeed to Habib Bank, Delhi (Copy to Jinnah) Letter	n d	Requests acknowledgment of draft for Rs 679/8/- sent for Bihar Relief Fund	476
275	D M Usto to Jinnah Letter	n d	Requests a message for the District ML Conference scheduled for 4 and 5 April at Jacobabad	476

No	Description	Date April 1947	Summary	Page
276	Nawab of Bhopal to Nehru (Copy to Jinnah) Letter & Annex	1	Requests him to intimate acceptance by the Constituent Assembly of the allocation of the States' quota of seats and the method of selection of their representatives as agreed upon by the two Negotiating Committees	478
277	Jinnah to M H Bahar Telegram	1	Acknowledges No 251 with its enclosure, promises to attend to the matter and, if necessary, visit Bengal	479
278	K A Mahomed to Jinnah Letter	1	Presents a cheque for Rs 120,000 as donation to the Bihar Relief Fund from the Muslim Chamber of Commerce, Calcutta	480
279	M S Hussain to Jinnah Letter	2	Draws attention to the dissension prevailing among the Muslims of the Bellary District where the influential President of the District ML, Abdur Razzaq, was contesting by-election against the official candidate of the Madras Assembly ML Parliamentary Board, requests him to instruct Razzaq to withdraw in favour of the ML nominee in order to maintain unity in the Party ranks	480
280	Jinnah to S M Khan Letter	2	Acknowledges the generous contributions made by the Iranian and Indian Muslims of Zahidan for the relief of the sufferers of the Bihar and Bengal tragedies	483
281	Jinnah to Razzaq Zadeh Letter	2	Refers to No 272, thanks Iranian Muslims for donations to the Bihar Relief Fund, hopes the gesture would bring the two peoples closer to each other	483
282	Jinnah to Mir Ghulam Ali Letter	3	Asks him to report on his recent visit to the Middle East as well as on the action his Committee had taken about the fund for which it was appointed	484
283	Jinnah to Amiruddin Letter	3	Asks that the amount of subscription paid by members of the Punjab Assembly ML Party towards the League Fund, as well as the amount of Rs 30,000 lying with him as balance of money advanced for the last Provincial Assembly elections, be remitted to him at once	485
284	Jinnah to A R Azzam Letter	3	Acknowledges No 154 and reciprocates his sentiments, regrets that the Delegation of Observers sent by him to the Inter-Asian Peoples Relations Conference at Delhi gave the Hindu Congress an opportunity to make capital out of it, but assures him that the AIML would survive the INC campaign against it, hopes that the bond established with him	485

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			would help realize Muslim aspirations in both India and the Middle East	
285	Jinnah to G H Hidayatullah Letter	3	Acknowledges Nos 185 and 227 and explains why it was difficult for him to agree to the suggestion to allow Abdus Sattar Pirzada to attend the forthcoming meeting of the AIML Working Committee and take part in its deliberations	486
286	Jinnah to Hifzur Rahman Letter	3	Acknowledges No 236 and the enclosed Resolution, emphasizes the need to maintain total Muslim unity and to eschew raising any issues concerning domestic differences at a time when the Indian Muslims were facing external danger, earnestly appeals to him and all other members of the Jam'iyyat to join and loyally support the AIML, which was the only authoritative and representative organization of the Muslims of India	487
287	Jinnah to S M Jamil Letter	3	Acknowledges No 241, advises that there should be only one Provincial Muslim Chamber of Commerce affiliated to the Federation, declines his request for interview, saying that so long as his Chamber maintained a separate entity, no useful purpose would be served by discussing his proposal	488
288	Jinnah to S B Mahsud Letter	3	Acknowledges No 175, appreciates the powerful and growing support given by the Tribal Pathans for the Pakistan demand, reiterates that the AIML had already declared the Constituent Assembly and Committees and Sub-Committees formed under it invalid, illegal and a Hindu Congress show	489
289	Jinnah to Firoz Khan Noon Letter	3	Acknowledges No 192 and its enclosure, points out that the version of his own talk with Akhtar Ali Khan was incorrectly reported, stresses that since the Punjab Assembly ML Party had already unanimously elected Mamdot as its leader, all members of the Party must loyally work with the new leader, allays the latter's apprehensions of being mistrusted, urges total unity in the ranks of ML workers	490
290	M A Khilji to Jinnah Letter	3	Requests a message on the occasion of an industrial function being organised by the Society Pictures Limited, encouraging Muslim merchants and industrialists to capture the film industry with a view to serving the cause of Islam and the Muslims	491
291	M A Shamsee to Jinnah Letter	3	Details the difficulties being encountered in establishing the proposed Indian Muslim Information Centre in New York, seeks	492

			League's permission and help to enable him to act and assume legal responsibilities in this connection	
292	Firoz Khan Noon to Jinnah Letter	4	With the help of data on the distribution of the Sikhs in certain districts in East Punjab, submits arguments which might help him in his forthcoming talks with the Viceroy in refuting any Sikh demand for creating a province for them, asserts that the Hindus could not object to living as a minority in the Muslim-majority Punjab, as the Muslims, too, had been living in Hindu-majority provinces, points out that the Sikhs were predominant in only a few areas, which could not justify their demand for dividing the Punjab	495
293	Hassan Ispahani to Jinnah Letter	5	Reports on his meetings with the prominent persons and journalists in Syria, Iraq and Iran whom he informed that the Inter-Asian Relations Conference in Delhi was being boycotted by Indian Muslims expresses satisfaction for their support for the AIML, suggests contacts between ML leaders and the Muslim delegates to the Conference	496
294	A A Khan to newspapers (Copy to Jinnah) Letter	5	Identifies INC as a communal organisation in view of its demand for the partition of the Punjab and Bengal, favours establishing Pakistan on the basis of the existing provincial boundaries, proposes separate states for Harijans and Sikhs in addition to Pakistan and Hindustan	499
295	A A Khan to newspapers (Copy to Jinnah) Letter	5	Analyses the constitutional situation in the NWFP where the Ministry having forfeited the confidence of the majority of the electorate should have resigned and fresh elections been held	501
296	A S Khan to Jinnah Letter	5	Solicits his patronage for the General Dairy Farm of India which was wholly staffed by Muslims, wishes him success in achieving *freedom*	501
297	Maqbool Mahmud to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	6	Submits suggestions that might help him in his forthcoming negotiations, feels convinced that the days of India as a single country were over giving way to several Indias, opposes partition of the Punjab and Bengal, but is willing to accept it provided the same principle was extended to some other provinces, appends tentative suggestions for the co-ordination of defence among the various sovereign States of India	502
298	F Rahman to Jinnah Letter	8	Requests receipts for the two remittances to Habib Bank Ltd, Delhi, which had failed to acknowledge them	508

299	M Ali to Jinnah Letter	8	Gives an account of the Working Committee meeting of the All Kurram ML held on 5 April 1947 at Parachinar, sends a copy of a resolution asking for the appointment of a Kurram Agency Leaguer, Ghulam Nabi Khan, on the AIML Working Committee	509
300	Hassan Ispahani to Jinnah Letter	9	Reports on his successful meetings with the Presidents of Syria and the Lebanon as well as with other dignitaries in Damascus and Beirut who appreciated and endorsed the just cause of the Indian Muslims and the AIML	510
301	Nawab of Rampur to Jinnah Letter	9	Informs him about Dr Ziauddin not seeking re-election, requests advice on the appointment of a new Vice-Chancellor and on whether he should stand for re-election as Pro-Chancellor, requests him to grant an interview to his Chief Minister Zaidi	512
302	C P Scott to Jinnah Letter	9	Conveys the Viceroy's desire to see him on 10 April for further discussions, requests confirmation	513
303	A R Khan to Jinnah Letter	10	Outlines the salient features of the second part of the Report on the "Migration and Concentration of Muslims in India", the population distribution of major communities in Indian States, and identifies areas where the Muslims were an endangered minority, suggests total evacuation from certain areas and large-scale migration from clearly designated localities to other specified areas so as to create safe Muslim enclaves, called "Muslim Consolidated Blocks", which might constitute a hedge against hostile Hindu intentions, informs of his intent to prepare the third part of the Report on the financial and economic resources and viability of Pakistan Provinces	514
304	Jawaharlal Nehru to Nawab of Bhopal Letter	10	Refers to No 276 and informs that the discussion between the Negotiating Committees of the Constituent Assembly and the Chamber of Princes needed no ratification by the the Constituent Assembly, stresses the urgency of the entry of the States' representatives into the Constituent Assembly and requests him to invite such States as had not till then chosen their representatives to do so, without delay	515
305	Firoz Sarkar to Jinnah Letter	10	Thanks him for having been allowed to photograph him and Miss Fatima Jinnah at Bombay	516

306	N Moosajee to Jinnah Letter	11	Informs that their shipping company was "a purely Muslim concern", and also the first of its kind in Sind, requests him to perform the launching of their first ship, SS *Virginia*	517
307	A D Shroff to Jinnah Letter	11	Explains the delay in replying to No 147, assures him of more financial assistance for educational institutions than in 1943	518
308	Anonym to Jinnah Letter	12	Reports on his meeting with Stafford Cripps and how he successfully countered the latter's objections to the demand for Pakistan	519
309	Sh M Ashraf to Jinnah Letter	12	Informs that the second edition of A A Ravoof's *Meet Mr Jinnah* was ready for publication, seeks permission to publish photograph of the late Mrs Rattan Bai Jinnah	520
310	Nawab of Bhopal to Jinnah Letter	12	Regards the rumoured visit of Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan to Travancore to preside at the ML meeting as unwise and untimely, advises that the ML should scrupulously avoid any action in that State, expresses implicit faith in him and in his judgement	521
311	Note by A R Khan	12	On the basis of the Census statistics refutes the claims of Sikhs and Hindus to the whole of the eastern Punjab as demanded by the INC	522
312	Firoz Khan Noon to Jinnah Letter	12	Apprehends Mountbatten prolonging negotiations until June 1948 and then leaving the Army in Hindu hands, feels that it was time that the British declared their intent, suggests fresh elections in the Punjab	527
313	Mrs Rallia Ram to Jinnah Letter & Enclosures	12	Encloses newspaper clippings and urges him to expose the excesses being perpetrated on the Muslims by the Congress leaders, the Akalis and the RSS in the Punjab	528
314	Raghib Ahsan to Jinnah Letter & Enclosures	13	Encloses documents entitled "Plans for Defensive and Offensive Organization of Muslim India", "Practical Hints for Immediate Action", and copy of a letter to Bengal Premier on "Reorganization of Bengal Police on 'War Basis' "	528
315	Kh Nazimuddin to Jinnah Letter	14	Requests permission to go to Calcutta on personal business, informs of his availability for appointment on the Committee for Bihar Relief and for talks with the Bihar ML leaders	546
316	I Coovadia to Jinnah (& Others) Telegram	15	Urges withdrawal of sanctions against South Africa and holding of a round-table conference to address Indo-South African problems	548

317	Qazi Isa to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	15	Encloses a letter from the Khan of Kalat and seeks elucidation of its contents, the Khan unequivocally supports demand for Pakistan but requests a statement supporting Kalat's declaration of independence and restoration of the leased areas by the British	548
318	Jinnah to K A Mahomed Letter	15	Acknowledges No 278 and the cheque for Rs 120,000 for the Bihar Relief Fund	552
319	S M Kazmi to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	15	Requests acceptance of Chief Patronage of the First All Pakistan Olympic Meet to be held at Karachi on his birthday	552
320	Helen Reid to Jinnah Letter	15	Thanks for arranging visit to the USA of Hassan Ispahani and Begum Shah Nawaz who did much to clear the American thinking about India	554
321	Sarhad MSF to Jinnah Telegram	15	Urges dissolution of the Congress Ministry in the NWFP which had lost confidence of the Frontier Muslims	555
322	Patna Muslims to Jinnah Telegram	16	Criticise the Congress Government's rehabilitation scheme, request a statement of AIML policy on the issue	555
323	S M Sa'adulla to Jinnah Letter	16	Describes the prevailing political situation of Assam as disturbing and regards the Provincial ML's Civil Disobedience Movement against the Congress Ministry's eviction policy as ill-advised, feels that in any future political set-up Assam's natural link would be with Bengal	555
324	J K Wadia to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	17	Submits a note on the need to eradicate communal hatred, and suggests a weak Centre with fully autonomous provinces and power-sharing among Muslim, Hindu and minority communities, suggests that Bengal and the Punjab be divided on communal basis	559
325	Jinnah to Khan of Kalat Telegram	18	Considers it inopportune to express opinion on the Kalat Government's announcement	563
326	Jinnah to Muhammad Ali Letter	18	Encloses a copy of the AIML's Constitution, informs that the Members of the Council were chosen by the Provincial Leagues, points out that the membership of the League was confined to residents of British India, advises him to contact the Frontier Provincial League	563
327	Jinnah to M A Shamsee Letter	18	Acknowledges No 291, advises him to deal with Hassan Ispahani direct on the latter's return to India	564
328	M A H Qadri to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	18	Submits a note on the district-wise distribution of Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims, argues against the partition of Bengal and the Punjab as demanded by the INC	565

352	H S Suhrawardy to H L Ismay (Copy to Jinnah) Letter	27	Strongly criticizes the notional scheme of ascertaining people's views on the desirability of the partition of certain areas and suggests that a plebiscite be held for this purpose as proposed by Liaquat Ali Khan	605
353	Note by H S Suhrawardy	27	Refuses to concede that the demand for partitioning Bengal was that of the majority of Hindus even of West Bengal, claims that it was a Hindu Mahasabha move, carries out a statistical analysis of the population of the Province in support of his case against the partition of Bengal, hopes that a solution to the problem might still be found	607
354	Note by M F Ali	27	Submits wide-ranging suggestions about preparing for the establishment of Pakistan as well as about running it after its creation	615
355	A M Chaudhury to Khurshid Letter & Enclosure	28	Encloses a note identifying those areas of Assam where Muslims were either in an absolute majority or constituted the largest single population group	617
356	Ahmad Ispahani to Jinnah Letter	28	Suggests recruitment of Punjabi Muslims in the Provincial police to safeguard the interests of the Muslim community, further suggests that the Nepalese Police personnel be returned to Nepal and that the Sikh transporters in the Province be closely watched	621
357	Ahmad Ispahani to Jinnah Letter	28	Emphasizing the need to establish close ties with all Islamic nations, urges that the Commercial Mission then visiting the Middle East be directed to visit Afghanistan, draws attention to the good-will mission to Nepal being sponsored by the Congress members of the Interim Government	623
358	Iftikhar Mamdot to Evan Jenkins (Copy to Jinnah) Letter	28	Requests a definite answer to No 341, claims to command support of a clear majority in the Provincial Assembly as well as confidence of some of the minorities so as to form a Ministry in the Province	624
359	Dina Wadia to Jinnah Letter	28	Congratulates him on getting the principle of Pakistan accepted as well as on getting "a very good price" from the reported sale of the "Southern Court", requests him to let her have some of the books belonging to her late mother for "sentimental reasons", invites him to spend a day with her and her children	625
360	S E Abbott to Iftikhar Mamdot (Copy to Jinnah) Letter	28	Conveys Jenkins' regrets for his inability to send an immediate reply to No 341	626

			basis was intended to deceive the Sikhs into believing that they were bound to be in danger under a Muslim Government, finds no justification for the partitioning of the Punjab unless the same basis was applied to all Hindu-majority provinces, concedes the right of the Sikhs to a separate area for them in the Punjab but demonstrates with the help of Census statistics that the partition of the province would do them no good	
370	Memorandum by J Hazarika	n d	Categorizes the Tribals as a racial and political minority rather than a communal group, lists their various components and stresses their numerical strength (25 million), their distribution all over India, and their adherence not to one religion or faith, highlights their gross under-representation in Central and Provincial Legislatures and lists safeguards needed for them, including the creation of Statutory Commissions and representation through separate electorates, objects to the Tribals being merged with the Hindus for electoral purposes	641
371	Report by Anonym	n d	Reports that the tribesmen were sympathetic towards the AIML and also eager to take part in the ongoing agitation against the Congress Government in the administered areas of the province, but regards their participation in the agitation as inopportune at the time, suggests urgent action to counter the pro-Congress attitude of the Afghan allowance-holders among the Mahsuds, advises that a good-will or trade mission be sent to Afghanistan, suggests setting up of a secret arms factory at Bahawalpur if the State Government co-operated, enquires if Nawab Gurmani was reliable in this context	651
372	Constitution of the Muslim Council of World Affairs (India)	n d	The draft constitution envisages formation of a council titled "Muslim Council of World Affairs (India)" with the chief objects of (i) developing a body of informed opinion on world affairs, especially the Muslim countries, and Indian Muslims' relations with them, (ii) setting up branches in India and abroad, (iii) issuing publications on related subjects, and (iv) arranging conferences	652

No	*Description*	*Date May 1947*	*Summary*	*Page*
373	S M Abbas to IG Police, Bihar (Copy to Jinnah) Letter	1	Points out the artrocities perpetrated upon Muslims of Paighambarpore, Lashkaripore and other places in Bihar by armed Hindus, highlights the dangerous situation faced by him and his family, suggests that Lashkaripore was a better location for a police station than Dhore-Asthan	658
374	Yusuf Haroon to Jinnah Letter	1	Felicitates him on demanding division of the Armed Forces and a separate Constituent Assembly for Pakistan, suggests Karachi as the venue of the Assembly and proposes a World Muslim Cultural Conference for establishing contacts with Muslims of other countries	660
375	A A Khan to Jinnah Letter & Enclosures	1	Seeks instructions about forming the Left Wing of the AIML and encloses a draft Manifesto for that Wing, maintains that the Indian States should be democratized to ensure affiliation of Kashmir with Pakistan, suggests that for fund-raising, tickets for various denominations be issued under his or the Secretary's signature, seeks interview	661
376	Mountbatten to Jinnah Letter & Enclosures	1	Informs about his successful visit to the Frontier, encloses a copy of the minutes of his meeting with Provincial ML leaders and that of the memorandum submitted by them demanding removal of restrictions on public meetings, remission of fines, and imposition of Section 93 in order to hold fresh elections, requests that Khurshid Anwar of the Muslim National Guards be withdrawn from the Province	668
377	C E Gibbon to Jinnah Letter	2	Hopes that while finalising a scheme for the Constituent Assembly, the Anglo-Indian minority would not be forgotten, suggests that they should be given either direct representation or some seats from the majority quota without giving an edge to the INC or the Mahasabha, seeks interview	678
378	Hifzur Rahman to Jinnah Letter	2	Acknowledges No 286 which he thought showed that he was not prepared to consult any other Muslim political party, gives up all hope of Muslim unity and resigns himself to whatever the future had to offer	679
379	Jinnah to Churchill Letter & Enclosure	2	Sends a copy of his statement on partition of India, hopes it would be given very careful consideration	680

389	Nisar Ahmad to Jinnah Letter	6	Informs of the progress made by the Muslim Library, established at Sahibganj (Bihar) in 1942, in propagating Urdu literature, suggests that Urdu be made lingua franca, requests a message for the third anniversary of the library	698
390	B N Banerjee to K H Khurshid Letter & Enclosure	6	Encloses for his perusal a copy of the Vicereine's report of her tour of the Punjab and the Frontier, which states that the conditions there were extremely disturbing, especially in the refugee camps, and praises the relief work of the civil and military authorities	698
391	Jinnah to Mountbatten Letter & Enclosures	7	Encloses (i) a copy of his statement of 30 April opposing partition of the Punjab and Bengal as demanded by the INC, and (ii) a copy of the statement of 7 May justifying the Civil Disobedience Movement in the NWFP, urges the Muslims and the ML to maintain peace in the Province and to protect the minorities, asks the Leaguers to be prepared for the referendum which was to decide whether the NWFP would join Pakistan or India	701
392	Jalaluddin Khan to Jinnah Letter	7	Sends a sum of Rs 3,425 donated by the Muslim community of Phoenix, Arizona (USA), for the injured and disabled Muslim victims of the communal riots	705
393	Evan Jenkins to Iftikhar Mamdot Letter	7	Refers to Nos 341 and 358, considers formation of a Ministry inappropriate without prospect of an agreement between various communities, advises review of situation when all-India position became clear	706
394	Jinnah to Mountbatten Letter	8	Acknowledges receipt of Nos 376 and 386, informs that he had carefully considered the various issues concerning the Frontier raised by him and had already issued statements on them, hopes to get in touch with Brig Nazir Ahmad as proposed by him	708
395	Maqbool Mahmood to Jinnah Letter	8	Submits statistical information on some UN member-States and facts relating to the proposed partition of the provinces of British India, believes that if the existing boundaries of the Punjab and Bengal were disturbed, minorities in other provinces might also demand partition, suggests setting up self-contained and self-supporting units in Pakistan areas, believes that occupancy of land as the basis of the partition of the Punjab was an unacceptable arrangement, advises setting up special machinery to work out the credit balance of Pakistan in sterling and dollar pool, proposes diplomatic and commercial ties with the Indian States	708

396	G A Parvez to Jinnah Letter	8	Encloses a cheque received from Aslam Khan of Mardan, to be spent in any manner he wished, draws attention to the high-handedness of the military and police against Muslims in Rawalpindi and the western districts of the Punjab, requests grant of interview to Kh Abdur Rahim, ICS, who wished to discuss certain important questions about the division of the Punjab	712
397	Mujahid Husain to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	9	Encloses bio-data and seeks an interview with a view to obtaining a position in the (Pakistan) Constituent Assembly	713
398	Besh Lall to Viceroy (Copy to Jinnah & Others) Letter	9	Claiming that the *Achhuts* (Scheduled Castes) were the original masters of India and the British, like the High-Caste Hindus and the Muslims before them, were originally the servants of the *Achhuts*, whom they most treacherously and ungratefully betrayed, urges him to show his nation's gratitude to the *Achhuts* by abandoning the plan for the partition of India and establishing Achhutistan "all over India", thereby returning the country to its rightful rulers	714
399	Ahmad Ispahani to Jinnah Letter	10	Informs having paid Rs 10,000 against receipt to Mandal, disapproves of Suhrawardy's advocacy of one Bengal, suggests that Suhrawardy be asked to leave such matters to him	717
400	Hassan Ispahani to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	10	Informs of his fruitful meetings with prominent persons and officials in Cairo and Alexandria, including Nahas Pasha, the Grand Mufti, and senior staff of the Al-Azhar University, reports that both the Akhwan al-Muslimeen and Shabban al-Muslimeen were doing great job for the AIML but were badly in need of literature on Pakistan which should be provided to all Arab countries, encloses a copy of his statement on Palestine issued at Cairo, denouncing a speech made by Asaf Ali of the INC recommending Jewish participation in the special session of the UN General Assembly on the Palestine problem	718
401	K H Khurshid to B N Banerjee Letter	10	Acknowledges No 390, informs that Lady Mountbatten's report on her tour of the Punjab and the NWFP had been placed before Jinnah	723
402	Mountbatten to Jinnah Letter	10	Invites him, along with other Indian leaders, to a meeting on 17 May to discuss the modalities of transfer of power by the British Government to Indian hands	724

No.	From/To	Date	Summary	Page
403	Mrs Rallia Ram to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	10	Encloses newspaper clippings, including one from the *Tribune* which reflects the Hindus' wishes for his failure in his mission, deplores the tactics being used by Dr Khan Sahib and his cronies in the NWFP to malign him, approves of his demand for the division of Hindu-majority provinces to counter the demand of the Sikhs and Hindus for partitioning the Punjab and Bengal, believes that the UK and the USA would woo Pakistan to contain Russia, which promised a bright international status for it	725
404	M N Sroeya to Jinnah Letter	10	Informs that the people of Ambala city would never tolerate their exclusion from Pakistan, encloses a copy of a similar telegram to the Viceroy	726
405	Nizam of Hyderabad to Jinnah Telegram	10	Informs him that Abul Hasan Syed Ali was leaving by air the following day with a letter for him	727
406	Mountbatten to Jinnah Letter	11	Thanks him for No 391 and its enclosures	727
407	Mrs Rallia Ram to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	11	Encloses newspaper clippings emphasizing the bitter antagonism of Congress leaders to Muslims in general and the ML leaders in particular, warns against the machinations of the Hindu Brahmans to regain power and exploit the Muslims and other minorities, pays rich tributes to his leadership and ability to keep in check the Hindu Brahman's ambitions for absolute control over all other nations in India, approves of ML's rehabilitation work which had evoked praise even from the Hindu press	728
408	C P Scott to Jinnah Letter	11	Refers to No 402, informs that the meeting scheduled for 17 May had been postponed until 2 June	734
409	Yusuf Haroon to Jinnah Telegram	12	Informs of the Provincial ML's general support for the formation of a new Ministry in Sind, seeks his guidance in the matter	735
410	Nizam of Hyderabad to Jinnah Letter	12	Seeks his opinion on joining the Indian Constituent Assembly and on claiming sovereignty over Berar, informs of his complete agreement with the Deccan Muslims' view that after the British withdrawal from India, the Hyderabad State should become independent, asks his opinion about declaring independence the day the British left India, informs that Monckton would see him in Delhi in the following week to discuss those problems	735

411	Mrs Rallia Ram to Jinnah Letter & Enclosures	12	Encloses a number of clippings, especially from the Hindu press, one of which was an editorial asking the Governor of the Punjab to punish Muslims for what he believed was Muslim aggression in the Punjab disturbances, finds it odd that no similar recommendation was ever made, even by Muslims, against Hindu aggressors in the UP and Bihar riots and suggests that he demand action by the Viceroy against the Governors and Hindus of those two provinces, feels convinced that the INC's and Hindus' concern for non violence was merely a bluff, draws attention to press report about the Indian desert, including Sind, "fanning outwards radially" and suggests that the Government of Sind take remedial action	736
412	Attlee to Jinnah Letter	13	Acknowledges receipt of his letter of 2 May enclosing a copy of his statement to the press dated 30 April	739
413	E Gilliatt to K H Khurshid Letter	13	Acknowledges No 379 and conveys Churchill's thanks	740
414	Jinnah to Nizam of Hyderabad Letter	13	Acknowledges No 410, promises to communicate with him after discussions with Monckton	740
415	Jinnah to A D Shroff Letter	13	Explains the delay in replying to No 307, trusts that with Tata's return to India, he would take up the matter with him	741
416	Qaiyum Khan to Jinnah Letter	13	Informs that in response to Abdul Ghaffar Khan's desire for a settlement with the ML, Frontier ML leaders were prepared to meet him subject to Jinnah's approval	741
417	R M Ray to Jinnah Letter	13	Requests his assessment about Ansari, his ex-employee, who had applied for a position in the UNO Secretariat	742
418	Draft Announcement	13	Refers to non-participation of the ML in the Constituent Assembly, lays down procedures for the transfer of power and for division of the provinces in the event of partition, also provides for election of representatives to the Constituent Assembly/Assemblies including negotiations between different successor authorities on administrative matters, clarifies that the Announcement related only to British India, hopes that the States would join either the existing Constituent Assembly or the newly created one, highlights the necessity for speed and for further announcements by the Governor-General in regard to procedure or any other matters	743
419	A D Shroff to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	13	Encloses a letter from Sir Dorabji Tata Trust along with a cheque for Rs 100,000	748

			for distribution, at his discretion, to Muslim educational institutions, preferably at places other than Bombay	
420	K H Khurshid to R V Brockman Letter & Enclosure	14	Forwards Jinnah's statement of 11 May criticising Patel's proposal for immediate transfer of all powers to the Interim Government and suspension of Government of India Act 1935, and opposing partition of the Punjab and Bengal	749
421	G H Hidayatullah to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	14	Informs that some people, including Muslim Leaguers, were carrying on baseless propaganda in Karachi and Delhi that he and his wife wanted Sind for Sindhis only, encloses a copy of the statement he had issued to the press that day, contradicting the allegation	759
422	Qaiyum Khan to Jinnah Letter	14	Explains that he did not meet Ghaffar Khan for the reason that the latter attempted to bribe the Frontier ML by offering two seats in the Provincial Cabinet and a superficial acceptance of Pakistan in a bid to keep his party and power intact and avoid referendum, further informs that Ghaffar Khan expected to be invited by him to Delhi for a meeting but was told that such an invitation was out of the question	760
423	K A Mahomed to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	14	Thanks him for the acknowledgment of a cheque of Rs 120,000 donated towards the Bihar Relief Fund, sends a further cheque for Rs 12,663/12/-, complains of the non-receipt of acknowledgment of the first remittance from the Habib Bank, Delhi	761
424	Extract from a confidential Foreign Report of *The Economist*	15	Discusses the prospects of economic viability of Pakistan, assumes that a single Pakistan State was impossible for administrative reasons, North-West Pakistan could feed itself and export to the rest of India and the outside world, industrially, separation from Hindustan and a tariff barrier would bring a transformation, the North-West State would in time balance its budget and achieve a favourable balance of payments, as for the State of Eastern Bengal, loss of Western Bengal and Calcutta to Hindus would not necessarily be ruinous to its economy, the Eastern State could do with a much reduced army and balance its budget, it could also in time achieve a favourable trade balance if it imposed an export tax on jute, forcing jute mills of the West to move East, the Report concludes that Pakistan could survive as an independent country	762

425	Nizam of Hyderabad to Jinnah Telegram	15	Acknowledges No 414 and informs of the despatch of a registered letter to his Delhi address	766
426	Nizam of Hyderabad to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	15	Acknowledges No 414 and sends a clipping from the *Meezan*, requesting his advice on the steps to be taken about Berar's restoration, informs that Monckton would consult him about certain important State matters, hopes that he would visit Hyderabad in June or July	766
427	Aziz Hindi to Jinnah Letter	15	Conveys his belief, based on his observations at the Jami'yyat al-'Ulama Conference at Lucknow, that the INC was exploiting the *'ulama* for its own ends and thus fomenting discord among the Muslims, thinks that by instigating the Khan Brothers in the Frontier, the Sikhs in the Punjab and the Hindus in Bengal, it was preparing them militarily for the final struggle against the creation of Pakistan, emphasizes the need for Muslim unity and for wooing the *'ulama*, into joining the ML, submits several suggestions for winning their support	767
428	Aziz Hindi to Jinnah Letter	16	Protests against not being allowed to see him by his Personal Assistant, Khurshid, suggests formation of an Advisory Sub-Committee of the AIML for preparing necessary plans	769
429	Amina Khatoon to Jinnah Letter	16	A film artiste, informs that she had raised Rs 10,000 for the Bihar Relief Fund by staging a charity show but had not received an acknowledgment of the remittance from the Habib Bank, begs a letter of confirmation from him	770
430	C P Scott to K H Khurshid Letter	16	Acknowledges No 420, on behalf of the Viceroy's Private Secretary, and the text of Jinnah's press statement of 11 May	771
431	Razia Sultana to Jinnah Letter	16	A Dutch lady, recently converted to Islam and desirous of living in the Muslim surroundings of India, requests help in obtaining permission from the Government of India to enter the country	771
432	Ilahi Bakhsh to Jinnah Letter	17	Suggests that the cheque he wished to send for the Sind Madressah be made out in favour of the Secretary of the Madressah Board	773
433	Matin Chaudhury to K H Khurshid Letter & Enclosure	17	Encloses for Jinnah's perusal a detailed note showing Muslim-majority areas of Assam and Bengal, informs that maps to illustrate the note were being prepared and would be handed over personally in the first week of June	773

434	Habib Bank, Bombay, to G A Punjabi (Copy to Jinnah) Letter	17	Regretfully return his contribution of Rs 51 to the Bihar Relief Fund as the same had been received after the closure of the Fund by Jinnah	774
435	M Ishaq to Jinnah Letter	17	Emphasizes the need for preparing scientific, technical and industrial personnel for Pakistan, seeks interview to discuss a scheme prepared for that purpose	774
436	M Noman to Jinnah Letter	17	Informs that as the material necessary for the compilation of the two pamphlets he proposed to submit to him was not available in Delhi, he would go to Hyderabad (Deccan) where all the required material was available, hopes to complete the two pamphlets by the first week of June	775
437	Note by Jinnah	17	Refers to No 418, affirms final rejection by the AIML of the Cabinet Mission Plan, reiterates its decision for division of India, disagrees with the continuation of the existing Constituent Assembly and opposes partition of Bengal and the Punjab, stresses the need to ascertain the wishes of the people of those provinces through a referendum, criticises consultation with the provincial Government over the question of referendum in the NWFP, recommends setting up of truly representative machinery for ensuring free and fair expression of views of the people of British Baluchistan, seeks amalgamation of the Muslim-majority areas of Purnea district of Bihar with East Bengal, demands the transfer of all powers to the respective Constituent Assemblies of Pakistan and Hindustan and suggests that the Pakistan Constituent Assembly be the successor authority to negotiate with the Tribes of the Frontier	776
438	Revised Draft Announcement	17	Draft Announcement as revised in the light of comments given by the AIML and the INC	781
439	Paper from the Viceroy's Office	17	Defines the modalities of transfer of power during the interim period to the successor State(s) on the basis of the Government of India Act, 1935 with such modifications as might be necessary to conform to Dominion status, stipulates a common Governor-General for two successor States, and lays down procedure for the division of Armed Forces	789
440	Paper from the Viceroy's Office	17	Circulates two alternative proposals for the transfer of power on the basis of two independent States proposal "A" suggests a common Governor-General for the two States and proposal "B" a separate Governor-General for each State	790

441	Jinnah to Eric Mieville Letter	18	Acknowledges No 440, expresses his inability to comment on the proposals unless he was provided a copy of Nehru's letter as promised by the Viceroy	792
442	R V Brockman to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	18	Encloses extracts from Nehru's letter of 17 May 1947 with reference to No 441, and tenders an apology on behalf of Mieville for the delay	792
443	Jinnah to Secretary, Federal Public Service Commission Letter	18	Refers to No 417, expresses his favourable impressions about Ansari who had been his Personal Assistant in 1939-40	795
444	Jinnah to Eric Mieville Letter & Enclosure	19	Refers to Nos 440 and 442, sends comments on Draft Proposals "A" and "B" considering Nehru's letter of 17 May for communication to Mountbatten in U K	795
445	Jinnah to the Punjab National Bank, Delhi Letter	19	Sends receipt for Rs 3,425 remitted by the Muslim Association, Phoenix, Arizona (USA), and asks for a pay order for the amount	800
446	M A Warsi to Jinnah Letter & Enclosures	19	Forwards a copy of the resolutions passed by the Division of Bihar Conference at Gaya on 19 April and Patna on 11 May demanding (a) partition of the province into Hindu and non-Hindu autonomous provinces, (b) formation of separate Ministries for the Hindu and non-Hindu provinces, (c) formation of two Interim Governments at the Centre, one for Pakistan provinces and the other for Hindustan provinces, (d) equitable division of the Armed Forces and their assets etc and (e) creation of a separate autonomous province of Jharkhand for the Adibasis, seeks appointment for a delegation of the Division of Bihar Conference on or before 30 May	801
447	M Yunus to Hossain Imam (Copy to Jinnah) Letter	19	Informs of having asked Qazi Sayeed to keep replies to his questionnaire ready, explains why he disagreed with the scheme he had enclosed with his letter	805
448	Doon Campbell to K H Khurshid Letter & Enclosure	20	Encloses a set of questions on Pakistan for answers by Jinnah	806
449	Jinnah to Khan of Kalat Letter	20	Thanks him for providing two guards, regrets that the letter which his men had brought had been mislaid and requests a copy of it so that action could be taken	807
450	Eric Mieville to Jinnah Letter	20	Acknowledges No 444 containing a copy of his note for communication to Mountbatten	808
451	Eric Mieville to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	20	Sends a copy of the Revised Draft Announcement dated 17 May 1947 which the Viceroy took to London for consultation with the British Government	808

452	Papers from the Viceroy's Office	20	The documents comprise copies of Nehru's letters to (a) Mountbatten commenting on the Draft Announcement (No 438) and the proposals for the transfer of Power during the interim period (No 439), and (b) Brockman commenting on the alternative proposals "A" and "B" for the transfer of power on the basis of two independent States (No 440)	814
453	Papers from the Viceroy's Office	20	Lists those suggestions of Jinnah and Nehru which were not embodied in the Revised Draft Announcement but were to be submitted to the British Government for consideration, together with the Viceroy's remarks thereon	822
454	G A Punjabi to Jinnah Letter	20	Refers to No 434, requests acceptance of the delayed donation which had been returned by the Habib Bank due to the closure of the Bihar Relief Fund	825
455	J M Addis to K H Khurshid Letter	21	Acknowledges his letter of 14 May forwarding a copy of Jinnah's statement of 11 May, conveys Attlee's thanks to Jinnah but states that he had already seen and studied the full text of the statement	826
456	Baquer Bilgrami to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	21	Offers his services to the AIML, prefers to be on his or Suhrawardy's personal staff, assures him of unstinted loyalty, gives personal and professional details about himself	826
457	Yousuf Haroon to Jinnah Letter & Enclosures	21	Refers to the conversation with him about the allegations of the Sind Provincial Congress Committee (SPCC) that Sind ML Ministers were using government officers for forcible collection of funds from Hindus for the Dadu District League Conference, encloses (i) letter from Gidwani, President of the SPCC, making the formal allegations, with instances of the use of government functionaries for the purpose at the behest of Pir Ilahi Bakhsh, and (ii) his own letter to Gidwani refuting the allegations	828
458	Amin al-Hussaini to Jinnah Letter	21	Suggests celebration of 27 *Rajab* which was the occasion of *Mi'raj* of the Holy Prophet of Islam as also the anniversary of Salah al-Din al-Ayyubi's entry into the *al-Masjid al-Aqsa* as Palestine Day, proposes holding of meetings to apprise Muslims of the Jewish threat to the Mosque and to Palestine	832
459	Jinnah to Eric Mieville Letter & Enclosure	21	Refers to enclosure to No 451, sends a note on the Transfer of Power proposals and the Draft Announcement, requests that the note be communicated to Mountbatten in London	833

460	A R Nishtar to Abdus Sattar Pirzada (Copy to Jinnah) Letter & Enclosure	21	Requests him to help S A Ashraf, an Additional District Magistrate of Bihar, who was in danger of being persecuted by the Congress Government of the province and wanted to go to Sind, encloses an introductory letter from Latifur Rahman, Member of the AIML Working Committee	836
461	Statement by Abdus Sattar Pirzada (Copy to Jinnah)	21	Stresses Sind's continuous support for the establishment of Pakistan, decries the move for creation of sovereign independent provinces as a calculated attempt to destroy the unity of the Indian Muslims, finds it incomprehensible that the anti-Pakistan elements, while opposing the creation of Pakistan for it being too small to justify statehood, should advocate sovereign independent status to provinces, asserts that in the modern world small provinces like Sind or the NWFP could not exist as sovereign independent States, welcomes Muslim brethren from the minority provinces to settle in Sind, hopes that the Pakistan Constituent Assembly would hold its sittings at Karachi	838
462	G H Sonavala to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	21	Encloses a letter addressed to the Commerce Member of the Government of India requesting that the Bombay Provincial Muslim Chamber of Commerce be given due representation on the Board of Trustees of the Bombay Port Trust, requests him to support the Chamber's claim for representation	840
463	Zahir-ud-Din to Jinnah Letter	21	Seeks interview to discuss grievances of the Muslim employees of the All India Military Accounts, especially those relating to the disproportionate retrenchment of the Muslim employees	841
464	Jinnah's replies to the questionnaire from Doon Campbell	21	Responds to No 448	842
465	Jinnah to Eric Mieville Letter	22	Refers to enclosure to No 451, comments that the only satisfactory way of getting a fair verdict on the partition of Bengal was through a referendum in West Bengal, suggests Calcutta be made a free port, reiterates amalgamation of Muslim majority areas of Purnea District of Bihar with East Bengal, suggests reinsertion of a clause relating to States' participation in the existing or new Constituent Assembly, recommends that no action should be taken regarding provincial administration until the Boundary Commission report had been implemented	845

466	Ahmad Ispahani to Jinnah Letter	22	Informs of having called a meeting of all the Muslim organizations operating in Calcutta and three or four provincial Ministers to discuss public complaints against the Provincial Ministry and to explore the possibility of putting up a joint organization to meet any future emergencies, conveys disappointment with Suleri's performance in London, feels that Shoaib Qureshi would have been a better choice for the job	847
467	Manzar-i-Alam to Jinnah Letter	22	Reproduces the text of his telegram to Attlee, Mountbatten and the Secretary of State for India in London, demanding redressal of injustice done to the Muslims of the States by not specifying seats for them in the Constituent Assembly, suggests that the Muslim-majority areas in the States be separated to form an independent unit of sovereign Pakistan	848
468	Eric Mieville to Jinnah Letter	22	Acknowledges No 459 and the note enclosed therewith and confirms having forwarded it to Mountbatten in London, says copies of Nos 444 and 459 had been sent to Nehru	848
469	A A Quddoosi to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	22	Encloses a memorandum suggesting various alternative divisions of India into Pakistan, Hindustan and the States, including partitioning of certain districts on communal lines, suggests inter-district transfer of population to form contiguous Hindu and Muslim areas	849
470	Mrs Rallia Ram to Jinnah Letter	22	Sends newspaper clippings, drawing his attention particularly to two maps and to the suggestions made by the Hindus to the Governor of the Punjab against the Muslims of the province, finds it paradoxical that the Hindus who had fought for independence for nearly 60 years should oppose independence for 100 million Muslims of India, warns of growing relationship between INC leaders and the Maharaja of Kashmir, the visit of Kripalani and Chaman Lall to the State being ominous	860
471	Statement of amounts received by *Dawn* from Jinnah	22	Lists the amounts of money received from Jinnah from 8 October 1942 to 12 May 1947, totalling Rs 284,550	861
472	Jinnah to S J Begum Letter	23	Regrets his inability to send a message, as requested in her letter of 21 May, to the Urdu daily she proposed to publish, for he was not aware of the financial position, views and policy of the paper, believes that Miss Jinnah, too, might not like her name to be associated with the proposed daily	862

473	Jinnah to M Daud Letter	23	Acknowledges his letter of 19 May, appreciates the progress made by the Sind Madressah-tul-Islam and prays for its success	862
474	Jinnah to Nizam of Hyderabad Letter	23	Acknowledges No 425 and says he would be glad to see Monckton in Delhi, promises to try his best to visit Hyderabad in June or July	863
475	Jinnah to Y M Tanwari Letter	23	While wishing success for his book depot, regrets that he could not allow his name to be used for the same as it was liable to create the false impression that he was in some way associated with its management, control and organization	864
476	H S Suhrawardy to Liaquat Ali Khan (Copy to Jinnah) Letter	23	Reports that the atmosphere in Bengal already seemed to favour partition of the Province, feels that once this was announced the efforts being made, in collaboration with such Hindu leaders as S C Bose and K S Roy, for keeping Bengal undivided would be set at naught, especially when the Scheduled Caste Hindus had not uttered a single word in favour of non-partition, fears decimation of Muslims in Calcutta if the Province was divided and the city went to the Hindus	864
477	M M Junaid to Jinnah Letter	24	An economist, offers his services to advise on the many important economic issues that the AIML High Command was facing then	865
478	Liaquat Ali Khan to G H Hiyadatullah (Copy to Jinnah) Letter	24	Introduces S A Ashraf of the Bihar Civil Service, who had done great service to the ML in general and to the Muslims of Bihar during the Bihar carnage in particular, and strongly recommends him for a suitable job in Sind Government	866
479	Liaquat Ali Khan to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	24	Encloses two letters from Suhrawardy both dated 21 May one of them contains draft of agreement reached between the ML Ministry of Bengal and K S Roy on behalf of the Provincial Congress, also conveys the desire of Sarat Bose and Roy to see Jinnah and suggests that in case India was to be partitioned, Bengal should be permitted to have a coalition ministry, or else Bengal, too, would have to be partitioned, the other strongly opposes partition of Bengal as it would spell disaster for the Muslims not only of West Bengal but also of East Bengal	867
480	Mehtar of Chitral to Jinnah Letter	25	Expresses gratitude for his message of good wishes received through Maulvi Wazir Khan	874

			opposing the demand for partition of Bengal, and forming a sub-committee to have an interview with him to seek his help for safeguarding the interests of the Anglo-Indians in the new political set-up of Bengal	
490	Yamin Khan to Jinnah Letter	28	Expresses relief over his disagreement with the proposed partition of the Punjab and Bengal but does not understand his demand for a corridor between Western and Eastern Pakistan, suggests that, in case the division of the Punjab was forced on him, counter-demands be made for the partition of certain districts of the Punjab, U P and Bihar	902
491	Mrs Rallia Ram to Jinnah Letter & Enclosures	28	Bemoans the fact that with the publication of the Muslim newspapers, the *Dawn* and the *Pakistan Times* having ceased for the time being, and the acquisition of the *Civil & Military Gazette* by Dalmia, the Hindu press was freely painting them as aggressors when in fact they were actually victims of the atrocities by Hindus and Sikhs, and the AIML had no mouthpiece to counter the false propaganda against them, draws attention to the INC game in Kashmir, hopes that the expected British award on 2 June 1947 would not ignore the volatile communal situation in the country, wishes him success in his mission	904
492	S Schuder to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	28	Seeks his help in settling down in Sind, and on the basis of his long experience, wishes to establish manufacturing plants for producing vegetable ghee, toilet soaps, glycerine, varnishes and high-quality paints and enamels, encloses a copy of his bio-data	907
493	Hasan al-Banna to Jinnah Letter	28	Thanks him for his message sent through Mostafa Momin, explains that a delegation was being sent to the Asian Conference only to get in touch with Muslim leaders in India, including him, and to convey sincere sentiments of the Egyptians for the "blessed" Pakistan Movement as well as to thwart any steps that might be contemplated against the interests of the Arabs as in the case of the Palestine question, wishes him all the success in attaining Pakistan reiterating that "the whole Nile valley supports you sincerely"	910
494	Jinnah to Habib Bank, Delhi Letter	28	Encloses three demand drafts and a pay-order for Rs 4,088 for credit to the Bihar Relief Fund, desires issuance of receipts direct to donors	911

495	Hassan Isphani to Jinnah Letter	29	Reproduces an extract from Wilcox's letter of 19 May which urges the appointment of the "right man" as head of the Muslim India Information Centre, London, because its funds were being very largely wasted, informs that Z A Suleri, the incumbent Director, though meant well, was mishandling things	912
496	Mrs Rallia Ram to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	29	Encloses an editorial from the Hindu press and notes that the INC leaders, who had ignored all his pleas to accept the Cabinet Mission Plan, had executed a volte-face now that he was demanding Pakistan, finds Ghaffar Khan's statement of that day conciliatory and counsels winning him over to the ML side, but fears that Mehr Chand Khanna would prevent such a conciliation	912
497	Qasim Razavi to Jinnah Letter	29	Assures him of having acted according to his advice ever since assuming Presidentship of Ittehadul Muslimeen, wishes to know if he really felt that the termination of Sir Mirza Ismail's services by the Nizam was inadvisable, requests him to use his influence to foil manoeuvres for Sir Mirza's reinstatement, favours appointment of Ghulam Mohammad or of Laik Ali as Sir Mirza's successor	913
498	M Yunus to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	29	Encloses a copy of a letter from J N Sinha, in charge of rehabilitation of Muslims in Barh sub-division, addressed to the Secretary, Peace Committee, Patna, reporting slow return of Muslims to the villages destroyed during the Bihar carnage because of the hostility of the Hindu community	914
499	G Abraham to Jinnah (& Others) Letter	30	Forwards resolutions of the meeting of the Governing Body of the Scheduled Castes Christians Federation submitted to the Government (a) drawing its attention to the arson and bloodshed then taking place in the subcontinent, (b) requesting it not to transfer power to the natives but to grant Dominion Status to India, (c) asking it not to ignore the safety of the Scheduled Castes in any political settlement, (d) suggesting that "the power of administration" in India be equally distributed among the Muslims, Hindus and the Scheduled Castes, and (e) demanding that in case division of India was inevitable, it should be divided into three States, of which the Christian State be kept in the British Commonwealth with the status of a Dominion	917

500	Yusuf Haroon to Jinnah Letter & Enclosures	30	Complains against the Provincial Minister, Mir Ghulam Ali Talpur, who, when approached for certain information in response to public complaints, felt offended and expressed his displeasure in reply, encloses copies of the letters exchanged between himself and the Minister	920
501	Ahmad Hassan to Jinnah Letter	30	As one of the founders of AIML, expresses satisfaction over the progress of the League and confidence in his leadership and ability to establish and consolidate the new regime in Pakistan, suggests establishment of defence alliance and financial and trade ties with the UK and the USA, offers his services for "any work" considered suitable for him	932
502	Ahmad Ispahani to Jinnah Letter	30	Informs of the disbursement of Rs 25,000 sent by him enclosing receipts from Mandal, Matin Chaudhury and Sa'adulla	933
503	Mrs Rallia Ram to Jinnah Letter & Enclosures	30	Encloses a number of newspaper clippings showing the Sikhs as aggressors in the Punjab disturbances, blames Patel for statements calculated to enhance hatred between various communities as well as between Hindustan and Pakistan, criticises Professor Jawala Parshad for his article which reflected the Hindu designs against minorities, particularly the Muslims, in Hindu-majority provinces, fears that Hindu attitude was likely to turn India into hell	935
504	H M Vangare to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	30	Draws his attention to the dirty tactics of the INC leaders to coerce the Nawab of Janjira to join the Indian Constituent Assembly, encloses a copy of the *Janjira Darbar Extraordianry Gazette* containing the Nawab's announcement regarding the formation of a Constitutional Advisory Committee, informs of having warned the Nawab that the Muslims would not co-operate with the State if he succumbed to the INC pressure	938
505	M Yunus to Jinnah Letter & Enclosures	30	Sends copies of correspondence with Mashriqi, the Khaksar leader, regarding rehabilitation scheme in Bihar	942
506	Sh M Ashraf to Jinnah Letter	30	Informs of despatching two complimentary copies of *Meet Mr Jinnah* by A A Ravoof, reports that the Punjabi Muslims had courageously withstood the barbarities perpetrated by the non-Muslims, expresses full faith in his leadership	946
507	Memorandum by Calcutta ML & Others	31	Requests him (a) not to sacrifice Calcutta or West Bengal to India, (b) to pay more attention to the problems	947

No.	Document	Date	Summary	Page
			of the Muslims of Greater Calcutta and to organize Bengal Seamen into a force which might prove useful to the ML in any future struggle for securing the Calcutta Port for Pakistan (c) to try to win the support of the tribals of Assam, West and North Bengal, and Chhotanagpur, etc , and (d) to order dissolution of all groups in the Bengal ML who favoured partition of Bengal, encloses a note on maritime organizations and press clippings	
508	Jinnah to S D Saklatvala Letter	31	Acknowledges No 419, expresses thanks to the Tata Trust for the donation of Rs 100,000 for distribution in his discretion, promises to implement their suggestion to give preference to other parts of India rather than Bombay institutions only	961
509	Jinnah to A D Shroff Letter	31	Thanks him for No 419 and the donation of Rs 100,000	961
510	M M Mahmood to Jinnah Letter & Enclosures	31	Submits two notes, one on the appointment of an Expert Committee for the Pakistan Constituent Assembly, together with a Draft Resolution authorising the President of AIML to appoint such a Committee, and the other on certain preliminary points relating to the Pakistan Constituent Assembly	962
511	Ghulam Mohammed to Jinnah Letter	31	Strongly recommends inclusion of Mir Laik Ali in the delegation reportedly being sent to UK to negotiate a settlement with the British Government in the matter of Sterling balances	972
512	Edwina Mountbatten to Fatima Jinnah Letter	31	Sends her an antique box as a gift, which she had brought from London	972
513	Fatima Jinnah to Edwina Mountbatten Letter	31	Thanks her for the gift of an antique box, appreciates the Vicereine's kind thoughts in remembering her during her trip to London	973
514	Mountbatten to Jinnah Letter	31	Invites him to a meeting on June 2, to which other Indian leaders had also been invited	973
515	Jinnah to Habib Bank, Delhi Letter	31	Returns a cheque with fresh authorisation for crediting the proceeds to the Bihar Relief Fund	974
516	Jinnah's notes on Pakistan	n d	Pakistan meant, to him, sovereignty of the people and all that Islam stands for, things spiritual rather than just material like power and security, loaves and fishes, and freedom regardless even of poverty	974

No	Description	Date June 1947	Main Subject(s)	Page
517	Jinnah to Mountbatten Letter	1	Refers to No 514 and accepts the invitation	975
518	Khan of Kalat to Jinnah Telegram	1	Requests him to grant interview to Abdul Rauf who was on his way to Delhi	975
519	Almas Daultana to Jinnah Letter	2	Gives details of expenses incurred in connection with the Civil Disobedience Movement	975
520	American Express to Jinnah Letter	2	Enclose a cheque for Rs 1650 remitted for credit to the Bihar Fund by one M Bakhsh of New York	977
521	Aziz Hindi to Jinnah Letter	2	Refers to No 464, says that the Muslims would not accept any system other than the one based on the ideals and concepts of Islam, urges an Islamic constitution to be drawn up by the AIML and not by any other body	977
522	I A Chishti to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	2	Encloses data on Hindu-Muslim population, argues that the AIML must not agree to forgo more than 40,000 square miles and 2 million people of the existing provinces demanded for Pakistan	980
523	Jinnah to M A Shakur Letter	2	Returns the dishonoured draft for Rs 52,866 sent for the Bihar Relief Fund and requests a fresh draft in its place	982
524	Khan of Kalat to Jinnah Letter & Enclosure	2	Thanks him for No 449 and encloses a copy of the letter which passed between their Private Secretaries regarding the guards provided by the Khan, suggests that in future the Secretaries themselves deal with the subject	983
525	Dina Wadia to Jinnah Letter	2/5	Thanks him for writing to her in spite of his pressing preoccupations, expresses heartfelt felicitations and filial pride on his having achieved Pakistan despite strong opposition, admires his broadcast on 3 June, hopes he would visit her soon, draws attention to the false news published in the *Forum* about his having sold the Bombay house	984

No	Description	Date	Summary
		February 1947	
1	Ahmad Khan to Jinnah Letter	26	Encloses a leaflet criticising the Gandhian theory of non-violence, suggests that in the Muslim majority provinces, minorities should be divided into "martial" and "non-martial" sections so as to help maintain peace
2	J Santos to all concerned	28	Sends a copy of the questionnaire relating to Administrative Enquiry Committee to promote efficient and economical administrative machinery
		March	
3	G Dayalsingh to Jinnah Letter	1	Rendered homeless by landlord, requests him to instruct authorities to provide him shelter
4	Report on the Indian Budget for 1947-48 by M S Natrajan	2	Examines salient features of the Indian Budget for 1947-48, lauds salt duty abolition, food subsidies and demands for sterling balance payments but criticises certain taxation measures and nationalisation of Reserve Bank, proposes inquiry into accumulation of private wealth and suggests retrenchment of inefficient Government employees
5	Anonym to Jinnah Questionnaire	6	Seeks to elicit his views about the British Government's Statement of 20 February, ML's entry into the Constituent Assembly and the possibility of the State of Pakistan emerging as a politically and economically viable entity by June 1948
6	Habib Bank, Delhi to Jinnah Letter	11	Acknowledge receipt of two bank drafts of Rs 16,474/6/- for the Bihar Relief Fund
7	Ghulam Mohyddin to Jinnah Telegram	12	Refers to his letter, requests despatch of letters
8	Bell to Jinnah Letter	13	Regrets despatch of two bottles from old stock of Steradent by mistake, replaces them with new bottles
9	Bachh to Jinnah Telegram	15	Urgently wants to know if Goffar was successful
10	M A Hannan to Jinnah Letter	15	Requests for accommodation for Muslim Sporting Club in the Muslim Gymkhana Building
11	Honorary Secretary, Primary Muslim League, Rander to Jinnah Letter	17	Informs that the amount of Rs 11,500 sent to Habib Bank, Delhi, for the Bihar Relief Fund had not been acknowledged, seeks Jinnah's intervention

12	Moulvi Khaleque to the Railway authorities (Copy to Jinnah) Letter	17	Requests the railway authorities for protection of neglected graveyards at Amingaon (Assam)
13	Yousuf Haroon to Jinnah Letter	17	Requests ML Members of the Central Assembly, including Jinnah, to pay annual subscription of Rs 100 for the 1947 Session
14	Parameswaram to Jinnah Letter	18	Despatches his booklet *The Inequity of the Punjab League and its Significance* and urges Jinnah to read it
15	Sadiq Hussain Khan to Jinnah Letter	18	Seeks financial help and recommendation to facilitate admission in Muslim University, Aligarh
16	S Dayal to Jinnah Letter	18	Highly concerned about communal riots, appeals to Jinnah to use his influence and persuade the Congress to control communal violence
17	Under Secretary (*Hajj*) to *Hajj* Offices Circular	19	Lists telephone numbers of *Hajj* offices
18	R Haq to Jinnah Letter	19	Requests employment
19	Ubaidur Rehman to Jinnah Letter	21	Requests monetary assistance to set up a factory, states that the help sought was to escape jeers of Sikh relatives who were angry at his having embraced Islam
20	M Kh (?) to Jinnah Letter	21	Describes her woeful pecuniary circumstances and seeks financial succour
21	Sh Ghulam Muhammad to Jinnah (& Mamdot) Letter & Enclosure	21	Professing to be the Divinely appointed Imam Mehdi (the Promised Saviour), disapproves of AIML's version of Pakistan and promises that, if authorised to negotiate with the Congress and the Government, he would secure a far better, "Spiritual Pakistan", otherwise threatens to use his spiritual powers to block its Pakistan
22	Bulletin of the All India Friends of the Soviet Union, Bombay	23	Describes and comments on events taking place in China and elsewhere in the world
23	Hony General Secretary, Bombay Provincial ML	25	Notifies about the meeting of the Working Committee of the Bombay Provincial ML to be held on 28 March
24	Habib Rahimtoola to Jinnah Letter	28	Encloses a copy of the Report of the Muslim Students' Union, Bombay
25	M Y Sheikh to Jinnah Letter	28	Seeks an interview
26	Jugal Kishore to Editor, *Vir Bharat*, Lahore (Copy to Jinnah) Letter	29	Informs that he had had a dream with animals and birds lamenting about the huge expenses incurred by Members of the Legislative Assembly at the hustings, conveys his assurance given to the animals etc that he would seek election to the Assembly as their representative

		April	
27	J Singh to Jinnah Telegram	1	Acknowledges his telegram, requests meeting on board the BOAC aircraft at Delhi on 11 April 1947
28	*Times of India* News Item	1	Reports communal rioting in certain areas of Bombay City leading to the arrest of 100 persons and the imposition of curfew
29	Ahmad Ispahani to Jinnah Letter	8	Encloses a cutting from the *New York Herald Tribune* of 19 March 1947
30	Zameer Hussain Qureshi to Jinnah Letter	20	As Prophet Ibrahim-incarnate, conveys Allah's message to Jinnah not to demand Pakistan but to negotiate for coalition ministries instead, as suggested in his book *Paigham-i-Huq*
31	A Baqui to Mountbatten (Copy to Jinnah) Letter	25	Offers solution to Indian problems, points to the threat posed by the sinister combine of Japan, China and the Hindus, suggests that three zones be created to break the combine Indonesia to thwart Japan, Bengal to check China and the Punjab to save Muslims from disintegration, adds that Hindus grossly exaggerated the riot casualties in Noakhali while playing down those in Bihar, requests that Bengal and the Punjab be declared independent and regarded as allies of the British Commonwealth
32	Note on representation of Muslim Officers in the Royal Indian Air Force	n d	Gives community-wise representation of General Duties and Technical Officers in RIAF, deplores under-representation of the Muslims
		May	
33	C I Sheikh to Jinnah Money Order	1	Donates Rs 4 towards Bihar Relief Fund
34	Habib Bank,Calcutta to Secretary, Muslim Students Peoples Association Calcutta	2	Returns cheque for the Bihar Relief Fund due to the closure of the Fund, suggests sending the same to Jinnah
35	S A Mirza to Jinnah Letter	3	Requests appointment as his Assistant Secretary
36	Chatham House, London Note (Incomplete)	8	Discusses the question of distribution of assets and liabilities of the Government of India between the successor States and also the principle of distribution of territory on the basis of percentage of population of various communities
37	M Hassan to Jinnah Letter	14	Acknowledges his cheque for Rs 50,000 which had been credited to the *Dawn* account
38	Ikshvaku to Mountbatten (Copies to Jinnah and Others)	15	Encloses a pamphlet *Indian National Reconstruction*, which might help in framing an acceptable constitution for

	Letter & Enclosure		India and solving the communal problem, opposes partition of the subcontinent
39	Statement of Bihar ML Central Relief Fund	31	Copies of the Balance Sheet of the Bihar Relief Fund for March, April, and May 1947
40	Note on representation of Muslims among the recently commissioned officers of the Army	n d	Exposes the disproportionately high representation of the Sikhs, observes that the Muslims were under-represented on the Selection Boards and that the Nationalisation Committee of the Army had no Muslim member

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Statement by British Government on Indian Policy [1]
Prime Minister Clement Attlee's Address to Parliament on 20 February 1947

F 22/2-4

1 It has long been the policy of successive British Governments to work towards the realisation of self-government in India In pursuance of this policy an increasing measure of responsibility has been devolved on Indians and to-day the civil administration and the Indian Armed Forces rely to a very large extent on Indian civilians and officers In the constitutional field the Acts of 1919 and 1935 passed by the British Parliament each represented a substantial transfer of political power In 1940 the Coalition Government recognised the principle that Indians should themselves frame a new constitution for a fully autonomous India, and in the offer of 1942[2] they invited them to set up a Constituent Assembly for this purpose as soon as the war was over

2 His Majesty's Government believe this policy to have been right and in accordance with sound democratic principles Since they came into office, they have done their utmost to carry it forward to its fulfilment The declaration of the Prime Minister of 15th March last,[3] which met with general approval in Parliament and the country, made it clear that it was for the Indian people themselves to choose their future status and constitution and that in the opinion of His Majesty's Government the time had come for responsibility for the Government of India to pass into Indian hands

3 The Cabinet Mission which was sent to India last year spent over three months in consultation with Indian leaders in order to help them to agree upon a method for determining the future constitution of India, so that the transfer of power might be smoothly and rapidly effected It was only when it seemed clear that without some initiative from the Cabinet Mission agreement was unlikely to be reached that they put forward proposals themselves

4 These proposals, made public in May last,[4] envisaged that the future constitution of India should be settled by a Constituent Assembly composed, in the manner suggested therein, of representatives of all communities and interests in British India and of the Indian States

5. Since the return of the Mission an Interim Government has been set up at the Centre composed of the political leaders of the major communities exercising wide powers within the existing constitution

In all the Provinces Indian Governments responsible to Legislatures are in office

6 It is with great regret that His Majesty's Government find that there are still differences among Indian Parties which are preventing the Constituent Assembly from functioning as it was intended that it should It is of the essence of the plan that the Assembly should be fully representative

7 His Majesty's Government desire to hand over their responsibility to authorities established by a constitution approved by all parties in India in accordance with the Cabinet Mission's Plan, but unfortunately there is at present no clear prospect that such a constitution and such authorities will emerge The present state of uncertainty is fraught with danger and cannot be indefinitely prolonged His Majesty's Government wish to make it clear that it is their definite intention to take the necessary steps to effect the transference of power into responsible Indian hands by a date not later than June 1948

8 This great sub-continent now containing over 400 million people has for the last century enjoyed peace and security as a part of the British Commonwealth and Empire Continued peace and security are more than ever necessary to-day if the full possibilities of economic development are to be realised and a higher standard of life attained by the Indian people

9 His Majesty's Government are anxious to hand over their responsibilities to a Government which, resting on the sure foundation of the support of the people, is capable of maintaining peace and administering India with justice and efficiency It is therefore essential that all parties should sink their differences in order that they may be ready to shoulder the great responsibilities which will come upon them next year

10 After months of hard work by the Cabinet Mission a great measure of agreement was obtained as to the method by which a constitution should be worked out This was embodied in their statements of May last His Majesty's Government there agreed to recommend to Parliament a constitution worked out, in accordance with the proposals made therein, by a fully representative Constituent Assembly But if it should appear that such a constitution will not have been worked out by a fully representative Assembly before the time mentioned in paragraph 7, His Majesty's Government will have to consider to whom the powers of the Central Government in British India should be handed over, on the due date, whether as a whole to some form of central Government for British India or in some areas to the

existing Provincial Governments, or in such other way as may seem most reasonable and in the best interests of the Indian people

11 Although the final transfer of authority may not take place until June 1948, preparatory measures must be put in hand in advance It is important that the efficiency of the civil administration should be maintained and that the defence of India should be fully provided for But inevitably, as the process for transfer proceeds, it will become progressively more difficult to carry out to the letter all the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935 Legislation will be introduced in due course to give effect to the final transfer of power

12 In regard to the Indian States, as was explicitly stated by the Cabinet Mission, His Majesty's Government do not intend to hand over their powers and obligations under paramountcy to any Government of British India It is not intended to bring paramountcy, as a system, to a conclusion earlier than the date of the final transfer of power, but it is contemplated that for the intervening period the relations of the Crown with individual States may be adjusted by agreement

13 His Majesty's Government will negotiate agreements in regard to matters arising out of the transfer of power with the representatives of those to whom they propose to transfer power

14 His Majesty's Government believe that British commercial and industrial interests in India can look forward to a fair field for their enterprise under the new conditions The commercial connection between India and the United Kingdom has been long and friendly, and will continue to be to their mutual advantage

15 His Majesty's Government cannot conclude this statement without expressing on behalf of the people of this country their goodwill and good wishes towards the people of India as they go forward to this final stage in their achievement of self-government It will be the wish of everyone in these islands that, notwithstanding constitutional changes, the association of the British and Indian peoples should not be brought to an end, and they will wish to continue to do all that is in their power to further the well-being of India

[1]For initial reactions of Jinnah and others, see Appendix I

[2]See Appendix II

[3]This refers to the announcement made by Prime Minister Clement Attlee in the House of Commons about sending a British Cabinet Mission to India to consult Indian political leaders for a consensus on the future form of Indian Government See *Civil & Military Gazette*, 16 March 1946

[4]See Appendix III

2

Abid Ahmedali to M A Jinnah

F 210/8-13

CONFIDENTIAL

MUSLIM UNIVERSITY, ALIGARH,
20 February 1947

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Emboldened by the kind attention you always gave me whenever I had the chance to speak to you on the University affairs during your visits to Aligarh, I take the liberty of addressing you these lines in the hope that you will give them your utmost consideration Kindly allow me in the beginning to remind you that I was one of the very few founders, along with the late Abdus Sattar Kheiri, of the Muslim University Muslim League in 1937, and that I was its first President

About three years ago when you were on a visit to Aligarh, I had the opportunity to express my views about the conditions in the Muslim University I discussed with you the question of the Vice-Chancellorship of the University, and on your asking for definite names I also suggested a few names which you noted down in your notebook The impression I got from the interest you took in the views I expressed was that you would be keenly interested in this question. You would also remember that the late Sattar Kheiri and myself always expressed the view that the Muslim University should occupy a prominent place in the programme of Muslim nation-building I still hold that view, even more staunchly

I have hesitated to address these lines to you for quite a long time, for I feared that I might be taken to be siding with any of the parties here If I have ever disliked anything during my career at Aligarh (I have been here continuously since 1923), it is this The moment party feeling and strife came into the University Muslim League I retired from active part in it But now the conditions in Aligarh have come to such a juncture that if immediate steps are not taken to set things right I am afraid your "arsenal of Muslim India"[1] will be destroyed

I believe that you are acquainted at least with the bare facts that have happened here during the last seven or eight months, which culminated in the revolt of the students against Dr Ziauddin[2] and compelled him to hand over his resignation to them I regard all these various events as intimately connected with, and logically flowing out of, one another It would be a great mistake to regard the incident of

his resignation as an isolated phenomenon

When Dr Z was elected Vice-Chancellor about six years ago, it was supposed, rightly or wrongly, that he had at least your implicit support, apart from the fact that he was to all intents a Muslim Leaguer He, however, did not do anything either to encourage and strengthen the League here, or to discourage it The League was allowed to eke out its existence as best as it could without any support from him But an abrupt change came in his attitude towards the League here in particular, and towards all activities of the students that savoured of national awakening amongst them, immediately after the Congress Government came into power in the U P

The position at present is that the University League is virtually banned and suppressed by him, while the students are discouraged from taking any part in any legitimate political or even social activities [3] Whatever the students have done in the elections and even in Bihar relief they have done in spite of active opposition from him He seems to entertain a wholesome fear of the Congress Ministry, and from the policy he has been consistently following, the suspicion seems to be justified that he has given some sort of an undertaking to the Congress Ministry with regard to the banning of all political activity in the University Even to mention the martyrs of Bihar was declared a sin in the Muslim University

The feeling amongst the students has been rising against him since the students suspected that he had given an undertaking to Pant[4] and Kidwai,[5] and then appeared reports about this in Hindu papers which he could not satisfactorily contradict Then came the elections of the Union Ministry[6] in March last The one thing that Dr Z is afraid of is that the students be united and be strong Consequent upon the splendid work that the Aligarh students had done in the League elections, they had cultivated in them both those qualities and there was a wonderful awakening among them Mr Mustafa,[7] who was an ardent Leaguer and who had taken an active part in the League elections and consequently had become a hero, was contesting for the Vice-Presidentship of the Union He was supported by an overwhelming majority of the students While his victory was sure, Dr Z sowed the seeds of discord among the students by stopping the elections and putting over his head his rival as the President of the Union

Then came the Bihar massacres The students spontaneously, under the leadership of Mustafa, organised help for the Bihar victims, and wanted to send batches of relief volunteers The students of Aligarh never before rose to such heights of self-sacrifice and organised efforts

as they did on this occasion They were moved to the very core of their being. They were discouraged to even pass a resolution condemning the Bihar massacres, not to speak of sending a batch of volunteers or a medical mission But I am glad to tell you they succeeded in everything they wanted to do in spite of all the obstacles that Dr Z could place in their path They sent three batches of volunteers, including one medical mission consisting of two doctors, one *hakim*, two compounders, etc , and 12 cases of medicines—all their expenses were borne by the students under the auspices of the Union Besides, they sent about 15,000 clothes, 300 blankets and 500 woollen jerseys In one of the Halls, the students [decided to] forego [*sic*] all the dishes except *dal* and saved about Rs 3,000 for Bihar relief from their food expenses Naturally, they were indignant with him when he discouraged them from sending help to their brothers and sisters who had suffered so much in Bihar, and from showing sympathy to those who were victims of unspeakable horrors But they bore all this with becoming fortitude

A little while before this, [Dr] Z had suddenly changed his policy with regard to the admission of students to the University In order to please the Congress Government, he had announced in the papers that this year the number of students would be greatly reduced, giving, of course, very specious reasons for doing so Again, Mustafa agitated and tried to get students admitted who had arrived in Aligarh from distant parts of India

Then came the Sind elections Dr Z again called the President of the Muslim University Muslim League and plainly told him that he would not let a single student go to Sind However, the students did go in spite of him Some time before this he had told the President (Mr Manzar-i-Alam) that he had banned the League and had informed the Quaid-i-Azam and Nawab Ismail Khan about this! Clever as he is, he had made Mr Manzar's position in Aligarh so difficult that he had ultimately to leave this place

To crown all this, came the banning by him of a brief note on the Bihar martyrs in the Aligarh Students Magazine It was too much for the righteous sense of the students and they rose against him and compelled him to resign

I have very briefly stated only some of the things that have happened in Aligarh You cannot awaken the young men to a sense of responsibility and ask them to take part in the tasks that face the Muslim nation at present, and at the same time expect them to behave like dumb-driven cattle as far as the affairs under their very noses are

concerned They have been, in fact, seeing too much Every one of them knows all the misdeeds of their Vice-Chancellor—his black marketing and his other irregularities in the administration of this great trust of the Muslim Nation—how he has been mixing up the money of the University with his own and making money True or untrue, such are the things known even to the peons of this place Do you think any decent man can have any respect for such a man?

Now the rumour is that he is being brought back as the Vice-Chancellor, and that by the Muslim Leaguers of high rank There will not be a greater outrage against the Muslim youth and against the Muslim Nation From my experience of him, I tell you that if he is reinstalled, there will be a reign of persecution against the students and they will be victimised in a hundred and one subtle ways The students are already demoralised and frustrated, as already black lists are being prepared My appeal to you is for God's sake come to the help of this University and the Muslim youth and save both from destruction, moral and spiritual The students of Aligarh, in their righteous indignation, have accomplished a task (their method may be wrong) which even you would have found difficult of accomplishment.

The meeting of the Muslim University Court has been called to meet on 2nd March to consider his resignation Only you can intervene and appoint a decent man as Vice-Chancellor, otherwise Dr Z will be reinstalled Any other man will do as V C, e g Khwaja Nazimuddin, Azizul Haque, Firoz Khan Noon, etc,[8] But you have to act quickly in order to save the "arsenal of Muslim India"

In the end, I apologise to you for writing to you such a long letter, but I have done this in all good faith

With most respectful regards,

ABID AHMEDALI
M A, D Phil (OXON)

[1]Jinnah often referred to the Muslim University, Aligarh, as "arsenal of Muslim India"
[2] Hereafter referred to as Dr Z in the original
[3]The statement does not represent the factual position The League was an active body
[4]Govind Ballabh Pant, Premier of UP
[5]Rafi Ahmad Kidwai, Minister in the UP Cabinet
[6]The Students Union
[7]A T M Mustafa, Vice-President, Muslim University Students Union
[8]Nawab Muhammad Ismail Khan took over as the next Vice-Chancellor

3

Anonym[1] *to M A Jinnah*

F 832/9-10

[Original in Urdu]

OFFICE OF THE PRIMARY MUSLIM LEAGUE,
UPPER TORAIL, P O DASGAON, KOLABA, BOMBAY,
20 February 1947

Shahinshah-i-Millat, Pride of the Nation!
Respected Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah,

During the recent riots, one Muslim, Ali Khan Muhammad Khan, was injured after being attacked by five Hindus On 14th December, we brought the case to the notice of the Police Sub-Inspector of Meharh and he came here to investigate it, but during the inquiry he took a biased attitude and weakened our case We complained about it to the Police Superintendent, but he ignored our complaint

There are about a hundred houses belonging to Muslims and nearby there are about fifty large villages which belong to Hindus All land in this village is owned by Muslims, who practise agriculture with the help of Hindu labour But, for the past six months, the Hindus have totally boycotted the Muslims and, consequently, we are suffering a great loss

We also own lands in the neighbouring villages but we have no access to them also All Congress leaders are instigating the Hindus saying that in the light of the Tenancy Act all land belongs to them and the *zamindars* have no right over them Responsible officers are supporting their stand

Taking advantage of this Act, the Hindus are tormenting us and are occupying our lands by force, and we, being in a minority here, cannot do anything about it Since the Government is biased against us, we have to suffer in silence

Mr Kale, *Muamalatdar* of Meharh Taluka,[2] accompanied by Magistrate No 3, Mr Deshmukh (a Hindu) and a Congress leader, Mr Nana Prohit, came here on the 17th of January They gathered people round them Kale Muamalatdar told the Hindus that they could graze their animals on Muslim lands, and there was no hitch in doing this, because it was Hindustan and not Pakistan He also said that all lands here belonged to Hindus, and the Muslims had no right to them

The Magistrate told the Muslims that all their land was to be turned into pastures He especially requested the Collector to declare 150 acres of the land belonging to the Muslims as pastures It is to be noted that, in our area, the Government forest is spread over 60 acres and the Hindus could graze their cattle there without any difficulty

Besides, the *Muamalatdar* also indulged in a highly provocative talk

[*Incomplete*]

[1]We have used this word here and subsequently to indicate a person who remains nameless or anonymous

[2]Terms like *Taluka, Muamalatdar, Deh,* etc, have not been given in italic wherever used with proper names

4

Indian Muslim Students in USA to M A Jinnah

F 867/81

923 CLYMER PLACE, MADISON, WISCONSIN, U S A,
20 February 1947

We are deeply moved by the tragedy of Bihar As a mark of deep sympathy, love and affection for the Muslims of Bihar who stoically faced hardships for upholding the cause of the Muslim Nation, we are sending herewith Rs 663 ($201 22) as the first instalment for their relief work We assure you of our services for our religion and people

INDIAN MUSLIM STUDENTS IN U S A

5

Muhammad Ishaq to K H Khurshid[1]

K 69/139-141[2]

JAMMU,
20 February 1947

My dear Khurshid,

Thanks for the letter I am really sorry that I did not write earlier to relieve you of suspense One reason for this omission was that there was little to write about as you will know from the following twice-told tale

We have captured 7 out of 9 seats in Jammu and Poonch, losing

Bhimber and Kathua through official interference We have filed election[3] petitions for both of these constituencies In Poonch, Udhampur and Jammu Districts our opponents forfeited securities In Jammu, Sheikh Amin polled merely 500 votes as against 1,400 polled by Ch Hamidullah. From Kashmir, we have received offers of allegiance from Maulvi Abdulla of Shopian, Mr Inayat Ullah Kakru of Baramula, Mr Gilkar of Srinagar and Mr [?] (a Shia member) four certainties Mr Ghulam Ahmad Jeweller (Srinagar) is another but a doubtful ally We have not been able to tackle the rest so far due to the excessive snowfall in the valley and a virtual blocking of the country roads We should have 12, if not more, out of 21 elected Muslims with us in the Assembly not bad, considering the odds, particularly the elimination of our candidates at the scrutiny By the way we filed a petition against the return of Mian Ahmad Yar to the Assembly from Muzaffarabad We have been pestering the Government with the demand for release of Abbass, Saghar, Shaukat and others To-day we are meeting the Prime Minister in this respect In case the Government finally refuses their release—and the chances are fifty-fifty each way—we are committed to boycott the next Assembly session in March or to resign from the Assembly altogether We might also decide to convene a meeting of the party at Palundari (a storm-centre) in Poonch and decide upon some form of direct action Before that, however, Ch Hamidullah will try to contact the Quaid-i-Azam as suggested by you We might know something definite in a couple of days I shall keep you informed of the developments

We are doing some organizational work, too, beginning from Bhimber in our fitful way

The *Javed* is still facing pre-censorship and hence the delay in its appearance The *Pakistan Times* has asked me to work as a correspondent from Jammu and I have sent it news The Orient Press continues to ignore me

It is a great consolation for all the friends that we have one so near the Quaid-i-Azam who has the cause of the Muslims of Kashmir uppermost in his mind

Yours sincerely,
MUHAMMAD ISHAQ

PS We have also demanded that out of four representatives from Kashmir for the Constituent Assembly, three should be Muslims selected by single transferable vote of elected Muslims in the

Assembly We can get *two* Muslim Conference[4] men in this way out of *three*

[1]Persons writing to Jinnah about Kashmir generally addressed their letters to his Private Secretary K H Khurshid who was himself a Kashmiri
[2]Kashmir, I, SHC
[3]Elections to the Jammu and Kashmir State Legislative Assembly were held in January 1947
[4]The All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference was founded at Srinagar in 1932 by Sheikh Abdullah and Ch Ghulam Abbass In May 1938, it was re-named as All Jammu and Kashmir National Conference and opened its membership to non-Muslims as well In October 1940, the Muslim Conference was revived under the leadership of Ch Ghulam Abbass

6

Besh Lall to M A Jinnah

F 917/123

SHREE JAGJIWAN ASHRAM,
AURANGABAD, GAYA (BIHAR),
20 February 1947

Dear Friend,

I enclose herewith the followings for informations [*sic*] Please oblige and communicate

Yours faithfully,
BESH LALL
President,
All India Achhutistan Movement

Enclosure to No 6

F 917/124-128

SHREE JAGJIWAN[1] ASHRAM,
AURANGABAD, GAYA (BIHAR),
17 February 1947

Proceedings of the meeting of the Working Committee of All India Achhutistan Movement, held at Murli Hill, Gaya, on 16 2 47, between 2 30 p m and 4 p m, as scheduled, with Mr Besh Lall, the founder of the Movement, in the chair An address of welcome was presented on behalf of the members to Mr Lall Mr Ramanand Prasad, Chief

Organiser, read out the address and garlanded the great leader of India
Members present, out of 13 of the whole Cabinet

1 Sjt Besh Lall
2. Sjt Dabadoo Ram
3 Sjt Baliram Prasad[2]
4 Sjt Ramanand Prasad
5 Sjt Lala Ram, and
6 Sjt Kasho Bhagat

The following resolutions were considered and passed unanimously

1 As this is the first meeting of the Movement after the death of Mahamana Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya, the great patriotic [*sic*] and one of the greatest educationists of India, this meeting deeply deplored the loss of the country and expressed its innermost regret and prays for his soul consolation [*sic*] and peace in heaven as well as peace and harmony of the aggrieved family

2 As this is the 3rd meeting of the Working Committee of the Movement, it expresses its innermost congratulations and thanks towards [*sic*] Mr Besh Lall, the founder of this Movement, for a unique and new development of a political party for those who were needy in times of critics [*sic*] and for the marvellous change of his consciousness, mind and activities of the greatest enterprising type [*sic*]

3 This meeting went through thoroughly studies [*sic*] of records regarding (i) correspondence with His Excellency the Viceroy of India, New Delhi, (ii) correspondence with High Commands of all political parties, such as A I C C[3] and A I Muslim League and the Hon'ble Members of the Interim Government, (iii) correspondence with the concerned [authorities] of the Provincial Governments, such as Governors and Ministers, (iv) activities and programmes of Mr Besh Lall from Bihar to Bengal upto [*sic*] Mahatma Gandhi in Noakhali, (East Bengal), and (v) his future programmes for U P , C P , Delhi, Bombay and Madras, etc , within March 1947

4 This meeting expresses its greatest pleasure and congratulations on the part of [*sic*] those like (i) Seth Shanti Prasad Jain of Calcutta, (ii) Sjt Sheobachan Prasad Singh, Manager, Tekari Raj, Gaya, (iii) Sjt Paraswath Singh, Manager, Tekari Raj, Gaya, (iv) Sjt Munesbar Prasad Singh, Manager, Deoraj, (v) Sjt Gaurishanker Singh of Sambe Estate, and (vi) Sjt Krishna Ballabh Narain Singh of Ramibigha Estate, Gaya, and others, for their full co-operation and support in the marvellous undertakings of Mr Besh Lall in the field of politicals [*sic*] in particular, and for those who are mostly degraded people of India in general, for their final goal.

5 This meeting also expresses its greatest congratulations and gratitude on the part of [*sic*] Hon'ble Mr Jagjivan Ram who left nothing [undone] to prepare Mr Besh Lall as a strong fighter for the future political battle of the *Achhuts* or Scheduled Castes or depressed classes of India This meeting also expresses its deep regrets on the part of [*sic*] those who have been trying to incur displeasure and non-co-operation only for maintaining their own leadership and popularity by entangling [*sic*] themselves as puppets at the hands of others for nothing but for their own momentary selfishness

6 This meeting also expresses its pleasure and congratulations towards [*sic*] the Hon'ble Ministers like Mr S K Sinha, Premier of Government of Bihar, Hon'ble Mr Jaglal Chaudhary, Minister of Excise, and Hon'ble Minister of Education and Development of the Government of Bihar, for their grant of money in connection with the construction of Shree Jagjiwan Ashram of Aurangabad, which is perhaps the only *Ashram* in the name of the great leader of the masses, in token of his honour [*sic*] for his services in the cause of community and country This *Ashram* since its inception is proud of its founder This meeting expresses its discard [*sic*] on the part of [*sic*] Hon'ble Mr A Qauim Ansari,[4] the Minister of P W D and Industries, Government of Bihar, for his refusal to visit the *Ashram* on his tour of Aurangabad while he visited several places This meeting is also of opinion of the highest discards [*sic*] on the part of [*sic*] Hon'ble Mr A N Sinha, the Finance Minister of Bihar, for his non-co-operation in planning of the honour of [*sic*] Mr Jagjivan Ram, the only brightened [*sic*] and greatest leader of the depressed class masses [*sic*] of India during the modern period It is this Minister who laid the foundation of this *Ashram* and did nothing of the kind [*sic*] for its development and thereby totally proved his bogusity [*sic*] He is the greatest block in the list of those who stand in the way of the destruction and suppression of the depressed class masses [*sic*] from whom this meeting is firm and confirm [*sic*] to get rid of [*sic*] at any cost

7 This meeting is firm and confirm [*sic*] of its opinion that no constitution [passed] either by the Constituent Assembly of today or of tomorrow may remain valid without the right and adequate representation of the vast *Achhut* community of India in the judiciary and executive bodies of the administration and unless and until A I Achhutistan Movement is recognised as an independent political party for deep deliberation in the cause of the said community and [has] complete hands [*sic*] in setting up

its representation in all constitutional affairs

8 This meeting strongly condemns the mean and malicious policies of the [newspaper] editors who are the mainly the persons of two main Nations, [sic] viz high caste Hindus and Muslims of India, and which are fighting between the two [sic] for strengthening their own political status and sovereignty over Indian soil and have been always trying to crush the vast *Achhut* community and keeping them under direct command for their menial works and do not let them develop in economic and scientific culture as well as no place has been given in their newspapers for the publication of their complaints, which is surely and certainly the greatest block [sic] of slavery for Indians against which they have been crying and crying for nothing [sic]

9 This meeting takes serious and the most objectionable [sic] attitude over the letter of All India Congress Committee, sent by Mr H Krishna Swami on dated [sic] 8 2 47 from New Delhi, and [it] cannot remain silent unless and until a justifiable explanation is being [sic] received from Desh Ratan Dr Rajendra Prasad, Chairman of the Constituent Assembly and Hon'ble Member of the Interim Government, and moreover a man of proud and proud of Indians [sic]

10 The construction of Shree Jagjiwan Ashram has been undertaken with a determined consideration to complete to its extremity [sic] on the moderate scale of Rs 25,000 (Rupees twenty-five thousand) [as] submitted to the Hon'ble Mr Jagjivan Ram, Labour Member of the Interim Government, by its founder during his auspiciouses [sic] of Bihar tour from 28 9 46 to 7 10 47 [sic for 46] and it is a matter of great regret that the actual demand has yet not been complied [with] Hence the work of construction is at every possibility to [sic] suffer for insufficiency of *funds*

This meeting strongly urges upon the Hon'ble Labour Member of the Interim Government to make up the demand as promised, urgently and immediately, as this *Ashram* has attracted the mass of the depressed classes towards the development of scientific culture [sic]

11 This meeting, after a good deal of deliberation and discussion, has come to this conclusion that the Second Annual Session of the Movement be held on Saturday and Sunday, the 12th and 13th April, 1947, at Gaya, under the presidentship of our great leader, Mr Besh Lall, founder of the Movement, and all possible necessities [sic] regarding *pandal* and expenditure be collected at every cost for the success of the session, for which a reception committee with following gentlemen has been constituted

1	Chairman	Sjt Inderdoo Prasad
2	Vice-Chairman	Sjt Ramnaresh Ram
3	Vice-Chairman	Sjt Balram Prasad
4	Secretary	Sjt Dabadoo Ram
5	Secretary	Sjt Balkeshwar Ram
6	Chief Organiser & Convenor	Sjt Ramanand Prasad

BESH LALL
President,
All India Achhutistan Movement

[1]In the document "Jagjivan" Ram was spelt as Jagjiwan This has been changed to Jagjivan Ram as spelled by him However "Jagjiwan" has been retained wherever used with *Ashram* as it is so spelt on the letterhead of Shree Jagjiwan Ashram
[2]This name and the name appearing against Vice-Chairman have been retained as in the original
[3]All India Congress Committee
[4]Refers to Abdul Qaiyum Ansari, Momin leader and Minister, Bihar

7

Ali Mahomed Mecklai to M A Jinnah

F 832/11

99 ESPLANADE ROAD, BOMBAY 1,
20 February 1947

Dear Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah,

I was very glad to receive an acknowledgment from the Private Secretary to the Finance Member, Government of India, of my letter dated 20th January 1947, offering my services

The other day I had an occasion to give an interview to Reuters, a copy of which I beg to submit to you for your information

Yours sincerely,
ALI MAHOMED MECKLAI

Enclosure to No 7

F 832/12

TO LONDON BY AIR MAIL

REUTERS, BOMBAY,
18 February 1947

The effect of the Bill for substituting nickel for silver coinage, introduced by the Finance Member of the Interim Government in the Central Assembly and the arguments advanced by him, cannot be gauged immediately, says Mr Ali Mahomed Mecklai, leading Bullion and Finance Broker, interviewed by Reuters One thing is certain that the psychological effect on the masses of India will not be very good, which every farmer knows who has to deal with produce and payments It is true that India has to return Lend-Lease silver to America and it is equally true that a large amount of silver India had sold away for a song to America during the last post-war period

As I had stated in my previous statements the rise in the price of precious metals is entirely due to the world inflation and the losses suffered by the population in occupied countries and it has nothing to do to any large extent with the so-called theory of hoarding which is the pet argument of financial correspondents and other experts Just about three months ago when the price of gold and silver both had declined substantially and every European newspaper reporter talked about a further fall in prices, subsequent events have proved the reverse This is due to the seasonal demand in the country (India) averaging between 200 and 300 bars a day (2,00,000 to 3,00,000 ounces) The Indian demand is likely to continue still for about four months and on an average it is estimated from best experience that the demand in the country would be annually between 80,000 and 1,00,000 bars

It is the national characteristic of the Eastern people, who have no other ways of spending their surplus money, if any, that they prefer the precious metals in the same manner as a modern person spends on luxuries of dress and clothes It is only when a depression like that of the 1930s comes that, under distress, selling of precious metals takes place, though on this point many economists of both the Eastern and Western schools may differ because they do not visualise the true condition of the country and the susceptibilities of its people The Eastern people generally never sell precious metals for profit with the exception of a small number of the middlemen and speculators The precious metal investments held by the people are the reserves of the country which could be utilised, as have been utilised since 1931 when

England went off the Gold Standard

Incidentally it may be remarked that the British Government securities in September 1931, including those of India, the Colonies, South Africa and Australia, were at a discount of 40-50 per cent and the exports of gold from India changed the whole aspect of the case and contributed most substantially to the rehabilitation of Great Britain and the other parts of the Empire including India It may be observed that these were India's resources to which the Empire had never contributed anything while the benefit went to the whole Empire

At a time when England is grudging to pay its Sterling Debt to India and is wanting to have it scaled down, it might be taken into consideration that the Sterling Debt was created at prices which were far below those ruling in other parts of the world for the commodities taken by Government under Defence Regulations At market rates the Sterling balances would easily be more than six to eight times what they are to-day (1,250 million)

8

Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy to M A Jinnah

F 458/54-56

WRITERS BUILDINGS, CALCUTTA,
20 February 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Perhaps you would like to know what all the trouble in Bengal has been about Mr Fazlul Huq is again out on his nefarious business and is doing everything in his power to undermine the solidarity of the Muslims Equally, he is defying all canons of parliamentary politics The situation developed as follows

Mr Fazlul Huq conceived the idea of becoming the President of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League and began to mobilise the students There was some suspicion regarding his bona fides, so he gave a document to them to the effect that he would never go against the Ministry That, also, was easy for him He went from hostel to hostel and from room to room He held meetings of students in which he abused me filthily as well as the Ministry There is a gentleman here, Mr. Nurul Amin, who is the Speaker of the House and who entertains a secret ambition of becoming Chief Minister He has joined hands

with Mr. Fazlul Huq and some of the disgruntled elements of Nazimuddin's party like Mr Hamidul Huq Choudhury, a young man by the name of Mohan Mia and Abdullah al Mahmud The latter two were nominated by the Parliamentary Board (where I have a majority) in the hopes that this would for all times to come bring about a reconciliation. Unfortunately, the reverse is the case

Mr Fazlul Huq induced the Muslim students to enter the Assembly compound and waylay the Members of the Assembly and threaten and intimidate them to support Mr Fazlul Huq in the Presidential election [1] Lorry-loads of students were sent, I understand, through the good offices of Mr Nurul Amin Some of the students entered the compound They created such a row that the President (of the Council then in session) ordered that no further students should be permitted to come in The students waylaid me but I refused to support Mr Fazlul Huq point-blank Other members had to temporize The students wanted to bring about a situation In fact, they said that whatever happened they would get arrested They started assaulting the police on duty It was only after eight policemen had been injured, the nose of a sergeant bashed in, [and] the badges of the sergeants taken away from their breasts that the police pushed them back There were two minor bruises on two students, but they made great ado about it and paraded with all kinds of bandages on their persons later on All the students were arrested and taken to the lock-up At my instance, they were all discharged except nine ring leaders who were let out on bail then and there The students paraded the whole of the night shouting "Fazlul Huq *Zindabad*" and "Suhrawardy *Murdabad*" The actual purpose of Mr Fazlul Huq's campaign thus came to the surface My supporters mobilised [themselves] the next day and went out in lorries with counter slogans Mr Hamidul Huq Choudhury came to me and begged me to use my influence and withdraw the demonstrators, giving an assurance that the students would not come out and that the next day the election will be held in a calm atmosphere I induced some of the Calcutta gentlemen who had organised the demonstrations in my favour to withdraw their lorries After a great deal of persuasion and after they had told me that I was tactically wrong they agreed to withdraw the lorries In the evening, however, the students came out and paraded their lorries with their usual defamatory slogans The next day the meeting was held [2] My resolution was placed before the Council It was opposed by Mr Fazlul Huq's party, and ultimately my resolution was carried by a large majority Then came the discussion on Noakhali

and Tippera [riots] Here some Muslims have been arrested, and in Tippera itself the Superintendent of Police, without consulting the District Magistrate, who is a Muslim, or the Public Prosecutor, who is [also] a Muslim, made an application directly before the District Judge who is a Hindu through the Court Inspector, who is [also] a Hindu, for the cancellation of bail of some of the Muslims accused [sic] The bail of about 340 such accused [persons] was cancelled The matter went up to the High Court and the High Court upheld the order of the Sessions Judge This created a great deal of furore Also two incidents occurred where there was firing on a Muslim crowd I have had inquiries instituted into both of these incidents I have had the Superintendent of Police transferred and the District Judge also is going to be transferred Whenever any case has been brought to my notice regarding oppression on Muslims, I have taken steps to rectify it, but I cannot possibly release all the Muslims on bail or discharge the cases against them Firstly, I have no power to interfere with bail matters But [secondly,] the demands of the Muslims are extravagant Advantage, however, was taken of the situation at Tippera and at Noakhali, where also Muslims are being arrested and where Gandhi is moving about to abuse me and the Ministry at his meetings A resolution was passed for a full and independent inquiry I am having an inquiry instituted by an officer of high rank

Mr Fazlul Huq has captured the students by all kinds of promises He went to Comilla where he held meetings and in his usual manner abused us and charged almost the entire party, except four or five people, with bribery and corruption He is not attending the meetings of the Legislative Assembly and is wandering about there making anti-Ministerial speeches You may have seen that, having been reprimanded by Gandhi, he is seeking an interview with him "to clear up all matters"

Do you think that under such circumstances Mr Fazlul Huq, who has joined the Muslim League Party, is entitled to speak against the Muslim League Ministry? Can disciplinary action be taken against him and, if so, which is the body that can do so? I shall be grateful if you could offer me some advice to meet the situation

Yours sincerely,
SHAHEED SUHRAWARDY

[1]Muslim students demonstrating on 6 February demanded that Fazlul Huq be elected President of the Bengal ML in place of Maulana Akram Khan who had resigned The Council of the Provincial ML passed a resolution requesting Maulana Akram Khan to withdraw his resignation from the presidentship of the Provincial ML *Pakistan Times*, 8 and 11 February 1947

[2]The Council meeting was held on 8 and 9 February 1947 Ibid, 11 February 1947

9

Zamındars etc of Karachı Taluka to M A Jınnah

F 908/16-20

KARACHI,
20 February 1947

Respected Sır,

We the undersıgned Muslım *zamındars*, cultıvators (*harıs*) and agrıcultural labour resıdıng ın Vıllage Hajı Murad Memon, Malır, Taluka Karachı, beg respectfully to submıt the followıng few lınes on our most pıtıable plıght and hope and pray [that] the same would receıve just, due and sympathetıc consıderatıon [at] your benevolent hands

1 DEBTS BILL

It ıs expedıent and ın the larger ınterest of the Muslım masses to pass the above [mentıoned] Bıll to restore lawful and rıghtful propertıes (agrıcultural-garden lands) to theır Muslım owners Moneylenders [and] commıssıon agents (*vakahr-wallas*) have acquıred these lands from the orıgınal Muslım holders by way of *Mortgage or Condıtıonal Sales*, but had absolute *Conveyance (Sale) Deeds* executed by the orıgınal holders and thus successfully mısappropnated these valuable propertıes To clarıfy the posıtıon, ıt may be submıtted for an ınstance that on beıng approached by a needy Muslım landholder, a moneylender or a commıssıon agent had a conveyance deed executed for hıs landed property for, say, Rs 500 or Rs 1,500 But thıs ıs land, the crop whereof ıs sold ın the market for Rs 5,000 or Rs 6,000 Can such a land yıeldıng an annual ıncome of Rs 5,000 or Rs 6,000 be sold for Rs 500 or Rs 1,500? No sane man ın possessıon of hıs normal senses would ever do ıt Thus although on paper and consequently ın Government records ıt ıs a sale (or conveyance) of the saıd landed property, ın effect ıt ıs *Mortgage or Condıtıonal Sale* by mutual but verbal understandıng, whıch enables the moneylenders or commıssıon agents to successfully take away valuable propertıes of Muslım holders and deprıve them of the same Steps must be taken to re-secure these propertıes for the orıgınal holders, who are mostly and maınly Muslıms If requıred, we can cıte numerous ınstances to prove the facts mentıoned hereın

2 REVISION OF RATES OF LAND REVENUE ASSESSMENT

Prevıously, land revenue assessment for *wahı chahı* lands ın Deh

Kharkharo and the adjoining *dehs* was only Re 1 per acre It has been raised to Rs 7/8/- per acre from the current year

The land revenue levied for the lands in Deh Malah was previously Rs 3/8/- per acre This year it has been raised to Rs 7/8/- per acre The revision in rates of land revenue assessment mentioned above is too heavy and beyond our feeble capacity There is no canal in Karachi Taluka In other words, the Government incur absolutely no expenses in providing water to the *zamindars* for cultivation of lands as is done by them in Sind, where nine-tenths share of the land revenue collected is appropriated by the Public Works Department of the Governmènt for expenses in providing water to the *zamindars* The entire expenses for procuring water are incurred by the poor *zamindar* He has to dig wells, purchase water-pumping engines and oil for them and pay for their working, repairs, and replacements and also the wages of the driver A *zamindar* in Sind does not incur any of these expenses Taking into consideration the thousands of expenses incurred by the *zamindars* in this area (which are not shared in the least by the Government) it is only meet and proper that the rates of land revenue assessment should be revised and so fixed as to place less burden on the feeble shoulders of the *zamindar* in Karachi Taluka than is placed on the shoulders of a *zamindar* in other parts of Sind in whose case nine-tenths share of the land revenue assessment is treated as expense incurred by the Government in procuring water for the *zamindar* In other words, the land revenue leviable in this area should be one-ninth of what is charged from the *zamindar* in other parts of Sind

3 LEASE MONEY

It is a new charge introduced in Karachi Taluka without any justification In view of the above facts, it must also go

Quaid-i-Azam, we have high hopes from you Our grievances are genuine and demands just and we earnestly urge upon you to be mercifully moved to give necessary direction for redress of our grievances and grant of our demands as prayed for above, for which act of kindness we shall ever remain grateful

Respectfully submitted through the Karachi Taluka Zamindars & Abadkars Association

We beg to remain, Respected Sir,
Your most obedient servants,
HAJI YAQUB & 32 OTHERS

10

Allah Bachayo Bakar Khan & Others to M A Jinnah

F 886/39

KARACHI,
21 February 1947

Sir,

We, the undersigned, beg most respectfully to submit that our conditions are most miserable and pitiable We request, therefore, that you would very kindly be pleased to give our case due, sympathetic and just consideration at your benevolent hands and do something to ameliorate our condition

We submit herewith a printed memorandum We pray you would kindly be pleased to spare a few moments of your most precious time and peruse the same It would throw light on the whole position

It is indeed fortunate that you are encamping here at a time when the Session of the Sind Legislative Assembly is on and the Province is being ruled by a purely Muslim League Ministry It should, therefore, be possible to have necessary steps taken to (i) reduce the rates of land revenue assessment, and (ii) do away with the charge of lease money, which has recently been introduced, and [thus] give us much-needed relief

We hope and pray that our case would be taken up for consideration and necessary directions given to the quarters concerned to relieve the much-overburdened *zamindars* of the hardships and give them economic relief due to them which would in turn mean much relief to the poor masses as well For this act of kindness, we and the Muslim masses shall ever remain grateful and pray for your long [life] and prosperity

We beg to remain, Sir,
Your most obedient servants,
ALLAH BACHAYO BAKAR KHAN & OTHERS

Enclosure to No 10

F *886/40-41*

KARACHI,
[?] *July 1946*

MEMORANDUM

Subject· Abnormal Taxation (650% increase) in Konkar Tract *barani dehs*, Karachi Taluka

Sir,

We represent the farmers of a Dry Scarcity Area, the *barani dehs* of Karachi Taluka in which is included the Konkar tract The condition of the farmers is extremely poor, they are now facing ruin and complete annihilation on account of the recent imposition of enhanced land revenue, the increase being six hundred fifty per cent (650%) for *wahi chahi* mode of cultivation Such an abnormal increase in taxation is unheard of in the history of the British Administration in India and in any of the previous Land Revenue Settlements that have so far been carried out We, therefore, raise our voice from the wilderness and submit this appeal for redress Several petitions have been submitted to the authorities, a copy of the last petition is enclosed The main grounds of our petitions are briefly as under

2 Any *increase of land revenue assessment in a dry scarcity area where water is not visible in long stretches, several miles from each other, is grossly unjustified* [1] There are no canals, the rainfall is scanty and some years are dry The cultivated area is only about 5%, the remaining 95% being barren Out of the 5% cultivation, 3½% is *barani* and 1½% is *wahi chahi*

3 *No difference has been made between the two main groups of villages in respect of revised rates of assessment for* wahi chahi *areas*, viz (i) the *barani dehs* of Karachi Taluka in which Konkar Tract is included, and (ii) the *wahi chahi dehs* of Karachi Taluka in which Malir tract comes in These two tracts are distinct and entirely different in all respects of soil condition, accessibility of subsoil water, nature and extent of crops and expenses of cultivation, Malir area being much more prosperous than Konkar area This is evident from the fact that the old rate of assessment for *wahi chahi* in Konkar tract was Re 1 per acre and in Malir tract Rs 3/8/0 per acre These differences have been ignored and one and the same enhanced rate has been fixed for both tracts, viz Rs 7/8/0 per acre *Thus the increase is 650% in Konkar tract and 114% in Malir area* The Settlement Officer merely examined the Malir tract and

applied the standards thereof wholesale to the Konkar area without investigating or appreciating the essential differences indicated above This is against the basic principles prescribed and approved by Government for revision of settlements

4. *The maximum limits of increase prescribed by Government for revision of land revenue are 33% in case of* taluka *or group of villages, 66%* in case of a single village and 100% in case of a special holding We are concerned with a group of villages and the increase should not ordinarily have exceeded 33% Instead we are now faced with an increase of 650% Although the limits fixed are not statutory, they are prescribed by Government and could only be superseded for extraordinary special reasons It is most surprising that the Settlement Officer has nowhere in his report mentioned such an abnormal increase of 650% nor has he assigned any special reason He has merely made a general statement that in Karachi Taluka increase is of 116% which in view of high profitable character of garden cultivation and fodder is justified *The statement of the Settlement Officer is indeed misleading and consequently the abnormal increase has escaped the notice of the Settlement Director, the Collector, the Revenue Commissioner and the Legislative Assembly, and needs to be rectified to save the farmer from ruin*

5 *It is an acknowledged principle of revenue settlement that increase in settlement is not permitted on produce obtained by investment of private labour and capital (Sec 107 L R C)* Wahi chahi *cultivation is the result of investment of private labour and capital, land is therefore not taxable* It is this sort of cultivation which has been abnormally taxed to the extent of 650% increase It depends upon expensively dug wells and installation of costly machinery for lifting water The increase of assessment for *wahi chahi* is, therefore, a tax on improvements This consideration was lost sight of by the authorities reviewing the Settlement Officer's report

6 *The dry scarcity area, where water is lifted from deep wells at a tremendous cost, has been taxed much more heavily than the flourishing barrage areas, where flow of water is made available at Government cost all the year round* The highest garden rate in the barrage areas is Rs 12/0/0 per acre and in non-barrage areas Rs 10/0/0 Of this Government pays 9/10ths to P W D as water charge Real land revenue accruing to Government on such lands therefore is Rs 1/3/0 only in barrage zone and Re 1/0/0 in the non-barrage zone In all fairness, *wahi chahi* cultivation should not be made to pay as much as Rs 7/8/0 per acre as land revenue when Government does not spend a pie towards making

water available for cultivation and the owners incur heavy expenditure on purchase and running of oil engines and pumps

7 *The net profits from* wahi chahi *cultivation in the barani dehs of Karachi Taluka are indeed very low* since the soil is sandy and requires frequent watering and heavy manuring Consequently cost of cultivation and of lifting water from deep wells is high No garden crops or fodders are grown in this area, the major crops being vegetables and melons Low margin of profit does not permit of increase in assessment on *wahi chahi* It is to be deplored that the only few green spots in the midst of the oasis [*sic*] are being heavily taxed, thus depriving the poor farmers of their livelihood

Finally, the signatories venture to submit that this increase of land assessment will be ruinous to the tract and is likely to throw out from cultivation the areas so affected without appreciably increasing Government revenue The total gain to Government will be about Rs 7,000 per year only but at what cost of distress and suffering to the *ryot*? *We therefore pray that Government may be moved to grant rebate for 1945-46 and steps may be taken to reopen and discuss the matter in the Legislative Assembly* for cancellation of the enhanced rates

It may be clearly understood that redress is being sought for only a group of villages, viz the *barani dehs* of Karachi Taluka so that the wrong inflicted on them may not be perpetuated and the new settlement for the district is not in any way affected as a whole

For this act of kindness and support we shall ever remain grateful

Address
Zamindars of Konkar,
c/o Mohamed Haji Latif & Co ,
Weaver Lane, Newnham Road,
Karachi

We remain, Sir,
Your most obedient servants,
ALLAHBACHAYO BAKAR KHAN
for Self and other Zamindars of Konkar

[1]Emphasis here and hereafter in the original

Annexure to Enclosure to No 10

F 886/42-46

KARACHI,
12 June 1946

The Hon'ble Revenue Minister to Government of Sind
The Revenue Secretary to Government of Sind at Karachi
The Collector, Karachi
The Assistant Collector, Thatta Division, Karachi

Subject Enhancement of Land Revenue and leavey [*sic* for levy] of Lease Money in Konkar *dehs* of Karachi Taluka and *dehs* Kharkharo, Konkar, Laungeji, and Huderwah

Sir,

In continuation of our previous petitions seeking reduction of Land Revenue in the above-mentioned *dehs* we, the undersigned *zamindars* of the tract, venture respectfully to submit the following further representation for the favourable consideration of Government

2 Neither the Settlement Officer nor the authorities reviewing his report have considered the Konkar tract apart from the Malir tract The former tract is different from the latter in all respects of soil condition, accessibility of subsoil water, nature and extent of the crops, and the expenses of cultivation The Settlement Officer merely examined the Malir tract and applied the standards thereof wholesale to the Konkar *dehs*, without investigating or appreciating the essential differences indicated above This was against the basic principles prescribed and approved by Government for revision of Settlements These differences escaped the Settlement Officer's own notice and were not brought to the knowledge of the higher authorities of the Legislative Assembly when the proposals were discussed in the Assembly

3 This is evident from the fact that the Settlement Officer did not notice that in proposing an increase of assessment in Konkar *dehs* he was providing a rise of 650%, against all declarations of Government policy in this respect In referring to the existing rates for comparison with the proposed rates, he did not even mention that the existing *wahi chahi* rate in these *dehs* was Re 1 against Rs 3/8/- in Malir *dehs*, and that the *barani* rate in the former was Re -/12/- against Re 1 in the latter *dehs*, nor that he was proposing so high an increase in these *dehs* against an increase of only 22% in Thatta Taluka, 65% in Ghorabari Taluka, and 116% in Karachi Taluka on the whole Anyone aware of the local

conditions will at a glance say that the Settlement Officer's calculations are fundamentally wrong somewhere, for conditions in Konkar *dehs* have not so improved as to be a reason for so much increase

These facts obviously escaped the reviewing authorities' notice, including the Government and the Legislative Assembly Along with this heavy increase in assessment a levy of lease money equal to one assessment, i e Rs 7/8/- per acre, has been imposed in these *dehs* for equally non-understandable reasons

4 The petitioners venture to submit that this increase in assessment and the levy of lease money will be ruinous to the tract and will throw out large areas from cultivation to pauperise the *haris* and the *zamindars,* without appreciably increasing Government land revenue After all, on the existing cultivation the total gain to Government will be no more than a pittance of Rs. 7,000 against heavy distress and suffering entailed on the *ryot*

5 The following statistical tables are submitted for scrutiny in the light of the general conditions of the tract as set forth below

(i) Cultivation in Konkar *dehs* is *barani* to the extent of 75%, as shown below The rainfall is scarce and scanty

(ii) The remaining cultivation of 25% is *wahi chahi* depending on subsoil water obtained from expensively dug deep wells It is an acknowledged principle of revision settlements that increase in assessment is not permitted on produce obtained by investment of private labour and capital, vide Section 107 L R C Wells are such an improvement and profits from wells are not open to increased assessment It may be remembered that there is no canal system in the tract to admit of canal water percolating into the wells

(iii) Soil in Konkar *dehs* is shallow, sandy and poor It requires three times the number of waterings from wells dug two or three times deeper than those in the Malir tract which get subsoil water by easier percolation The cost of cultivation, irrigation and manuring in Konkar *dehs* is, accordingly, very much higher than in the Malir *dehs*

(iv) The net profits from Konkar *dehs* have in no way increased during the war period by reason of the boom of higher prices, as supposed, because, *pari passu,* the cost of cultivation in these *dehs* has also increased Water from deep wells like those in this tract cannot be drawn by animal power Oil engines have to be employed for pumping water The phenomenal rise in the prices of crude oil and kerosene, short supplies of these

commodities apart, and rise in the drivers' wages and in the wages of the unskilled labour are well known

(v) In spite of so much expenditure incurred on pumping water from deep wells, the wells give way due to inadequacy of subsoil water which depends on the precarious rainfall This necessitates portions of Serial Nos [i e land plots recorded in assessment register] to be left uncultivated Government levies assessment on the full area of each Serial No irrespective of the portions left out This by itself trebles and quadruples the incidence of assessment on the net produce per acre

(vi) The *zamindars*, mostly illiterate, do not keep accounts With the utmost search we have found accounts of one estate kept in the regular course of business, which we summarise herein below To deduce the incidence of the proposed assessment on the net produce it was incumbent on the Settlement Officer to make experiments in the *dehs*, which he did not make He wrongly adopted the data of Malir *dehs* for the Konkar *dehs*

(vii) But for these engines and the deep wells, which are improvements made with huge private capital specifically invested in the land, there can be no *wahi chahi* in the Kohistan *dehs* The proposed increase of assessment is, therefore, a tax on improvements This consideration was lost sight of by the authorities reviewing the Settlement Officer's proposals

(viii) The Settlement Officer has not discussed the prices of ground vegetables which is the main crop up to 75% in the *dehs* as shown below He has based his proposals of assessment on the price of such crops in Malir *dehs*, as potatoes, lucerne, and fruits, which form but a small percentage in this tract

(ix) The increase proposed is extraordinary, looked at from another point of view The highest garden rate in Barrage area, on lands of excellent fertility having a perennial flow supply, is Rs 12 and in non-Barrage zone it is Rs 10 Of this Government pays 9/10ths to P W D as water charge Real land revenue accruing to Government on such lands, therefore, is Rs 1/3/- only in the former case and Re 1 in the latter Why, in all fairness, should Kohistan *dehs* pay as much as Rs 7/8/- when Government does not spend a pie towards finding water for these lands?

(x) Government have granted a rebate of 12½% this year in all *talukas* of the Karachi district where there are canals, due to unfavourable conditions of the year Gardens in these

talukas share in the benefit No such rebate is allowed to the Karachi Taluka, although there was no rain in the year and the subsoil supply was scanty

(xi) Government have foregone lease money on Government land cultivated by wells in the Barrage zone because, it is said, cultivation by wells is costly It is respectfully submitted that the same considerations apply with greater force to the Kohistan tract But in the whole of Karachi Taluka a lease money of Rs 7/8/- per acre has been imposed from the current year It is hardly justified

(xii) All Provincial Governments of the day have adopted the policy to grow more vegetables, and are conceding every sort of encouragement to the growers to go full speed ahead Sind Government, on the other hand, are discouraging progress in this respect by imposing an abnormal assessment on vegetable crop as equivalent to fruit crop and levying heavy lease money in addition

(xiii) The maximum limits of assessment in revision settlement, as prescribed by Government, are 33% in the case of a *taluka* or a group of villages, 66% in the case of a single village, and 100% in the case of a single holding It is true that these limits, not being statutory, may be exceeded in suitable cases Still, the excess sanctioned in any case must be based on definite admissible data of which no indication is given either in the Settlement report or the orders passed by Government All that the *zamindars* find is that their *dehs* have been tagged on to the tail end of Malir *dehs* without appreciation of the differences in the two tracts According to the Settlement Officer what is *wahi chahi* in Malir *dehs* is *wahi chahi* in Konkar *dehs*, assessable at the same rate One is left to wonder whether this officer visited the Konkar *dehs* before framing his assessment proposals

(xiv) In Konkar tract, *batai* is made in the proportion of 9/10ths to *hari* and 1/10th to *zamindar* If the imposed rate of Rs 7/8/- represents 1/3rd of the *zamindar*'s net profit, the said net profit must amount to Rs 22/8/- Add Rs 3 per acre roughly as expenses The *zamindar*'s gross share must be Rs 25/8/- and *hari*'s Rs 229/8/- In other words, ground vegetable land must yield Rs 255 per acre, excluding uncultivated portions of Serial Nos left out for want of water, before the assessment imposed can be paid This excludes all consideration of the

benefit of private investment due to the investor The petitioners challenge anyone to prove that the vegetable and melon beds of Kohistan can produce a yield of Rs 255 per acre, carting and marketing expenses apart

Following is the true account of an Estate in the Konkar *deh* belonging to Moulvi Abdul Rahman and others comprising Serial Nos 27, 28, 29, 30 and 31, measuring 22 8 acres The gross produce is sent to a *kothi* where the accounts of the *zamindar* and *hari* are maintained

Year	1/10th share of *Zamindar*	9/10th share of *Hari*	Gross Produce Entire Area	Gross Produce Per Acre
	Rs as ps	Rs as ps	Rs as ps	Rs as ps
1941	112 4 6	1010 7 6	1122 12 0	51 0 0
1942	151 10 3	1364 12 3	1516 6 6	68 0 0
1943	257 5 6	2314 1 6	2571 7 0	106 0 0
1944	337 0 6	3033 4 6	3370 5 0	151 0 0
1945	264 1 6	2376 13 6	2640 15 0	118 0 0
1946	259 2 6	2332 6 6	2591 9 0	134 0 0
6 Years	1381 8 9	12433 13 9	13813 6 6	628 0 0
Per Year	230 4 0	2072 5 0	2302 9 0	104 8 0

1/10 *Zamindar*'s share		230 4 0
<u>Deduct expenses</u>		
Well digging	50 0 0	
1/10th for manure	20 0 0	70 0 0
Net profit to *zamindar* for 22 8 acres		160 4 0
Net profit to *zamindar* per acre		7 3 0

against Rs 22/8/- taken as basis of assessment as shown in para xiv above

6 The other statistical tables are as under

TABLE I

Rates of Assessment

Type of land	MALIR TRACT Old rate	Revised rate	Increase percent	KONKAR TRACT Old rate	Revised rate	Increase percent
	Rs as ps	Rs as ps		Rs as ps	Rs as ps	
Wahi Chahi	3 08 0	7 08 0	114 8%	1 00 0	7 08 0	650%
Other than *Wahi Chahi*	3 04 0	4 00 0	23 %	1 00 0	4 00 0	300%
Dubari	- - -	1 00 0	100 %	- - -	1 00 0	100%
Barani	1 00 0	1 08 0	50 %	0 12 0	1 08 0	100%

That the original *barani* rate in Konkar *deh* was Re -/12/- and not Re 1 and the *wahi chahi* rate was Re 1 and not Rs 3/8/- (Gardens) or Rs 3/4/- (other than *wahi chahi*), as shown above, was not shown in the

Settlement Report furnished to Government

TABLE II

Malir tract is cent per cent *wahi chahi* whereas the Konkar tract is predominantly *barani*, and in smaller portions only *wahi chahi* The following cultivation figures for 1944-1945 are submitted in illustration

Konkar Tract (Barani Dehs)

Deh	Area under *Barani*	Area under *Wahi Chahi*
Kharkharo	309-24 acres	148-21 acres
Konkar	588-04 acres	428-32 acres
Laungeji	567-29 acres	468-32 acres
Huderwah	412-35 acres	167-26 acres
Total[1]	1878-12 acres	1213-26 acres

Due to scanty rainfall in 1944-1945, the *barani* area was very much below the average The *wahi chahi*, on the other hand, was pushed up disproportionately, to enable cultivators to live through the season

Malir Tract (Wahi Chahi Dehs)

Deh	*[Barani]*	*[Wahi Chahi]*
Thano Tapo, Malir	17-24 acres	2119-09 acres
Dig Tapo, Malir	—	501-08 acres
Sharafi Tapo, Landhi	—	1466-07 acres
Pitebhai Tapo, Landhi	—	1911-38 acres
Kanto Tapo, Landhi	—	718-07 acres
Landhi Tapo, Landhi	—	1448-31 acres
Reri Tapo, Landhi	—	559-35 acres
Khakhra Tapo, Landhi	—	568-07 acres
Sanro Tapo, Landhi	—	1165-30 acres
Malh Tapo, Konkar	—	1241-09 acres
Total[2]	17-24 acres	11700-29 acres

Besides the above-mentioned 4 *dehs* of Konkar tract, the following *dehs* to which the increased rates apply deserve consideration as comprising *wahi chahi* cultivation in scattered patches only aggregating acreage as under

Other Barani Dehs

Deh	*Barani*	*Wahi Chahi*
Bazar	93-33 acres	37-27 acres
Amirano	257-38 acres	33-24 acres
Kotaro	509-32 acres	41-32 acres
Darsano Chano	117-32 acres	118-39 acres
Kothari	961-02 acres	126-13 acres
Mithagar	98-34 acres	6-29 acres
Total[3]	2039-11 acres	365-04 acres

These figures speak for themselves and reflect the inherent inapplicability of the standards of Malir tract to Konkar tract which is essentially Kohistan, known as the *"Dry Scarcity Area"* where 95% land belongs to Government and of the 5% *kabuli* land, 1½% is *wahi chahi* against 3½% *barani* In such an area an increase of 650% on assessment and a levy of Rs 7/8/- per acre as lease money is tantamount to prohibition of cultivation and a call to the *ryot* to quit

TABLE III

The following figures show the percentage of valuable crops like fruits, potatoes and lucerne to the ground crops of vegetables and melons in these *dehs* They are crop return figures for 1944-1945

Crop	Konkar	Laungeji	Kharkharo	Huderwah	Total area	Percentage
Fruit trees	71-05	73-05	—	6-17	150-27	10 00
Papaya	5-16	45-07	01-00	10-00	61-23	4 00
Potatoes	25-02	34-02	18-22	5-00	82-26	5 50
Lucerne	36-15	35-04	10-22	8-00	90-10	6 00
Vegetables & Melons	430-23	412-17	108-00	162-36	1113-36	75 00

On these figures of 75% vegetables against 6% lucerne and 5 5% potatoes, it is respectfully submitted that the tract as a whole is not fit to be placed on level with the Malir tract and classed as *wahi chahi* The admissible *wahi chahi* rate is the original rate on which no increase should be admitted In any case the increase of 650% imposed is unjustified Also, the imposition of lease money in the tract is not called for

7 For these reasons, it is prayed that Government will be pleased to grant rebate in the current year by executive orders to relieve the distress consequent on the introduction of the increased rates of assessment in the tract There is such a wide disparity between productivity of vegetable lands and that of lands producing fruit trees, lucerne and potatoes that it will be proper to separate the rates of assessment for the two kinds of crops and fix a lower rate for vegetables and melons against the garden crops mentioned above The matter may be reopened in the Legislative Assembly for the necessary amendment to be made in the settlement rates

8 In conclusion, we pray that Government will be pleased to take special notice of the fact that after all the area under vegetables and melons in the non-Malir *barani Kohistan dehs* is only a small fraction of the total area under *wahi chahi* in the *taluka* and, as said before, the grant of our request to reduce assessment in Konkar *dehs* will not materially affect Government land revenue on the whole It is also prayed that

Government will be pleased to remit lease money in these *dehs*

Your most obedient servants,
ALLAHBACHAYO BAKAR KHAN
& OTHER *ZAMINDARS* OF KONKAR

[1-2] The figures given here are as in the original However, the totals are not correct

11

Durgadas B Advani to M A Jinnah

F 787/2-4

20 LAXMI INSURANCE BUILDING, KARACHI,
22 February 1947

Sir,

On behalf of my colleagues and myself I thank you sincerely for the cordial reception you gave us and the close sympathetic attention with which you listened to our representation about the Sind University Bill,[1] on the evening of the 19th instant

You enquired if I had specific amendments to suggest regarding the Bill and my reply was that I had not been authorized to make any definite proposals My Committee has met since and resolved that it be represented to you that, to make the Bill unexceptionable and acceptable to the minority community, the following amendments may be made in the Bill

1 In Section 10 delete all mention of communal ratio and communal representation and in I(a) delete "(ii) the Pro-Chancellor", and in B delete (vi), (ix) & (x) and in (xi) delete "specified in the schedule", in III (i) substitute "six" for "ten", and in (iv) substitute "four persons" for "one person" and "the District Local Boards of the Province" for "each District Local Board", in (v) substitute "six" for "four" and specify that "one shall be a woman", in (vii) substitute "twelve" for "ten" It is estimated that the effect of this change at present will be that the Muslims in the Senate will be 26 (Vice-Chancellor, six officials, four Principals, four Assembly Members, four District Local Board representatives, two Municipal representatives, one headmaster, two registered graduates and two teachers) and the non-Muslims 36 (two officials, seven Principals, two Assembly Members, two Municipal representatives, five headmasters, eight registered graduates and

ten teachers) The nomination of ten Muslims will give both communities a parity, which is only fair as the vast majority of schools and colleges and the teachers and the pupils are non-Muslim The important point to note, however, is that with the spread of higher education among the Muslims the number of Muslims in the registered graduates', headmasters' and teachers' constituencies will go on steadily rising and that of non-Muslims diminishing, and in a short time the Muslim element will predominate in the Senate without having recourse to communalism in the clauses of the University Act The changes proposed by us will, if accepted, reduce the number of officials and politicians and increase the academic elements, a much needed change, while at the same time the Bill will be purged of the communal clauses

2 In Section 13 dealing with the powers of the Senate my Committee proposes that (i)c be deleted and in (iv) delete "modify or cancel any regulation" and substitute "and refer back to the Academic Council any regulation" and in (3) delete "save on a reference made to it Syndicate jointly" My Committee considers these changes necessary in order that the Senate may not usurp the legitimate powers of the Syndicate and the Academic Council

3 In Section 14, i e in the composition of the Syndicate, my Committee proposes one change only, namely the substitution of "four" for "seven" in II (b) This amendment will reduce the preponderantly non-academic element in the Syndicate

4 In Section 30, add after "commencement of this Act" the words "and which has applied for affiliation to the Sind University and has been affiliated" This change is needed to clear all ambiguity

I have already represented to you that to safeguard the rights of the minorities it was necessary that the Provincial Government should not do anything to take away or curtail the present privileges of the institutions which may not get affiliated to the Sind University, namely that they should continue to enjoy the grants now received by them and that their alumni should have the right of admission to the State colleges and public employment If it is possible, this safeguard may be expressly inserted in a clause in the Bill

I am enclosing herein a copy of the Citizens Committee's Statement on the Sind University Bill

I shall feel grateful if you are pleased to acknowledge receipt of this

letter,[2] and also to let me know if I may release the text of this letter for the information of the public

Yours very truly,
DURGADAS ADVANI
Chairman,
Sind University Bill Citizens' Committee

[1]Published in the *Sind Government Gazette*, 27 January 1947 Jinnah took keen interest in the Bill and even attended the proceedings of the Provincial Assembly as a distinguished visitor
[2]See No 19

Enclosure to No 11

F 787/5-8

STATEMENT BY SIND UNIVERSITY BILL CITIZENS' COMMITTEE

11 February 1947

The *Sind Government Gazette*, dated Monday the 27th January [1947] publishes the Sind University Bill which the Government has introduced in the Sind Legislative Assembly to establish and incorporate a University in the Province of Sind This Bill is in the form in which the Select Committee amended the previous Sind University Bill after the non-Muslim members had left the Committee as a protest against the undisguised communalism of their Muslim colleagues The Muslim League Ministry now propose to rush this Bill through the Assembly (which is in session), and get it passed into an Act by force of their brute majority

The present Sind Univerity Bill is a worse edition of the Bill of 1945 and 1946 which had received unqualified condemnation at the hands of educational experts Sir John Sargent, Educational Adviser to the Government of India, had said about the Bill that though he was a bureaucrat himself he did not like that the Provincial Government should have a strong hold over the University of Sind, and get politics introduced into educational affairs His opinion was "If the University cannot be trusted to keep its house in order, then perhaps it would be better not to start it at all" He was also against the introduction of communal representation in the University Principal N V Thadani, formerly Rector of the Delhi University (to whom the Select Committee had turned for suggestions and opinion), was amazed at the provisions of the Bill and remarked "I regret, however, to have to observe that the Bill in its present form is conceived in so different a spirit that it has no parallel in any University Act in India",

and on the subject of communal representation (fixed then at 60 per cent for the Muslims and now increased to 70 per cent in the 1947 Bill) he said "I need hardly say that this would transform higher education into a handmaid of politics, and prove to be the death-knell of both, for to introduce the spirit of politics into education or to base education on the model of political institutions is to destroy the very soul of education "

POWERS OF THE SENATE

Principal Thadani pointed out that Sind was throwing away a golden opportunity to have a first-class University by following and even going beyond the worst features of the newest University of Utkal, and he particularly condemned the allocation of all powers to the Senate *"Indeed the Senate, as contemplated in the Bill, can so far* usurp the powers of the Syndicate and the Academic Council that the line of their functions is seldom kept apart."

The drafters of the Sind University Bill evidently had no real conception of University bodies Muslim educationalists, too, condemned some of the glaring defects of the Bill For instance, Khan Bahadur Mian Afzal Hussain, formerly Vice-Chancellor of the University of the Punjab, said that the representation of the District Municipalities and District Local Boards would introduce Municipal and Local Board politics in the University, while Mr Hassan, Vice-Chancellor of Dacca University, said that the powers given to the Senate should be vested in the Academic Council or in the Executive Council or the Syndicate The Government of India expert Mr D M Sen deplored the meagre representation given to teachers on the Syndicate In Sind itself, following on the lead given by Prof L H Ajwani, there was a general protest from all quarters against the reactionary, communal and anti-democratic provisions of the Bill

QUEER ADDITIONS

It was expected that the Ministry would consider the objections forwarded against the Bill (which were compiled in the form of a handy pamphlet) But the present Bill has not only not abolished the undesirable provisions in its predecessor but actually accentuated them and made them more obnoxious Some queer additions have been made in the 1947 Bill, the funniest being that which provides that "no person who is an atheist shall be appointed as a University Professor or as a member of the teaching staff maintained by the University", which means that an honest doubter in the existence of a personal God (e g Jawaharlal Nehru) or a Buddhist or a Jain or Dev

Samajist or a follower of a sect of Hindus who are not theists, can have no office in the Sind University

The *Times of India* wrote a sarcastic comment on this "epoch-making resolution" "The vagaries of Sind politics have always confounded ordinary people, and this brilliant demonstration of communal harmony and religious toleration is a sight to make surrounding nations stare " A vindictive provision in the 1947 Bill is that while a graduate of any Indian or foreign university is entitled to be a registered graduate of the Sind University, any person graduating from a college in Sind which declines to be affiliated to the Sind University shall not be entitled to be so registered

A WRONG MOVE

Now for consideration of the Sind University Bill of 1947 To a lover of education it will at once become apparent that it is a reactionary Bill setting the clock of educational progress backwards, and that the good work done in Sind in the cause of education for the last 60 years (since the establishment of the Dayaram Jethmal Sind College) will be undone A University should be a corporation or fraternity of students and teachers for the advancement of knowledge and dissemination of culture and the older Indian Universities, which began as examining bodies, are fast catching up to this ideal, and establishing departments of teaching and research. But the Sind University wants to revert to conditions which obtained a hundred years ago, and in the age of automobiles and aeroplanes go back to the bullock-cart The Sind University Committee appointed by Government planned a teaching and affiliating University for Sind, setting forth two alternative schemes, one that the D J Sind College and other Colleges within its orbit become the nucleus of the Sind University and the other that the Government establish a college of its own to be the University College and nucleus of the Sind University This recommendation has been quietly shelved, and the Sind University will do no teaching It will only grant certificates and degrees and become the means of an enormous patronage to those who control it If the Sind Government had not the means or men or machinery to establish a teaching University, they could have waited until conditions became more propitious

The Sind University, as contemplated, will do irreparable harm to the intellectual and moral life of the Province by crushing with one stroke the great tradition of study and fellowship, harmony and culture built up principally by the D J Sind College, and generally by all the colleges in Sind The remarkable

fact about the growth of University education in Sind is this that it has been the work of non-official agencies embodying the public spirit and philanthropy of the non-Muslims From 1887 to 1921 or 1922, the D J. Sind College was the sole institution in Sind for the study of Arts, Science, and Engineering, and it was established and maintained almost entirely by non-Muslims, the Government contributing a small amount of grant towards the expenses The other colleges established by the Board of the D J Sind College (the N E D College of Engineering, the Shahani Law College, the B A College of Commerce) have similarly owed their creation and growth to the sacrifice and munificence of the Hindus and the Parsis The colleges at Hyderabad and Shikarpur are also the outcome of non-Muslim effort and philanthropy The sole exception to this is the Sind Muslim College, a creation of yesterday, which came into being after the submission of the report of the Sind University Committee appointed by Government

The Government has to its credit only two colleges, the Agricultural College at Sakrand and the Medical College at Karachi (which is again the fulfilment of the magnificent dream of a Hindu doctor) Now, the golden thread in the history of all these non-official and non-Muslim colleges has been not merely the absence of a bias against the Muslims but a positive solicitude on the part of the authorities for the advancement of education among the Muslims The present standard of education and culture in Sind Muslims is largely due to the work done by the D J Sind College and other colleges, and no amount of gratitude that could be shown by the Muslim alumni of these colleges would be too great

The Sind University would dissolve the harmony and fellowship subsisting between the students or teachers of different communities in Sind, as it does not only make no provision for teaching but on the other hand introduces communalism in the University and vitiates the whole intellectual and social atmosphere making it impossible to have culture and fellowship The sole task of the Sind University seems to be to start an agency for the award of cheap degrees and diplomas The lowering of educational standards and introduction of communal spirit in schools and colleges will be detrimental to Muslims as well as non-Muslims, and there is not the slightest doubt that Muslims as well as non-Muslims who will be in a position to pay for the education of their children in Universities of a recognised standing and efficiency will not care to send them for tuition to a university such as the one we are going to have in Sind

A POLITICAL MOVE

The Sind University Bill is a political move and not an educational effort This can be seen from the composition of the Senate which has been given vastly more power than in other Universities The Chancellor, for the first five years, is to be the Governor of Sind, and the Pro-Chancellor, the Premier It passes one's comprehension why the Premier, the leader of a political party, is asked to preside at the Senate meetings Will not his presence influence the other fellows, and reduce the Senate to be a "rubber-stamp" for registering the decrees of the dominant political party? The Vice-Chancellor is, of course, a necessity, but where was the need of appointing ten departmental officials to the Senate? Principals of colleges have been given nine seats on the Senate, while as many as ten go to the Assembly Members in addition to the two seats reserved for the Premier and the Minister of Education Thus one out of every five of the Assembly Members will be a Fellow, a thing undreamt of in any part of the world In actual practice it will not be one out of five but two or three out of five, for the District Local Boards will each send a representative to the Senate and he will very probably be the local feudal lord representing that area in the Assembly! There will be at least ten such Fellows The Karachi Municipality gets one seat, and other big Municipalities three seats in all Care has been taken to reduce the number of members of the teaching profession in the Senate to a negligible minority, i e 23 (nine Principals, four Headmasters, ten Professors) out of a total of at least 80 members In other Universities there is generally a statutory provision that more than half the members of a University body must be those connected with teaching, and in the University of Bombay Act amendments are being made so as to give the educationists a preponderating voice

The Sind University will have to thank itself if the other Universities or educational bodies dismiss with contempt and a sneer its pretensions to learning and culture What would be thought of a medical council, three-fourths of the members of which would have no knowledge of medicine or surgery? It would be rightly regarded as a menace to the health and hygiene of the community What should we say then of a University wherein decisions would be taken by a body the vast majority of whose members would be innocent of any pretensions to teaching or education?

VIRUS OF COMMUNALISM

In spite of the fact that out of 90 High Schools in Sind only 11 have Muslim Headmasters, out of the four seats given to the Headmasters two go to the Muslims, one to a Hindu, and one to a Headmaster who is neither Hindu nor Muslim! In the same way although not more than 10% of the Professors in Sind are Muslim, seven out of 10 seats for the Professors are earmarked for them, two for Hindus, and one for a Professor who is neither Hindu nor Muslim. A similar ratio operates in the case of the 10 Registered Graduates, where, too, not more than 10% could be Muslims This is communalism with a vengeance, indeed! The Sind University Bill will make it impossible for a healthy corporate life to grow in the colleges and schools in Sind, and will destroy with the virus of communalism the tender offshoots of nationalism and cultural fellowship

Those who have a direct stake in the higher education of the Province, i e the students and the teachers, will certainly have nothing to do with a University such as this and they can submit to it only unwillingly Perhaps it may become too bitter a pill to swallow, and to safeguard their culture and see that their children are well educated, the minority community may be driven to establish a separate University for themselves, or to place their institutions under the aegis of another University than the one this Bill seeks to establish

The Muslim leaders have frequently expressed their concern for the well-being of the minority community in the Provinces in which the Muslims are in a majority, and they have professed their determination not to do anything to subvert the culture of the minority community or act the tyrant Here is a golden opportunity for the Muslim League and the Muslims to translate their professions into practice, let them not press a Bill so obviously designed to hit the minority community and strangle their educational institutions

L H AJWANI
Secretary,
Citizens' Committee

12

Fazal Ahmed to M A Jinnah
Students 1 92/124[1]

KARACHI,
22 February 1947

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

On behalf of the Baluchistan Muslim Students Federation, I had forwarded to you a few days ago, through your Secretary, a letter along with certain papers concerning our Provincial politics [2] I hope you have received the same

Now on behalf of the Kalat State Muslim League I am enclosing a letter [3]

I shall be much obliged if an acknowledgment of my previous letter and this one is sent to me

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
FAZAL AHMED
Vice-President,
Baluchistan Muslim Students Federation,
Quetta

[1]*SHC*
[2&3]Not available in *QAP* or *SHC*

13

Abdullah Ghani to M A Jinnah

F 962/70

CONFIDENTIAL

MUSLIM UNIVERSITY UNION, ALIGARH,
22 February 1947

Allaho Akbar! Pakistan Zindabad!

Beloved Quaid-i-Azam,

I take the opportunity of writing the following pages which will throw some light on the discontent that prevails in the body-politic of the Aligarh Muslim University The situation has become [so] critical that I deem it my duty, as Secretary of the Union, to put before you the causes of this discontentment. I hope that you will pursue [*sic*] these

pages carefully It may be known to you that Dr Ziauddin Ahmed is manoeuvring to come back as V C. His reinstatement will be a great betrayal of this University and the Muslim youth

It is only your timely intervention that will save this great centre of Muslim culture and learning from ruin

With best regards,
Yours very sincerely,
ABDULLAH GHANI
Honorary Secretary,
Muslim University Union

Enclosure to No 13

F 962/71-76

There are people who worship the rising sun They rush at the facts [*sic*] of the man in power, whether he be robed in a Union Jack or in tricolour If the existing power wavers, they waver, sniffing which way the wind blows, but if by ill-luck it dies suddenly, they do not dally nor [perform] its obsequies They are already acclaiming the new King

Such is our Vice-Chancellor Dr Ziauddin Ahmed On April 1st 1946 the Congress Ministry came to power in the United Provinces Toadying the British master will not pay So, new contacts must be built Attempts must be made to be on the right side of the party in power *Khaddar* bureaucrat must be waited upon just as the White Masters were waited upon in the past What if the fair name of the University is blackened? The new masters took full advantage of this servile attitude They dictated their terms The V C submitted (as per *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, dated 30 December 1946 and the leading article and news item [which] appeared in the *Hindustan Times*, dated 3rd October 1946, the copies of which are attached herewith) Here is the record of his submissions

The Central Assembly Elections We all know that he strongly instructed his workers and students that they should not ask for votes for him in the name of Pakistan but they should explain to the voters his services This very clearly shows that he has entered the Legislative Assembly on League ticket for his personal ends and not for the ideals of the Muslim League or for advocating the cause of Pakistan

The April Riots We all know the students had practically nothing to do with it But our V C consented to pay compensation on behalf of the University Just to please the new masters, he even whispered to

the City Muslim League leaders that if they consented to pay compensation he will use his influence with the Congress Ministry and see that the tax is reduced It was only due to the pressure of the All India Muslim League High Command that the matter of the compensation was dropped by the Congress Ministry

The University was closed throughout September last The students had to undergo difficulties Their studies suffered But the University was closed Why? There was no communal tension in Aligarh in those days There were [other] reasons First, the V C was afraid that if the League launches any Direct Action movement, this arsenal of Muslim India would play its role So let the University be closed Secondly, the V C knew that the last date for enrolment of the League members is 30th September By closing the University till that date, he would virtually dissolve the Muslim University Area City League and would make good his promise to the provincial bosses What if the interests of the nation were sacrificed? The new masters would be pleased

The V C is reported to have renounced his title [knighthood] one month after the Bombay Council Meeting of the League[1] No one knows even to-day if this report is true or not Even now we frequently listen in the A I R news bulletin his name as "Sir Ziauddin Ahmed" But even if it is true, it is still questionable why this stalwart of the League, this V C of the arsenal of Muslim India, took full 30 days to decide whether or not to implement the decision of the All India Muslim League On the occasion of the League Convention at Delhi,[2] he managed to slip out and did not sign the pledge

The attitude that the V C adopted towards the Bihar relief work is disgraceful In the Union meeting, he promised to donate medicines and clothes free of any charge and handed over a cheque of Rs 250 to the Union officers there and then But the next day, the Union Vice-President was asked to return that cheque The clothes were not given free of charge The promised quantity of medicines was not donated The medical officer, Dr Aziz, was delayed from going to Bihar for one full week where our brothers and sisters in Bihar refugee camps were literally dying because of inadequate medical attention

The Sind Elections The Muslim University students decided to go to Sind and work for the League candidates But the V C did not see eye to eye with the students to do away with their plans We congratulate them for not submitting to the V C

The students must be thinking why none of the All India [Muslim] League leaders has visited the Muslim University this year in spite of the fact that most of them were at Delhi all the time Certain leaders

said in so many words to the Union officers that they were not coming to Aligarh because the Dr had requested them not to come there

The attitude is that the Dr adopted during the visit of Pir Sahib of Manki Sharif is abominable He was hot [*sic* for angry]. He abused the Union Secretary for inviting such a "firebrand" He went straight to Delhi and requested the Pir Sahib to make a responsible speech at Aligarh since there is a Congress Ministry Dr Ziauddin teaching the Pir—just think of it!

We know of a news item in this connection which appeared in the *Hindustan Times* which has not been categorically contradicted by Dr Ziauddin as yet In that news item, the Vice-Chancellor is reported to have assured Pant,[3] that he will see that the University League is dissolved, all the enthusiastic League workers of the Varsity are expelled, no League flag is hoisted on the University buildings and that he will make attempts "to be on the right side of the Government" Had this news item been wrong, the V C must have categorically contradicted it But since he did not, we are forced to believe that it is based on truth These fragments from his record prove beyond doubt that the Dr is not a Leaguer He has been exploiting the name of the League for his ends What are these personal ends? Here again we give some glimpses into his activities

The Fair Price Shop is a scandal The Dr requested the American Disposals to hand over some rejected military clothing to the Varsity at cheap rates so that poor students, who are not in a position to buy clothes in these days of high prices, may be able to cover their bodies. The request was conceded A lot of clothes were given to the Dr at a very nominal price But we know the price at which students got these clothes The Dr got a few jeeps from Burma Front at very cheap rates on the understanding that they will be used for the University and its staff But a few days later they were disposed of at a very high margin Where did the surplus go? The answer is too obvious to be stated

Col Maqbool has his own machinery for squeezing money out of the students A man who was turned out from his post in the Bahawalpur State for embezzling funds had been made responsible by the V C for the food of the students He had also been most graciously permitted to open cafes in the Dining Halls of the S[ir] S[yed] Hall and the V[iqarul] M[ulk] Hall Col Maqbool has been making huge profits The Aftab Hall charges only Rs 19/8/- for food as well as breakfast It was able to save Rs 8,000 in the 8 months last year You can imagine how much profit the Col must be making

when he charges Rs 21/4/- from every student for slightly better food and no breakfast How are the University authorities interested in Col Maqbool? Is it because a part of the juice goes down the throat of the Varsity authorities as well?

It is an almost open secret that the Congress Ministry has in its hands some proved cases of black-marketing against the V C Yes, the guardian of 6,000 Muslim young men is a black-marketeer too

The Dr is trying his best to save his house of cards from collapsing He is finding the ground slipping from beneath his feet The students are in a ferment They are bent upon setting their own house in order The Dr is employing his old tricks We are telling you what his tricks are so that you may not be duped by them Here are some of his favourite tricks

His yes-men among the students would raise Punjabi and non-Punjabi question We all know the hollowness of this propaganda The Punjabis as well as the non-Punjabis are the victims of the present policies of the Dr We are sure that the entire student community of the Varsity from the Punjab, the Frontier, Sind, the U P, Bengal, etc, would stand united like a rock and defeat this disruptive game

He will use his "yes-men"—the rowdies and roughs of the Varsity—to coerce and intimidate the mass of students He has already tried this method The toughs were invited to a lunch by the V C and given a talk to "go and disrupt the Union meeting" What happened in the Union meeting on Thursday, the 26th December 1946, was a foreplanned affair—planned in the very house of the Dr Who were these people who broke the Union meeting? Recognise them The ex-Proctorial Monitors, the nominated President of the Union (nominated by the V C), the Senior Hall [Monitor] of the S S Hall (nominated by the Provost), nominated post-holders and also a bunch of those students who had been rusticated from the University for anti-social activities and who wanted to win the favour of the V C by serving him in his hour of need It is disgraceful that the V C employed these elements of the Varsity to break the activities of the Union, the representative organisation of the students These "yes-men" of the V C and the rowdies did succeed in their attempts But they will not succeed now What happened in Thursday's meeting of the Union is a disgraceful chapter in its history All the decent students of the varsity must unite to defeat this game of the V C and his men amongst the students, the post-holders and the rowdies

He will try to create a rift between the staff and the students He tried it, but he failed In a meeting of the staff club, held on Thursday,

the 26th December 1946, his men tried to get a resolution passed that the entire staff would resign if the Dr tendered his resignation But they did not succeed That resolution was not passed Our teachers too (except some who share profits) have been exploited by the Vice-Chancellor Their salary has not been increased as yet in spite of the fact that the Central Government has donated Rs 2 lac to the Varsity for staff development A tussle is going on between the staff and the V C too

It was because of the humiliating condition to which they were forced under the Dr 's regime that the cream of our staff left our Varsity—Dr Kazi Saeeduddin, Kerawala, Aley Ahmed Suroor, etc We want to assure our teachers that we have no quarrels with them Their cause and our cause is one We respect them and want to create conditions in which our teachers may be able to lead an honourable life in the Varsity We are one with them, dissociating ourselves from what happened in the V C 's office But we want to inform them that those who committed indecent acts in the morning were exactly the same people who broke the Union meeting in the evening—the bunch of rowdies In the end, we want to emphasise that the real items should not be sidetracked The charges against the Dr remain as they were The students will continue their struggle till victory is achieved Let history remember the uplift of the Musalmans for the betterment of the Muslim University

Another glaring case of deliberately creating indiscipline among the students is his interference with the affairs of the University School, as a result of which the Head Master, Mr Jones, submitted a 10-page resignation [letter] which is worth seeing

Whatever happened on 26th December cannot be regarded as a solitary local incident Its causes have to be traced back to the past two years of the University life Giving them in detail will be a long affair but we will be failing in honesty and duty if we refrain from quoting them even briefly There is nothing secret about them They are on the lips of a vast majority of students and public of Aligarh and in some cases also outside Aligarh They are as follows

There is, also, a general deterioration in the standards of teaching and conditions of residential life The number of students in the University has recently been enormously increased without enough provision of residential quarters, lecture rooms and laboratories, which were only equipped for less than half the total number at present working in them This difficulty could have been easily removed by building of extensions in the laboratories and hostels, which was not

very difficult, but the V C , though he continually gave assurance and promises, never fulfilled them, resulting in a general dissatistaction of the teachers and the taught, of the former because they could not [be] satisfied with the standard of work put in by them

There was general belief about the lack of honesty of the V C Rumours were current that the V C was getting different sorts of stuff in the name of the University which was not utilized for the benefit of the students, staff and buildings of the University, but was sold outside at black [market] rates, and if something was given to the students and staff they were charged enhanced prices The V C has opened kilns and is doing business with the University, and in certain cases his black-marketing had been detected by the officials of the U P Government All this led to a sudden fall in the dignity and prestige of the V C and the University

The following are red-handed [*sic*] cases of his black-marketing and dishonesty to the University

During the War period he, then the V C got more than one hundred wagons of coal on control[led] rate from the Government It is the custom that if coal is supplied to brick contractors they supply bricks at the rate of Rs 17 per thousand instead of Rs 21 per thousand which is the control[led] rate The Secretary (Sh Abdullah) of Women's College, Aligarh, got bricks in the same way, saving nearly Rs 10,400 for the College on the contract of Rs 26 lac But the Dr utilized that coal which he received for University buildings from the Government in his brick industry which is owned nominally by his son He got bricks for the University at the rate of Rs 21 per thousand, thus saving Rs 10,000 for himself Some hundred wagons of coal supplied to the University by the Government he sold to contractors at a profit of Rs 500 per wagon, which he saved for himself

Unfortunately the Dr was caught in this black-marketing and it is strongly reported that the file of this black-marketing is lying with the Pant Government

The Dr got bags of cement on the control[led] rate, which is nearly Rs 2 per bag, but bought them for the University at Rs 4 or Rs 4/8/- per bag This cement was used in some buildings when it was nearly spoilt In the Tibbiya College two coolies and in the Engineering College eight coolies were killed Nearly all the buildings and hostels which were built during the last two or three years are very weak and not at all suitable for the students to live in He also sold cement in the city at emorpitant[*sic* for exorbitant] rates Mr Dixon, the then Collector and Adviser to the Government of India for cement, also

conducted an inquiry and reported against him to the U.P Governor.

There is a known fact about it that when the engineer asked the contractor, who is a member of the University Court, whether he had used sand in place of cement, he told that the spoilt cement was given by the Dr and it was used It is also reported that he has got shares in this contract

Thus judging the above unfair activities of the Dr we very much fear that the University Trust will be at a great loss in the hands of the Dr when buildings, hostels, hospitals, etc , worth Rs 50 to 60 lac are going to be built for the proposed Medical College

It is reported by a very reliable source that cheques worth 80 thousand [rupees] were dishonoured owing to delay in the accounts office It may be recalled that these cheques were the donations of the Muslim Nation for the construction of the proposed Medical College in the University

During the last Union elections (1946) the candidate who was defeated in the general election was nominated by the V C as the President of the Union over the head of the student who had defeated him The post of the President of the Union was never given to a student before It was either held by the P V C or the V C or a very senior member of the staff This led to the confirmation of the rumours that the defeated student and nominated President was the V C 's candidate This also proved the partiality of the V C in deciding the matters [sic] of the students in general, resulting in the formation of two camps and two parties in them The camp of the nominated and hence of the V C was definitely weaker of the two as was apparent from the result of the election As a result of that, perhaps for the first time in the history of the University, students assembled in front of the V C 's office and openly abused him

All these affairs and happenings went on adding to the heap of dissatisfaction and frustration which now reached its limit The cup was now full, and emotions and feelings got out of control resulting in all that has happened and which will remain as the blackest spot in the history of the University administration for all times to come

The deplorable event took place on 26th December 1946 at the V C office Some events of misconduct were reported The Union Cabinet agreed that those students who misbehaved with the V C should be punished There were some members of the staff present on the spot at that time but they did not prevent the demonstrators. This encouraged [them] further to show their inner feelings of discontentment It is said that the Dr had lost the prestige and was insulted

but he had no courage at that time to face the demonstrators There is a saying that "Nobody can sheer ones [sic] respect and prestige possibly if one [sic] does not pave his own way with evils"

Those students who were proved criminals by the Disciplinary Committee had to suffer such heavy punishments as rustication, expulsion, etc , for years But no action was taken against those yes-men who disrupted the Union meeting on 26th December, 1946, by using *goonda* methods

Bearing all the above facts in mind one gets puzzled when one hears that a special meeting of the Court is going to [be] held on the 2nd of March, 1947, in which, it is learnt, that the Court is going to request the Dr to take charge of Vice-Chancellorship till the election of the new V C is held In this connection, we will be failing in duty if we do not lay before you the following points

(1) On 1st January, 1947, the Executive Council in its meeting strongly requested the Dr to be in the chair of the V C but he insisted negatively saying that it will be his insult to be in the chair At last the Executive Council was compelled to appoint another person till the election of the V C takes place

(2) Just after a week of this new appointment the Dr felt like coming again in the chair [sic] and he started thinking out plans to come in [sic] Fortunately for him, an unauthorised meeting was held on 20th January, 1947, under the presidentship of an ex-student by some students in the Strachey Hall, which was opened by force without the previous sanction of the Acting Vice-Chancellor There his yes-men passed a resolution for the recall of the Dr in which there was a deep hand of the Dr On getting this strength and by breaking the solidarity of the students, he requested some of the members of the Executive Council to move a resolution for his recall in the next meeting It is no secret that he is keen to come back because he has invested about Rs 60,000 in the University in various building projects The new Hall which was under brisk construction is at a standstill since he resigned

Knowing this move, the Honorary Secretary of the Union sent the information to each of the Executive Councillors in its meeting which was held on 26th January, 1947, expressing that the Union dissociated itself from that decision This brought the willing members of the new move to keep quiet, and his trick was thus disclosed

(3) Then came the Union general elections, on 4th February, 1947 He was again playing a great role by the back-door through his

yes-men He was successful in securing the election of his candidate through some unfair means by creating strong provincialism amongst the students, viz U P vs non-U P [students] All possible methods were adopted to get votes for a U P candidate from the U.P residents The present Union Ministry is ashamed of it because of such unhealthy feelings A very filthy and pernicious pamphlet was distributed (a copy of which is attached herewith),[4] which was very objectionable and which shows that if such kind of things prevail in future, then Aligarh Muslim University will no doubt forfeit its name of the "arsenal of Muslim India"

(4) When the results were announced, his yes-men sent a wire to the Dr in Delhi, congratulating him on the success of his candidate This wire clearly shows that he was very much interested in the elections of the Union, in students' affairs, and in creating parties and camps amongst the students—thus teaching the young men, or rather the cream of Muslim Nation, the enmity and hatred for the cause of provincialism There arises a question why was no step taken on such a pamphlet? The President of the Union is a student who has nearly finished all his academic career in the University and, as already stated, is a defeated candidate of the 1946 Union election So it was in his power to take any action but he did not take The Acting V C has no power constitutionally, so he could not help it

(5) Then came the University Convocation on 16th February 1947, in which Hon'ble Liaquat Ali Khan addressed the students A couple of days before, some deputations were sent to Delhi to see Messrs Liaquat Ali Khan, Nazimuddin, [Nawab] Moh[amma]d Ismail Khan and other League leaders at Delhi These deputations terrified [*sic*] these leaders by saying that the present Acting V C is a matriculate and legally he cannot preside over the Convocation The degree-receivers will strongly resent it and there will be an anti-demonstration [*sic*] on the Convocation day if the Dr does not preside The present [Union] Ministry was reported to them as being a body of Communists

The leaders were so much disappointed to hear about anti-Liaquat Ali demonstration and in favour of Dr on the Convocation day that they were compelled to assure those deputations that a special meeting of the Court will be called soon in which the resolution of the Executive Council shall be revised and the Dr will be requested to come again The members of those

deputations were none [else] but the yes-men of the Dr In this connection the Honorary Secretary happened to go to Delhi a day before the Convocation and came across such activities of the yes-men of the Dr He met Khwaja [Nazimuddin] Sahib and [Nawab] Mohammad Ismail Khan Sahib in this connection and explained to them the whole position which was played behind [*sic*] and assured them that no such thing will happen on that day and it is a mere fabrication by the yes-men of the Dr Due to some reasons, he could not [have] interview with [the] Hon'ble Liaquat Ali Khan owing to his heavy engagements

(6) The day came (16th February 1947) The guests were received heartily at the station The Convocation passed off peacefully The Dr did not attend the Convocation At the luncheon at Habib Manzil, the Dr got the opportunity to address the guests where he expressed the desire to show his loyalty to the Muslim League by saying that if the Quaid-i-Azam and Hon'ble Liaquat Ali Khan allow[ed] him to come [back] then only will he come for the Vice-Chancellorship But just after the luncheon, a sniffing [*sic* for whispering] started amongst some members of the Court as to why the Dr was at the mercy of the League High Command while the Court had such powers, and if they would like, they can appoint him again to the post of Vice-Chancellor even if the League High Command did not wish

The Honorary Secretary accompanied by the President and the Honorary Librarian met the Hon'ble Liaquat Ali Khan and Hon'ble Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar and insisted [that] the latter address the students under the auspices of the Union He hesitated to do so But later on he told the Honorary Secretary that there is a strong feeling against the Union and the students shall boycott the meeting The Secretary of the Union explained to him the whole position and thus at last he agreed at 4 p m to address the students under the auspices of the Union at 5 p m At this sudden and short notice by the Union, the [large] gathering astonished even the Hon'ble Member At the time of see-off, they too showed signs of happiness [and they were] peacefully cheered

Thus the whole game of backbiting was defeated by a united effort of the members of the Union and the showed [*sic* for show] of unity of action by them They also proved that they are at peace and have diverted their minds towards their studies They are fully satisfied with the present Acting Vice-Chancellor for

this interim period The students strongly hope to get a new V C very soon from April [next] The news prevails [*sic*] that there is going to be a change of the V C is received with great happiness and relief amongst the students, and the lovers of this *alma mater* The above pages contain only a few facts of Dr 's activities If one wants to know details [about the] Dr one has to spend at least a couple of weeks at Aligarh

In the end we appeal in the name of Allah to save the "arsenal of Muslim India" from the clutches of the Dr if at all the cream of Muslim India is needed for the final struggle of our cherished goal—Pakistan

[1]The Council meeting was held on 27-29 July 1946 when the Direct Action Resolution was passed See Annex III to No 386
[2]The Convention took place in August 1946
[3]Govind Ballabh Pant, Premier of UP
[4]Not available in *QAP*

Annexure I to Enclosure to No 13

F 962/77-78

ALIGARH[1]

Aligarh is again in the news The aggressive communalism, indiscipline and intolerance of the Aligarh students of which many railway passengers passing through Aligarh and the Hindu residents of Aligarh had bitter experience, have now turned homeward Dr Ziauddin, Vice-Chancellor of the University, is to-day the victim It is reported that a large number of students marched to the office of the Vice-Chancellor, mobbed the building, broke window-panes and shouted "Ziauddin must go" From the news at hand it appears that what infuriated the students was the expulsion of a student following upon the publication in the University Magazine of an uncensored article in question, it is stated contained [*sic*] prejudicial matter punishable under Section 153 of the new Ordinance It is further reported that as a protest against the expulsion of the writer of the articles [*sic*] more than five thousand students have gone on strike

The sequel to the uncensored article does not end here Deeply mortified at the conduct of his own students Dr Ziauddin has resigned Resignation further complicates matter and we yet hope Dr Ziauddin will be persuaded to withdraw it The worst critics of the Aligarh University authorities will not deny that since the Aligarh riots in which the University students took a prominent part Dr Ziauddin

has been trying his level best to re-establish the discipline of the University and to keep the students away from the politics of hate and violence But in this work he has not been receiving an appreciable measure of co-operation from the leader of the Muslim League. And Aligarh is known to be a stronghold of the Muslim League For the present deplorable state of things in the Aligarh University the leaders of the Muslim League must be held chiefly responsible

It is no good appealing to the leaders of the Muslim League. No help can be expected from them in the work of maintenance of discipline and academic atmosphere in the Aligarh Muslim University It is the Congress Government in U P that must come to the rescue of the harassed Vice-Chancellor It may be recalled that in the first week of November, the U P Government issued a directive to the Lucknow University authorities to close the University until they were able to restore discipline It was the duty of the Government, to ensure suitable conditions for study and research and to develop the character, manners and interests of the students on sound lines The U P Government found that those in charge of the Lucknow University had completely failed to maintain the minimum discipline necessary for the purpose among the students There can be no denying the fact that the Aligarh Muslim University has been the worst sinner in this respect Aligarh, once a great cultural centre, has to-day become a by-word for the aggressive communalism If the University is to be restored to its former eminence, if conditions suitable for study and research are to be created, outside influences must be ruthlessly eliminated, and the students must be kept confined within the precincts of the University It will be no easy job for the University authorities to combat outside influences It appears that the Muslim League has strongly entrenched itself within the University. For instance, we are told that the University Muslim League has informed Mr Jinnah of the developments, viz expulsion of the student and the raid on the Vice-Chancellor's office Who are the members of this University Muslim League? Why has the Muslim League been allowed to make inroads into the sacred precincts of the University and form a branch there? This University Muslim League has certainly no counterpart in any other University

The problem, therefore, boils down to elimination of outside influences from the University It will demand of the University authorities all the firmness that they are capable of. The students must be saved from the vicious influence of the retailer[s] of communal violence and hatred Addressing the students of the Aligarh University, Dr Syed Hussain advised them not to prematurely become pseudo-politicians

and violent partisans of passing phases in the national scene The present communal distemper is a passing phase By percept [*sic*] and example the University teachers must try to keep the students uncontaminated by this distemper The teachers, the guardians of the students and all true lovers of Aligarh Muslim League [*sic* for University] must co-operate in maintaining the tradition and standards of this premier Muslim educational institution

[1]Editorial, *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 30 December 1946

Annexure II to Enclosure to No 13

F 962/78

ALIGARH UNIVERSITY BE ISOLATED FROM CITY[1]

LUCKNOW, October 2 Categorical assurance that the University authorities were going to do everything in their power to prevent its students from being drawn into any movement the Muslim League might launch were given by the Vice-Chancellor of the Muslim University, Dr Ziauddin, who, accompanied by Prof Habib, saw the U P Premier, Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant, and the Home Minister, Mr Rafi Ahmed Kidwai, in New Delhi last week

Dr Ziauddin is reported to have told the Ministers that he was unwilling to sacrifice the premier Muslim educational institution of the country to the League's need of the hour and while he would like to run the University with the goodwill and understanding of League leaders he would endeavour to keep on the right side of the Government This he had also told to [*sic*] the League Committee of Action[2] whom he had met the previous day

He had also told the Committee that steps were being taken to isolate the University completely from the city and develop it into a self-sufficient colony, cordoned off against any intercourse with the city

The University's proctorial and watch-and-ward staff was going to be considerably strengthened at an additional cost of Rs 40,000 and would be placed under a retired Deputy Collector or Superintendent of Police and several retired subordinate police officers

CONTROL ON CITY SCHOOL

In pursuance of this policy of isolation, the University would give up its control of the city school which would be run as a private Muslim school not having anything to do with the University

The number of day scholars, on whom inevitably the University

has less control than [on] other resident students, was going to be drastically reduced

Inside the University area, steps were taken to combat the recent trends towards aggressively active participation in politics and bring about the detachment necessary for an educational institution

The University City League had been dissolved on the ground that such a body was superfluous in an institution whose authorities themselves were Muslims About 400 students who were aggressive in their behaviour had been sent away involving the University a loss to the extent of Rs 60,000

Dr Ziauddin was satisfied that no Direct Action was contemplated by the Muslim League His impression was that none in the Committee of Action, except Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar, was in favour of Direct Action

[1]*Hindustan Times*, 3 October 1946

[2]At its session held at Karachi in December 1943, the AIML appointed a Committee of Action for organising, coordinating and unifying the Provincial and the Central Muslim League organisations, with Nawab Muhammad Ismail Khan as its Chairman

14

Syed Ali Emran Haboby to M A Jinnah

F 886/48

[Original in Arabic]

MADINA, HEDJAZ,
22 February 1947

In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful

Your Excellency, the revered Mr Mohammad Ali Jinnah,

May peace and Allah's Favours and Blessings be with you

To begin with, let me enquire about your precious health which is the most important thing and one which is my greatest concern What is it that has prompted me to write this letter to you and enquire about your health? It is nothing but [my sincerest admiration of] the great efforts you are making for the cause of Islam Reports about your endeavours, constantly reaching us from venerable *haji* brethren like Roshan Ali and his companions, have deeply impressed us, and we keep enquiring about you from respectable *hajis*, especially Haji Roshan Ali and his companions and Haji Yusuf Qasim Sina, an employee of Habib and Sons & Company, always deriving much pleasure and satisfaction

from their reports. We pray to Allah, the Almighty, always to crown your efforts with success and annihilate your enemies. May Allah bless you with the opportunity to perform *Hajj* of *Ka'ba* and visit the sacred grave of the Holy Prophet (may peace be upon him and his family) and we may be among your sincerest friends and you may be our guest Taking advantage of this valuable opportunity, may I request you kindly to convey my greetings to your respectable companions

May Allah help you to do whatever is in accord with His Pleasure.

Sincerely,
ALI EMRAN HABOBY
Cultivator, Machinery & Seeds Supplier

15

M A Hassan Ispahani to M A Jinnah

F 309/317

CALCUTTA,
22 February 1947

My dear Mr Jinnah,

While in Delhi, I heard of a Muslim named Salman Ahmed Ali of U P He worked as a publicity man in the Government of India and is at present the Exhibition Officer of the Government of India Commerce Department He has been brought over from the Labour Resettlement Department where he acted as the Deputy Director of Publicity I have heard very good reports of him and it will be nice if you send for him when you are next in Delhi He is receiving a salary of Rs 1,000 per month If you find him good, he may be considered for the post of the Muslim League Central Publicity at Delhi.

I, along with four other Muslim League nominees[1] in the Viceroy's Cabinet, waited for Liaquat Ali's return from the Viceroy at his house We sat and discussed the latest announcement of Attlee in the House of Commons [2] I was prepared to leave for Karachi to bring back your reaction, but it was later decided that it was not necessary for me to do so

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,
HASSAN

[1]I I Chundrigar, Abdur Rab Nishtar, Ghazanfar Ali Khan and Jogendra Nath Mandal
[2]No 1

16

M A Hassan Ispahani to Liaquat Ali Khan
(Copy to M A Jinnah)

F. 309/318

CALCUTTA,
22 February 1947

My dear Liaquat Ali,

In the short time that I met you a couple of nights ago, I forgot asking you about sending $ 1,750 from India to New York to meet the cost of running our Information Centre there—$ 1,000 as initial charges and about $ 750 as monthly recurring charges For various reasons, the chief being the strict vigilance over the books of account and other interferences by the State Department at Washington, it is not possible for my business friends to finance the organisation from their end I do not blame them because no businessman wants interference with his day-to-day business The Congress organisation in the U S collected a part of their funds in that country and the rest, I have on good authority, went and, may be, goes through China with the help of Mr Pandit's[1] friend, Madame Chiang Kai-Sheikh [*sic* for Shek] As the establishment of the office and its success will be dependent on proper and regular financing, I shall be obliged if you will let me know whether you can arrange to place the required dollars at our disposal; the rupee equivalent will be gladly paid at this end and the conversion effected As the matter is extremely urgent, I shall be glad, not withstanding your preoccupations, if you will give it your immediate and urgent attention and let me know what can be done I am forwarding a copy of this letter to Quaid-i-Azam for his information

With kind regards,

Sincerely yours,
HASSAN

The Hon'ble Mr Liaquat Ali Khan,
Gul-i-Raana, Hardinge Avenue,
New Delhi

[1]Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru

17

Iftikhar Husain Khan Mamdot to M A Jinnah

F 372/22-23

[KASUR SUB-JAIL, KASUR,]
22 February 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

You must have learnt that the negotiations for a compromise are pending Maulana Sahib[1] will give you all the information as to what offer has been made, what were our original demands, to what extent the Government has conceded or is prepared to concede, what is our present strength, etc The decision of the Committee of Action[2] has been forwarded to you to solicit your opinion But I must confess that in order to avoid a scene amongst ourselves, particularly inside a jail, I did not acquaint the members of the Committee as to how this thing started I am now writing to you to say that on the 14th or the 15th of this month, Malik Firoz Khan Noon, who is in my jail, wrote a letter to a D I G [3] saying that things had taken a serious turn and that he hoped it was not the intention of either party to take matters to such an extent He said that there was a chance of an amicable settlement and asked the D I G to see him When he had despatched the letter, he informed me and I scolded him and could not do more because it had gone

In the light of this fact, I think that our position is very weak and if the negotiations break, Khizar[4] is sure to make use of the letter and it will have a very demoralizing effect on the poor masses I must say that we were going very strong and that there was a genuine and big response We could carry on but for this unfortunate incident Anyhow we will await your instruction[s] In case you do not want us to carry on the struggle then we will accept the terms offered by the Government and call off the movement, and if you order us to carry on then we will do so whatever happens I am sure Khizar will not dare to face the House for getting approval for the Ordinance [5] He will rather break and face the agitation

Yours sincerely,
I H KHAN

[1]Maulana Dawood Ghaznavi

[2]See paras 5 and 6 of the Enclosure

[3]Noon wrote the letter to Jenkin, DIG, CID, Punjab The letter is not available but, subsequently, E M Jenkins, the Governor of the Punjab, reported to Viceroy Wavell that the DIG, under

authority from Khizar Hayat Khan Tiwana, visited Mamdot and Noon at the Kasur Sub-jail to conduct negotiations At their request, Daultana was also brought to Lahore where all of them met at Jenkin's house They then demanded a meeting of the Committee of Action which was allowed by Tiwana After the meeting at the Kasur Sub-jail, Maulana Ghaznavi was sent to Jinnah for instructions The terms offered were accepted by Tiwana See Jenkins to Wavell, 28 February 1947, *IOR*, L/P&J/5/250

[4]Malik Khizar Hayat Khan Tiwana

[5]The Punjab Public Safety Ordinance was promulgated in November 1946 and invoked again in January 1947

Enclosure to No 17
Iftikhar Husain Khan Mamdot to E M Jenkins
(Copy to M A Jinnah)

F 917/211-214

SUB-JAIL, KASUR,
Undated [*February 1947*]

Your Excellency,

1 Your Excellency will recollect that on the 4th day of the non-violent Civil Disobedience Movement[1] which the Punjab Provincial Muslim League had launched to vindicate the civil liberties in the Punjab and to restore the rule of the law to the citizens of this province, viz on the 27th of January 1947, you were pleased to send for me so that a settlement could be arrived at between the Punjab Government and the Muslim League such as would be in keeping both with the dignity of the parties involved and [with] the best interests of the freedom loving people of the Punjab At that meeting I placed before you the demands which my party considered as the minimum conditions of a settlement, and you were good enough to assure me that you would consult your Cabinet Ministers, and acquaint me with their reactions Unfortunately, before any fruitful steps could be taken along these lines, the Punjab Government thought it fit to arrest almost all the responsible leaders of the Muslim League and thus decisively slammed the door on more amicable methods of settlement

2 After almost four weeks, during which the Muslims of the Punjab vindicated their peaceful devotion to civil liberties, and their scrupulous solicitude for communal peace even in the face of grave provocations, in a manner which must have won for them the admiration of all freedom-loving people, the Punjab Government, through Mr Jenkin, D I G , C I D , intimated to me the extent to which they could meet the demands of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League and suggested the lines on which, according to them, a settlement was possible

3 To facilitate a better understanding of the points which I propose to raise in this letter I am giving below relevant extracts from the draft statement which the Premier was prepared to issue in case a settlement was possible

"It has never been the intention of my colleagues and myself to restrict political activities to an extent not justified by communal situation and we are particularly anxious that the opposition should be given the fullest opportunity of challenging us constitutionally in the House in a fortnight's time

"Keeping in view this object, and also our responsibilities to members of all communities for the maintenance of public order, we have decided to go as far as we can to make it possible for the opposition to resume constitutional methods

"We cannot safely remove all measures which might be interpreted as restrictive For example we cannot in any circumstances relax the existing restrictions on military drill, on the carrying of arms, and on processions

"But we have decided to permit meetings in all places where they are now prohibited It will be open to District Magistrates immediately or at any time to impose or re-impose restrictions on meetings whenever and wherever the public safety so demands Persons who make speeches likely to inflame communal feeling will be proceeded against "[2]

4 I naturally told Mr Jenkin that it was constitutionally impossible for me to consider these proposals or to pronounce upon them unless I was in a position to consult my Committee of Action To remove this difficulty, the Punjab Government arranged to bring all the members of my Committee of Action to Kasur Jail, where I was detained

5 My Committee met at Kasur Jail on the evening of February 21st, and we have arrived at the following decisions which I am placing before Your Excellency

(a) My Committee is pleased that the Punjab Government is prepared to remove the ban on public meetings in all places where they are now prohibited

(b) My Committee emphatically demands that the Punjab Public Safety Ordinance be placed before the Punjab Assembly during its next session, so that the duly elected representatives of the people may have an opportunity of reviewing the executive measures of the Government and reflecting public opinion on them My Committee is confident that the Punjab Premier must himself be anxious to adhere to the elementary democratic

convention which permits and justifies only those executive measures which meet with the approval of the majority of the legislature to which he is responsible and to which he owes all his constitutional power and position Besides, my Committee is relieved to find that the Punjab Premier is anxious to give us the fullest opportunity of challenging his party constitutionally in the House in a fortnight's time, and has sufficiently revised his past policy [so] as to admit of the possibility of the resumption of constitutional methods by the Opposition Further, my Committee recollects that at an early stage of the present Movement the Premier emphasised his deep attachment to constitutional usages, and he cannot but welcome our insistence upon a method which accords so well with his own interpretation of political proprieties Moreover, my Committee wants to remind Your Excellency that the Punjab Public Safety Ordinance was first promulgated in November 1946, when it could be argued that in face of an emergency it was contrary to public interest to await the sanction of the Legislature which was not then in session But, my Committee is happy to note that at long last the session of the Assembly is due to take place in ten days' time Therefore, there can now be no difficulty in eliciting the opinion and getting the approval of the Legislature, unless the present Government is reluctant to face its direct masters with a measure to which it has attached so much sanctity, in which case, according to all constitutional precedents or democratic decency, one or the other of the two must go My Committee is conscious that the democratic demand it is now placing before Your Excellency is one so well-established and widely honoured that in every province in India where a similar ordinance has been introduced, it has been placed at the first opportunity before the respective legislature The Muslim League Ministry in Bengal and the Congress Ministry in Madras are at the moment following this precedent, and we cannot imagine that Your Excellency will permit a deviation from this elementary principle in a province presided over by Your Excellency

6. The final position of my Committee, therefore, is that if the Government (i) is prepared to remove all bans on public meetings throughout the province, and (ii) is willing to place the Punjab Public Safety Ordinance before the Punjab Legislative Assembly at its next session, the Punjab Provincial Muslim League is prepared to call off its present Civil Disobedience Movement It is of course understood that

as an integral part of this settlement the Government will release all persons arrested or detained or convicted under any law or ordinance during this Movement

7 I would end my letter on the assurance that no one is more keen than my party or myself to restore a happy and free normality to the province, and, therefore, I have sought to persuade my party to present no more than the minimum terms consistent with the honour, dignity and responsibility of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League I feel in all good conscience that after this the onus for any further deterioration in the situation must rest solely on the present Punjab Government

[IFTIKHAR HUSAIN KHAN]

[1]The Civil Disobedience Movement was started on 24 January 1947 against restrictions imposed by the Tiwana Ministry on the activities of the Punjab ML and its National Guards
[2]The statement appeared in the *Civil & Military Gazette*, 27 February 1947

18

Khwaja Nazimuddin to M A Jinnah

F 678/61

WESTERN COURT, NEW DELHI,
22 February 1947

Dear Mr Jinnah,

Please excuse this hurried note I took advantage of Haroon's[1] departure to write to you in this manner Please send a cheque or draft for [Rupees] two lakh for the Bihar Relief Fund I have asked the Treasurer to send you a complete account of the money paid by me to them and spent by them You will get it in a week

I hope you are well Haroon will tell you about Lahore

Yours sincerely,
KH NAZIMUDDIN

[1]Yusuf A Haroon

19

M A Jinnah to Durgadas B Advani

F 787/1

URGENT

OLD GOVERNMENT HOUSE, KARACHI,
23 February 1947

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of 22nd February,[1] late last evening, and I had already drawn the attention of the Minister in charge of the University Bill to your criticism of it during our meeting on the 19th of February, and since in that interview you did not suggest any specific amendment to the Bill, the matter, therefore, was laid to rest at that

I now find from the Press reports that the Bill has already been taken up by the Assembly and that it has already gone through certain stages and the amendments that are tabled are being now dealt [with] by the Assembly To-day is Sunday and I am afraid it is difficult for me now to take up these specific amendments, at this late hour, which you have now considered necessary to send to me, and further I am leaving on Tuesday and I, therefore, regret very much that I cannot go into these amendments and arrange to discuss further with you for the reasons I have stated above

Yours faithfully,
M A JINNAH

Durgadas B Advani, Esq,
Chairman,
Citizens' Committee,
80 Laxmi Insurance Building,
Karachi

[1]No 11

20

M A Jinnah to Yusuf A Haroon

F 274/301

OLD GOVERNMENT HOUSE, KARACHI,
23 February 1947

Dear Mr Yusuf Haroon,

I have received your letter of 5th February[1] and in pursuance of that I met four members of your Committee who happened to be in Karachi—Mr Yusuf Haroon, Mr Qureshi, Mr Hayat and Mr Anwar Hidayatullah—on the 7th February, and as Mir Ghulam Ali could not come because he was out of India and Mir Bundehali was unavoidably absent, it was suggested that we should meet to-day at the full meeting I have noted all that you had to say and I have now returned the list of donors who have promised so far and also the two cheques and cash, amounting to Rs 3,600 (Rupees three thousand, six hundred only) were handed over to Mir Ghulam Ali

It is now for your Committee to carry out what was announced, i e to collect Rs 71,000 to be presented to me on the occasion of my 71st birthday Of course when this money is sent to me it will certainly be utilized for the League purposes

Yours sincerely,
M A JINNAH

Y A Haroon, Esq ,
Haroon Sons Limited,
Wood Street,
Karachi

[1]The letter enclosed a list of donations collected by Mir Ghulam Ali See F 274/299, 5 February 1947, *QAP*

21

M A Jinnah to Iftikhar Husain Khan Mamdot

F 372/24-27

OLD GOVERNMENT HOUSE, KARACHI,
23 February 1947

My dear Mamdot,

I have received your letter of 22nd February, 1947[1] brought to me by Maulana Dawood Ghaznavi and also the typewritten reply that you propose to send to the Governor of the Punjab along with the proposals of the Punjab Government [2] The following points arise

(i) that the ban imposed on public meetings and processions under Section 144 should be removed,

(ii) withdraw all restrictive measures on political activities and not to misuse the special powers conferred by the Punjab Public Safety Ordinance, and

(iii) release all those who have been imprisoned, arrested or detained

This was indicated in the Resolution of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League, passed at Karachi on 31st January,[3] and I see from your demands, embodied in the typewritten copy, that you are inclined to yield with regard to the processions Then there remain three main points

(i) that the Government should remove the ban on public meetings throughout the province,

(ii) that the Punjab Public Safety Ordinance should be placed before the Punjab Legislative Assembly at its next session, and

(iii) that the Government will release all persons arrested, detained or convicted under any law or ordinance during this movement

I see that you have, therefore, as a compromise, not insisted on the removal of the ban on processions, but the other three matters stand, whereas the Punjab Government is unwilling to place the Punjab Public Safety Ordinance before the Punjab Legislative Assembly for them to adopt such measures as they may think proper This is contrary to accepted principles and against constitutional precedents and democracy In every province in India similar Ordinances have been placed at the first opportunity before their respective legislatures, and the Muslim League Ministry in Bengal and the Congress Ministry in Madras are following this precedent, and so is Sind

The Ordinance was enacted as a special emergency measure by

virtue of special powers as the Assembly was not in session and it is the bounden duty of the Government to place the whole matter before the Assembly at its very first session for them to decide whether the Ordinance, or any of the provisions of the Ordinance, are still necessary to meet the situation and to what extent, and enact such laws by statute accordingly

It was taken for granted that any responsible democratic Government will place the provisions of the Ordinance before the Punjab Assembly at its first session, and the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League at the time were, therefore, concerned with the following matters, and they laid down

(a) that the Punjab Government should forthwith withdraw all restrictive measures on political activities and the ban on public meetings and processions,
(b) that the special powers conferred by the Punjab Public Safety Ordinance, 1946, should not be misused, and
(c) that all those who have been imprisoned, arrested or detained in this connection should be released

But they took it as elementary that the Punjab Public Safety Ordinance, 1946, would be placed before the first session of the Assembly Therefore, the question now before your Committee is

(a) whether the ban imposed upon public meetings and processions be removed,
(b) that the Punjab Public Safety Ordinance should be placed before the Punjab Assembly at its next meeting or session, and
(c) that all those who are imprisoned, detained or convicted since this movement started should be released unconditionally

I notice that, as a compromise, you have yielded on the question of processions Therefore, there remains the ban on public meetings, placing of the Ordinance before the next meeting of the Punjab Assembly and the releasing of all [those] imprisoned, detained or convicted

The Punjab Government is willing to remove the ban on meetings and I take it that they are willing to agree to release all those classes referred to above, but they are not willing to place the Punjab Public Safety Ordinance before the Assembly at its next meeting. That is a position which is incompatible with constitutional precedents and what has already happened in other provinces as I have pointed out above, and it is a matter of very great principle and I cannot advise you to give it up because, now that you have raised this point, if you give it up, then it can only mean your acceptance of or acquiescence in

the present Ordinance rule continuing indefinitely without their placing the Punjab Public Safety Ordinance before the Assembly as long as they like and getting the sanction of the Legislature, which is the only proper constitutional and democratic method for a popular Government to adopt. As to the other two points, I understand that the Punjab Government are willing to remove the ban on public meetings and release those who are classified and referred to above

You and the prominent leaders of the Punjab started this movement and, I think, rightly as it was becoming intolerable, especially when the Muslim National Guards organization was declared unlawful It was the last straw on the camel's back and let me say that there was no other course open to you but to face the situation as you did with great courage and determination and you have carried on this movement magnificently Not only I am proud of the Punjab and its leadership, but the whole of Muslim India is with you and the whole world is watching in admiration and with great deal of sympathy and disapproval of the policy and actions of the Punjab Government

Your stand is a right one This is the testing moment for you to come to a decision I have made it clear that you started it, you have carried it on magnificently and it is for you now to come to a settlement which should be as honourable and as creditable not only so far as the Musalmans of the Punjab are concerned but the All India Muslim League; and I am sure that you will take a unanimous decision

Honourable defeat, if it is to be, is better than a compromise which is discreditable and contrary to accepted constitutional principles and precedents and the rules of democracy for which we are working I, therefore, have come to the conclusion that your demands are just and right and you have shown a spirit of compromise in yielding with regard to the ban on processions, but it is now for you to consider the whole matter and take such decisions as you think proper The responsibility rests with you and we have made it clear from the very beginning that settlement must be arrived at between you and the Punjab Government, on the clear understanding that it is for your Committee to decide

I hope I have made my views clear to you and I wish you luck and Godspeed We must be firm and determined and take the consequences,

but we should not be a party to any compromise which is discreditable, in order to avoid further suffering, once having gone in for them [4]

Hoping you are well,

With very kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M A JINNAH

[1]No 17

[2]See Enclosure to No 17

[3]The confusion about the date (31 January or 1 February) has been due to the fact that the Working Committee met for three days, viz 31 January to 2 February 1947 See Annex

[4]Jinnah's suggestions, as outlined above, had a great bearing on the terms of settlement finally arrived at between the Punjab ML leaders and the Tiwana Ministry As a result the ML Civil Disobedience Movement was called off on 26 February 1947 and the Government released all prisoners except those implicated in acts of physical violence The Punjab Government also yielded on the Punjab Public Safety Ordinance which was to be replaced by a new legislation However, restrictions on public meetings and processions and ban on military drill were not lifted See *Civil & Military Gazette*, 27 February 1947

Annex to No 21

F 1120/178-181[1]

RESOLUTION NO 5 OF THE AIML WORKING COMMITTEE PASSED AT ITS MEETING HELD AT KARACHI, 31 JANUARY-2 FEBRUARY 1947

The Working Committee of the All India Muslim League have noted with grave concern the serious situation developing in the Punjab where thousands of Muslims, men and women, are courting arrest every day all over the Province as a protest against the suppression of their political rights and civil liberties and against continued provocations offered to them by the Provincial Ministry

One of these provocations, which deeply stirred the feelings of Muslims in the Punjab and outside, was the order promulgated by the Punjab Government on January 24 and since withdrawn, declaring the Muslim National Guards an unlawful Association The Committee strongly condemn this order which amounted to a direct and most high-handed attempt to suppress the activities of the Muslim League in the Punjab The National Guards is a body of volunteers organised by Muslim League to assist in peaceful and legitimate political and social control and forms part of the Muslim League organization The Working Committee congratulate the Punjab Muslims on having successfully resisted this insulting order and secured its withdrawal The Committee, however, cannot overlook the fact that the mere withdrawal of this order makes no improvement in the general conditions

prevailing in the Punjab and involving, on the one hand, persistent and widespread persecution of Muslims for political reasons by the Ministry and, on the other hand, almost total denial to them of these constitutional methods of self-expression and criticism of the Government by the Opposition which are the essential basis of democracy

The present Ministry which is a fundamentally unrepresentative and unpopular one and which is a creation of combination of groups hostile to the Muslim League which is the largest party and the Muslims in the Punjab generally, in its fear of free public opinion and democratic principles and in order to maintain itself in office in defiance of the wishes and rights of the politically awakened majority in the Punjab, resorting with growing recklessness to the Fascist methods of gagging public opinion, suppressing normal civil and constitutional liberties of the people and persecuting its political opponents

For a long time now the Provincial Legislature has practically ceased to function except for the purpose of hurried voting on the budget once in a year, the Opposition being given absolutely no opportunity of bringing forward non-official proposals A ban on public meetings under Section 144 of the Cr P C practically throughout the Province has long been a normal feature of the administration A so-called Public Safety Ordinance, which reduces civil liberties and the liberty of the Press to a farce, has been promulgated on a false pretext The fact that the powers vested in the Government and its officials, under this Ordinance, are actually being used to put down an agitation for the restoration of civil liberties in the Province has thoroughly exposed the falsehood of the pretext for promulgating it It is significant that the Muslims are the principal sufferers from all these bans and restrictions on fundamental civil rights and normal political activity because the other communities can influence the administration through their chosen representatives in the Ministry

At the same time the Ministry has been carrying on a widespread campaign of persecution, coercion and intimidation against workers and supporters of the Muslim League with the object of disrupting and breaking up the political solidarity of Muslims Its war upon the united political front of Muslims in the Punjab has imposed untold sufferings on numerous Muslims, particularly in the rural areas of the Province Thousands have been and are being even refused any ration of controlled commodities, like sugar and kerosene oil, and otherwise persecuted because they are members or supporters of the Muslim League Muslim public servants from Gazetted Officers down to clerks and petty village officials, who refuse to act as the tools of the

Ministers in their political war upon the Muslim League, are being harassed, humiliated and removed from positions of responsibility.

Keeping in view the situation thus created in the Punjab, the Committee have no doubt that the responsibility for the present serious developments in the Punjab rests solely on those who have practically blocked every channel of constitutional political activity for Muslims and made it impossible for them to exercise their ordinary civil rights or to hold and express freely their political opinions, thereby reducing democracy in the Punjab to a mockery

The Working Committee express their whole-hearted sympathy for Muslims of the Punjab in their sufferings and trials It is the Committee's considered opinion and earnest advice to Muslims that they should maintain a perfectly non-violent, disciplined, firm and dignified attitude in their protest against repression and coercion and the suppression of democratic freedom in their Province

The Working Committee wish to make it absolutely clear that the objectives of the Punjab Muslim League's present movement are confined to securing the restoration of normal civil liberties in that Province and involve no inter-communal issue at all The Committee warn Muslims as well as non-Muslims to be on their guard against attempts which may be made out of mischievous motives or because of misapprehensions to give the present situation in the Punjab a colour of inter-communal strife or to import irrelevant communal controversies into it and feel confident that no community will lend itself to be dragged into this conflict by the machinations of those who want to discredit the Muslim League

The Working Committee most earnestly urge and call upon the Punjab Government to forthwith withdraw all restrictive measures on political activities and not to misuse the special powers conferred by the Punjab Public Safety Ordinance 1946, and release all those who have been imprisoned, arrested or detained in this connection

[1]F 1120/178-181 does not give the full and correct version of the Resolution Here the text has been reproduced from Sharifuddin Pirzada, ed , *Foundations of Pakistan* , III, Karachi, 1990, pp 423-425

22

Obaidur Rahman Khan to M A Jinnah

F 1108/17

MUSLIM UNIVERSITY, ALIGARH,
23 February 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

It is the sincere and heartfelt desire of us all that you graciously do us the honour to [*sic*] laying the foundation stone of the proposed Medical College and Hospital at Aligarh at the earliest date convenient to you We realise how extremely precious your time is and how full of important engagements your programme is from day to day Nevertheless, the effort that we have made of collecting nearly fifty lakhs of rupees in cash for the proposed Medical College is also without precedent in the educational history of our nation, and, therefore, today our hearts and our eyes are turned towards you with prayers on our lips that you may kindly inaugurate the function Please, therefore, send us just a line in reply to inform us which date would be convenient to you

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,
OBAIDUR RAHMAN KHAN
Acting Vice-Chancellor

23

A R Ahmed to M A Jinnah

F 832/13-14

NETRAKONA, MYMENSINGH,
24 February 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am sorry that I have been compelled to disturb you by intruding upon your much valuable time I hope you will kindly excuse me

Your statements in the newspaper and on the platform every now and then on the economic backwardness of the Muslims have set us to

serious thinking and it is high time for us to remedy that backwardness With this object in view we have already started a chemical industry with Head Office at Netrakona, Mymensingh, and have most proudly used your name to nominclate [*sic*] it as JINNAH CHEMICAL INDUSTRIES LTD The Company has been registered under the Indian Joint Stock Companies Act 1913

The object of the Company is to produce, manufacture and sell pharmaceutical products, medical preparations, chemico-therapeutic [medicines], rectified spirit, medicated wine, homoeopathic medicines, perfumery and toilet goods The Company also intends to manufacture the most up-to-date instruments and apparatus for the laboratory In fine the principal object of the Company is to carry on research which is beneficial to the Company and to the nation and at the same time paying It cannot be denied that chemical and pharmaceutical industries are the vital nerve of the nation and the field for industries in this vast country of ours is very great We know our success is certain, if we have the good wishes from you

We did not seek your permission to [use] your name before because we know our beloved Quaid-i-Azam cannot be so unkind as to refuse permission

I beg to mention here that Mr Nurul Amin, the Hon'ble Speaker of the Bengal Legislature, and Mr Asan Ali, MLA, have kindly consented to permit use of their names as the Patrons of the Company

I hereby beg most humbly to request you to kindly excuse us for associating your name with the Company

Yours sincerely,
A R AHMED
Proprietor, Jinnah Chemical Industries Ltd ,
and
Member, All India Muslim League Council,
Netrakona, Mymensingh

24

Habib Bank Ltd , Delhi, to M A Jinnah

F 757/21

CHANDNI CHOWK, DELHI,
24 February 1947

Dear Sir,

We beg to inform you that we have received a parcel of three dozen pullovers from Messrs Java Hosiery Factory, Ludhiana, which is for the victims of the Bihar riots We should feel obliged if you please inform us as to how they should be disposed of

Thanking you for the trouble,

Yours faithfully,
M A SIDDIQUI
Agent,
Habib Bank Ltd

25

Ahmad Ispahani to M A Jinnah

F 310/51-52

51 EZRA STREET, CALCUTTA,
24 February 1947

My dear Mr Jinnah,

Hassan[1] must have informed you of the proposed Muslim Bank[2] which is to be floated with an authorised capital of Rs 5 crore—issued Rs 2½ crore and paid-up Rs 1¼ crore The promoters so far are

Sait Adamjee Hajee Dawood
Sait Abdul Gani Haji Habib
Sait Abdul Sattar Ahmed
Mr. Abdul Jalil
Sir Ghulam Mohammed, Kt , C I E , and myself

There will be a minimum of ten and maximum of fifteen Directors From Bombay we may either take Mr Habib Rahimtoola or Mr Mahomedali Habib We propose to take one merchant each from Karachi, Lahore and Peshawar. We will also probably take one

Delhiwalla and two Bengali Muslims

The suggestion that is now being made by Ghulam Mohammed is that we should take one non-Muslim Director I am sending you a copy of Sir Ghulam Mohammed's letter which speaks for itself I have not yet consulted the other promoters. I shall be grateful if you will kindly let me have your views

In the meantime, I have practically engaged an Englishman by the name of W. S Brittain He used to be the General Manager of all the branches of Grindlays Bank who are the subsidiary of the National Provincial Bank of England I have known him for many years and he is really a go-getter This organisation has to be built up from a scratch and I hope we will be able to do so successfully.

With regard to the Orient Airways,[3] we are ready to fly but so far we have not received the provisional licence either for Burma or for Kabul Sir Frederick Timms is raising objections in favour of the I N A [4] and the Tatas, but I hope we will fight this issue successfully and get the provisional licence Our survey flight to Burma has been completed and the next survey will be from Calcutta to Kabul Mr Nishtar is being posted with our progress

We all are awaiting your views on the latest announcement[5] of the British Government

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
AHMAD ISPAHANI

[1]Mirza Abol Hassan Ispahani

[2]The proposal eventually materialised and the prospectus of the Muslim Commercial Bank was issued on 22 August 1947 and delivered to the Registrar of Joint Stock Companies, East Bengal, for registration See *Civil & Military Gazette*, 24 September 1947

[3]The Orient Airways was established at Calcutta in December 1946 with an authorised capital of two crore rupees Ahmad Ispahani was one of the Directors Ibid , 5 December 1946

[4]Indian National Airlines

[5]No 1

Enclosure to No 25
Ghulam Mohammed to Ahmad Ispahani

F 310/53

BOMBAY HOUSE,
24 BRUCE STREET, FORT, BOMBAY,
18 February 1947

My dear Ahmad Sahib,

I must apologize for the delay that has taken place in my writing to you regarding my becoming a Director of the proposed Muslim Bank which is being launched by you and a few other friends I confirm having sent you a telegram today reading as follows

"Shall gladly accept directorship your proposed bank Regret delay Writing"

I do hope this delay has not caused you any serious inconvenience

While on this subject, you will not, I hope, misunderstand my making one suggestion for what it is worth As a matter of policy it may be useful for the Bank if you had at least one non-Muslim as a Director who may be a Christian, a Parsee or a Scheduled Caste if a suitable Caste Hindu is to be ruled out It should be possible to get a person of means and otherwise congenial, and if you like I shall make a search here for suitable names Though the Bank, for all practical purposes, would be a Muslim Bank, it would take away a lot of sting and would not give any apparent cause for criticism I have no doubt you will appreciate this suggestion, which is not only my view but is shared by many other friends who wish the venture well

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
GHULAM MOHAMMED

Ahmad Ispahani, Esq,
51 Ezra Street,
Calcutta

26

M A Jinnah to Ahmed E H Jaffer

Bombay I 123/187[1]

OLD GOVERNMENT HOUSE, KARACHI,
24 February 1947

Dear Mr Ahmed Jaffer,

I am in receipt of your letter of 22nd February[2] and I am glad to tell you that I am much better now I am leaving for Bombay tomorrow and according to my present programme I hope to be in Delhi on or about the 10th of March If I am in Delhi, I shall be glad indeed to have the pleasure of participating in the function on the occasion of the marriage of your sister, Mariam But I cannot more definitely tell you as to my programme except that that is the present arrangement

Yours sincerely,
M A JINNAH

Ahmed E H Jaffer, MLA,
4 Windsor Place,
New Delhi

[1]*SHC*
[2]Not available in *QAP*

27

Ch Hamidullah Khan to K H Khurshid

F 921/234-235

JAMMU,
24 February 1947

My dear Khurshid,

I am enclosing a letter from Shaukat He is overrating your strength Anyway, you will please see what you can do for us under the present distressing circumstances

I would like to meet Quaid-i-Azam in Delhi He is likely to come over there in the second week of March when it is quite convenient for me to pay a visit there

Please try to find some time in that week for me and let me know immediately. I hope you are quite fit and healthy

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
HAMIDULLAH

PS. Mr Ishaq[1] got your letter and showed me the contents

[1]Muhammad Ishaq Qureshi

Enclosure to No 27
M Shaukat Ali to K H Khurshid

F 366/1-4

SUB-JAIL, RIASI,
23 February 1947

My dear Khurshid,

I was really surprised to know that you have been receiving fictitious telegrams on my behalf while I am still in jail I have seen your first letter in reply to the telegram, hope you have not been informed when it was too late After our arrest in Srinagar certain rival obscurantist groups have emerged, some of them pure opportunists while others politically disillusioned, who are indulging in eccentric and purposeless activities The pathos of it all is that they all pretend loyalty to the Muslim Conference

Our detention seems to have stabilised So far it was thought that it was only for the elections But now it seems that group formations inside the Assembly are equally important and our release could interfere in Kak's[1] plans We also learn that Ch Hamidullah Khan is finding the outside atmosphere too hot The people are getting out of control They are forcing his hands to resort to Direct Action since constitutional means have failed to effect our release I understand that Ch Hamidullah has accordingly written to Quaid-i-Azam seeking his advice and help Knowing as you do that the crux of the whole matter is Kak, is it not possible for you to suggest to Quaid-i-Azam to get into touch with the Maharaja[2] and see that Kak gets a kick out Political Department, I am told, has taken up a policy of non-intervention, so direct approach alone can help. A statement, too, would not be inopportune either Backward States like Nabha and Patiala, too, have released persons for similar offences after a few days. But we continue

to be Kak's special guests for four months now and without trial.

I do not know what your future programme will be Otherwise, if Quaid-i-Azam was going to Bombay in the near future, certainly that would have been a very good opportunity to get into touch with the Maharaja who is also there I do not think it is at all possible to expect anything better so long as Kak continues as the head of the State He is doing his worst to disrupt our organisation Firstly, soon after our arrest, he played up Yousuf Shah Now he is fostering the provincial question Kashmiri vs non-Kashmiri Persons like Ghulam Ahmad Jeweller and other reactionaries who, in the garb of sympathetic although independent persons, have found their way into the Assembly and are enthusiastic to play his game Offices are offered to everyone according to his price Jeweller is making a desperate bid for ministership These are Kak's methods and tactics No organisation with a grain of self-respect can stand it So the conclusion is that Kak must go No political party favours him Even the Dogras (professional loyalists) have unfurled the banner of revolt against Kak And National Conference is preparing for yet another struggle to be launched this season In short he is misruling in the teeth of universal opposition

Personally, I am convinced that if it were not for the League's non-interventionist policy *vis-a-vis* the States, we would not have found ourselves so desperately alone I am not unmindful of the higher political strategy which necessitates such a course of action, but I think it could still be reconciled with a slightly more practical interest in the affairs of Kashmir, even indirectly Mamdot, Daultana, Nishtar, Qaiyum, etc , all agree with me, but they are powerless without Quaid-i-Azam's permission I have given you a rough idea about the political conditions here, and I hope you will take necessary steps

Reply on the following address

Hakim Aslam, Vakil, Riasi, Jammu

Yours very sincerely,
SHAUKAT

[1]Rai Bahadur Ram Chandra Kak, Prime Minister of Jammu & Kashmir, 1945-1947
[2]Hari Singh, Maharaja of Jammu & Kashmir

28

Ram Rai to M A Jinnah

Telegram, F 560/7

AHMADABAD,
24 February 1947

Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah Sahib, Karachi

Please be our country's Ataturk Will meet you in Bombay

RAM RAI

29

Sant Singh Talwar to M A Jinnah

F 190/1-3

PESHAWAR,
24 February 1947

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

I am one of those Sikhs who honestly think that the peace and prosperity of Northern India lie in the cordial and brotherly relations of [*sic*] the Muslims and Sikhs My paper, the *Frontier Gazette*, Peshawar, will bear me out on this point We have always maintained very good relations and in the last Muslim League Ministry, the *non-Muslim Minister was a Sikh*[1] gentleman My paper was the only *non-Muslim paper* which supported the League Ministry throughout very vehemently Incidentally, I may point out that up till now my paper is on the Congress Government's *black list* In the present Provincial Assembly the only *non-Muslim* MLA in opposition is also a Sikh[2] gentleman

It, therefore, pains me and thousands of other *Sikhs* of my way of thinking to see that once again the eccentric and short-sighted League leaders in the N W F P have started a very damaging agitation on an extremely ill-advised and wrong issue Whereas in the Punjab some courageous *Sikhs* have joined the League Civil Disobedience Movement for civil liberties, in the N W F P, I regret to say, that eccentric opportunist, Mr. Abdul Qaiyum Khan, and fanatically blind Arbab Abdul Ghafoor Khan, started agitation purely on *communal and religious issue*. This ill-conceived move may help Mr Qaiyum etc to

win cheap popularity but it has already extremely embittered the sweet relations of [*sic*] the *Sikhs* and the *Muslims* in this tiny province.

The facts of the case are that a widowed Sikh girl named Paisri, aged 22 years, under pain of death was compelled to conversion [*sic*] and marrying [*sic*] a Muslim She was forced to declare [her conversion to] Islam in the mosque and gave a statement to this effect to a magistrate in Hazara, where the atmosphere for non-Muslims was very dangerous at that time When the *Sikh Relief Committee* started work and refilled the *Sikhs* with confidence, the fact of Paisri's forcible conversion was brought to their notice They approached the district authorities and the Ministry for getting back the girl I must frankly confess that although this minor incident was quite of a minor nature, the Ministry thought it proper to bring the girl to the Headquarters of the Provincial Government It is surmised in well-informed quarters that this was a clever move on the part of the Ministry to entrap the League leadership in a communal net and thus defame the League in the eyes of the Frontier minorities and, more especially, the *Sikhs*, who are still out of the Congress The girl was kept in the Premier's house from 8th to 18th February 1947 When the League leaders learnt about this, they easily fell in the trap and started an agitation The girl had already stated before the Premier and others that she was forcibly converted and married to a Muslim The Premier, thereupon, sent for the mother and the so-called husband of the girl to Peshawar, and in their as well as in the presence of the European Chief Secretary, the Muslim Deputy Commissioner and the Muslim Superintendent of Police asked the girl to give a statement to the Muslim City Magistrate All of them assured her that if she was a Muslim she will be allowed to go with her Muslim husband, and if a Sikh, she will be sent with her mother The girl gave the statement that she was always a *Sikh* and that she was forcibly converted to Islam and married to a Muslim

This should naturally have silenced the wrong and damaging agitation, because *Islam does not permit forcible conversion* Besides this, from the political viewpoint it was also essential to abandon this bad issue and thus win the confidence of the minorities [to show] that in the Muslim-majority provinces of Pakistan, *Religion*, *Culture*, and other rights of the *Minorities* are quite safe But, as usual, Mr Qaiyum failed to appreciate the dire and far-reaching consequences of the situation and thought it fit to sacrifice the most important principles for winning cheap popularity. He got himself arrested at Mardan and now both in Mardan and in Peshawar this communal and foolish agitation is going

on. May I point out that the Hazara Muslims are more religious and League-minded Out of the eleven seats of the Assembly, Hazara returned ten League members There, the Muslims rather welcomed this decision that the girl herself went to the *Sikhs* and there is no agitation at all there. Similarly, the sane and far-sighted Muslims in Peshawar also condemn this wrong agitation and wholly and solely blame Mr Qaiyum and Arbab Ghafoor for this Since the move is taking a communal turn and it may now spread to other districts and the Tribal Areas, I, as a true *Sikh* and a true *Frontier man*, request you kindly to intervene and stop this wrong agitation The *Nawa-i-Waqt* and other sane Muslim papers of the Punjab have also advised the Frontier Muslims to abandon this *un-Islamic* issue and to fight for civil liberties only

Your immediate or rather telegraphic intervention is eagerly sought, because you are the only one who can stop such wrong moves

An early reply would highly oblige the *Sikhs* of this province

My paper, the *Frontier Gazette*, of 24th instant is being sent to you under a separate cover for your kind perusal [3]

Yours sincerely,
SANT SINGH TALWAR
Editor, Frontier Gazette

[1]Emphasis here and hereafter in the original
[2]Sardar Partap Singh (Akali Dal), a lawyer who had defeated the Congress candidate from Peshawar (Sikh) constituency
[3]Not available in *QAP*

30

V B Muhamed to M A Jinnah

F. 664/36-38

14 WOODLAND TERRACE, GLASGOW C3,
24 February 1947

Janab Mohammad Ali Jinnah Sahib, Bombay
Respected Sir,

First of all forgive me for wasting your valuable time by diverting your attention to some unimportant and insignificant cause like this Though I look a stranger to you, you are not one to me Let me take [you] back to some memorable events occurred few years ago at Madras—during the League Session there—in 1941 Do you recollect

two of your *Motor cycle pilots,*[1] who were shadowing you everywhere during your stay there—day and night—the two medical students of Madras Medical College at that time *Fortunately I am one of them* Though it is really an insignificant and unnoticeable thing to you, to be frank, I consider it as a great event in my life when I was able to give our leader in some way or the other—some use [*sic*] at last I knew well your Secretary, Mr Syed[2] and many other leaders at that time who were all staying with you at Chetpet House, Madras

Several great things have happened after that—political changes of course, I need not tell you—about me as usual you must be ignorant—so I am going to enlighten you I qualified from Madras in 1942 Worked for more than three years as an Assistant Surgeon Decided to specialise in surgery and [for the] last two years I am spending my time in various hospitals in Great Britain for that purpose I have passed Fellowship examination in surgery from Glasgow University and has [*sic for have*] been selected as a *Fellow of the Royal Faculty of Surgeons and Physicians of Glasgow* I am still continuing my pursuit of specialising in some branches of special surgery

Recently I saw the proposed plan by the Health Minister Mr Ghazanfar Ali Khan in the India and Burmah News Agency *All India Medical Institute,* so I wrote him a letter whether I can be of any use in that plan I am prepared to undergo further training if necessary, in U K at my own expense or [in] any part of the world if Government is prepared to give me the training in any particular branch connected with it

Perhaps you may be wondering why this man has written to you for all this [*sic*] Honestly I do not know myself Anyhow this is the situation—I will be very glad to serve in any proposed plans if it is of benefit to me and to the people—it is not an exaggeration to say that I am almost the first Muslim foreign qualified doctor with some experience from Cochin, Travancore and Malabar and to my best knowledge I do not think that there are any [other] well qualified Muslim surgeons at all even in Madras Presidency

So if you can do something good for my future so that I will be of some use to myself and our people there, *I can only request you to do it kindly*

I am sorry I missed you when you visited London[3] since I was at

Glasgow at that time—but I hope I will be able to meet you personally in the nearest future to pay my humble respects to you.

If you do find any time, please pen me a line at least

Your humble brother,
MUHAMED
M B B S (Madras), F R.F P S (Glasgow)

[1]Emphasis here and hereafter in the original
[2]M H Saiyid
[3]Jinnah visited London in December 1946 at the invitation of the British Government in connection with the talks on the Cabinet Mission Plan

31

Viceroy[1] to Governor of Sind[2]

Telegram, F 505/38

NEW DELHI,
24 February 1947

Cypher Bureau's inward No 1841
Received at Cypher Bureau on 24 2 47 at 23 35 Hours

IMMEDIATE
Governor of Sind, Karachi

34-S. Please pass the following message to Mr M A Jinnah

Begins If you are fit enough to travel,[3] I hope you will be coming to Delhi soon and I should like to see you when you arrive *Ends*

VICEROY

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, KARACHI,
25 February 1947

Forwarded to M A Jinnah, Esq , care of Mr Yusuf Haroon, MLA, Karachi

A HEWIT
Cypher Assistant

[1]Archibald Wavell
[2]Francis Mudie
[3]Jinnah was then recovering from illness

32

Private Secretary to M A Jinnah to Cypher Assistant, Karachi

F 505/200

OLD GOVERNMENT HOUSE, KARACHI,
25 February 1947

Dear Sir,

Please inform His Excellency with regard to the cypher message[1] from His Excellency the Viceroy to Mr Jinnah which was received by him on the 24th February that Mr Jinnah is leaving for Bombay today and hopes to get to Delhi on or before the 10th of March If necessary, further communication may be sent to him to Bombay, as he will be arriving there on the 27th February in the morning

Yours faithfully,
PRIVATE SECRETARY
TO MR M A JINNAH

The Cypher Assistant,
Government House,
Karachi

[1]No 31

33

M A Jinnah to Archibald Wavell

F 505/36

OLD GOVERNMENT HOUSE, KARACHI,
25 February 1947

Dear Lord Wavell,

Your cypher message[1] was passed on to me by the Governor of Sind late yesterday evening I am leaving today for Bombay by sea, reaching there on the 27th morning

I have sent the following in reply to the cypher message and I hope it will be communicated to you by the Governor of Sind

"Please inform His Excellency with regard to the cypher message from His Excellency the Viceroy to Mr Jinnah which was received by

him on the 24th February that Mr Jinnah is leaving for Bombay today and hopes to get to Delhi on or before the 10th of March If necessary, further communication may be sent to him to Bombay as he will be arriving there on the 27th February in the morning "

Yours sincerely,
M A JINNAH

H.E. F M Viscount Wavell,
The Viceroy of India,
New Delhi

[1]No 31

34

Commendation by M A Jinnah

F 142/12

OLD GOVERNMENT HOUSE, KARACHI,
25 February 1947

The bearer, Ghulam Qadir, served me as a driver for about four weeks during my stay in Karachi and Malir He is a very good driver indeed and, what is more, a very excellent servant He is very efficient and capable all round and was a very great help to me during my stay here I was very much satisfied with his work

M A JINNAH

35

Pothan Joseph to M A Jinnah

F 928/1

4 NAUROJI GARDENS, CHET POINT, MADRAS,
25 February 1947

My dear Chief,

I intend leaving shortly for a tour in America I am scheduled to be in Karachi on the evening of 10 March when I shall phone you up for a call the same day. Kindly reserve a few minutes If in the meanwhile

you move to Bombay (as some newspapers expect), I shall give you a ring on the 9th or the 10th when you may kindly let me come and see you at your home A wire in reply to P J c/o *Express*, Madras, will be appreciated

With deep regards for you and very best respects to Miss Jinnah,

Yours very truly,
POTHAN JOSEPH

36

A Raab to M A Jinnah

F 908/21

HOTEL SEA GREEN, MARINE DRIVE, BOMBAY,
25 February 1947

Dear Sir,

I tried to meet you in Delhi but I was not successful I approach you with the request to read what is contained in the appended scheme[1] concerning the floating of an "All India Gliding League" Furthermore, please read the appended newspaper clipping,[2] an interview with me in the *Illustrated Weekly of India*, and my Radio talk [3]

Not only to draft suggestions for the progress of India but [also] to realise them we have floated the Company whose task it is to construct some model gliders and sport aeroplanes, thus to show that India can do it

I beg vou to take an active part in this new "All India Organisation" and to join the Board of our Honorary Advisers As you may gather from the appended scheme we have earmarked your goodself to join the organisation as the representative of the Muslim League

Sir Fazal Rahimtoola, General Chaudhuri (Committee on the Indianisation of the Armed Forces), and Mr Ahmed Jaffer of the Muslim Chamber of Commerce, Bombay, are informed in detail about my work and I think I can say that they like my work

I would greatly appreciate when I could meet your goodself personally

Very faithfully yours,
A RAAB

[1, 2 & 3]Not printed

37

Anonym[1] *to M A Jinnah (& Others)*

F. 1164/4

A K ZIA & CO,
327 HORNBY ROAD, BOMBAY 1,
25 February 1947

CIRCULAR

Dear Sir,

From the recent statement of the British Prime Minister,[2] it is quite clear that His Majesty's Government find themselves at a loss to bring about a mutually agreed settlement of the issues involving differences between the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League And from the recent statements of Mahatma Gandhi and other Hindu leaders of the Congress, as well as from those of the Muslim League leaders, it is now quite obvious that the opinions held by both of these leaderships are based on the trend of religious antagonism reflected in the feelings of that hatred against each other which is equally present in the Hindu and the Muslim minds, and it is also now clear that these leaderships have failed to play the role of reformers, and that they simply follow that madness of the masses which has bestowed upon them the honour of their cheap leadership It is high time, therefore, that you take notice of these facts

It is high time that you ignore the opinion hovering over the minds of the masses. It is high time that you behave as a reformer and, by taking courage into your hands, you amicably settle the problem of India.

It is now time for the Congress leadership to discard all prejudice against the Leaguers, and for the League leadership to discard prejudice against the Congressites both of you abandon your narrow communalism, ignore the opinions held by the masses, think in terms of the common good, play the part of *Devtas*, Prophets and Great Reformers, and put aside the mental inclinations of worldly statesmen and cheap politicians who simply help in bringing about wars and bloodshed.

I again appeal to you—you as an individual, personality [*sic*]—to please stop thinking in terms of what particularly your people think and want, and to please think in terms of what is simply just and amicable In my humble opinion the Cabinet Mission Plan

and the interpretations put on it by the British Government are quite reasonable I further think that there is nothing unjust about A, B and C Groups. And my reason for this is as follows If the Congress is justified to claim the allegiance of 100 million Muslims of India, the Muslim League, too, is justified in claiming the allegiance of ..

[*Incomplete*]

[1]The name of the writer is not known However, the letterhead bears the name of the Company, A K Zia & Co
[2]No 1
[3]See Enclosure 3 to No 43, note 2

38

Malik Muhammad Hayat Khan to M A Jinnah

F 886/63
[Original in Urdu]

WANA,
26 February 1947

Most exalted Quaid-i-Azam Mr Mohammad Ali Jinnah May your glory last for ever

Respected Sir,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

All is well here, and I pray to the Merciful Allah for your welfare On 20 February 1947, three men from Peshawar, emissaries of Hazrat Faqir Sahib of Manki Sharif, came to our Waziristan They were Syed Hizbullah Shah Sahib, Syed Faqirullah Shah Sahib and *Janaab* Muhammad Shirin Jan Sahib They toured the whole of Waziristan and told us about events in Bihar, Assam, Bengal, Bombay, Lahore, and the four corners of India During their talks they also dwelt on the Holy *Qur'an*, the *ahadith*, Islam and the virtues of brotherhood, sympathy, concern for others, courage and reliance on Allah All the Mahsuds thanked them from the core of their hearts, wished them well and promised to sacrifice all their wealth and lives On that occasion, all of them invoked Allah's Help, praised you and prayed to Allah for His Mercy on you As the young men left for Peshawar, all of us here saw them off with proper respects and the tradition of accompanying them for some distance.

Respected Sir, there is a great shortage of grain, sugar and cloth

among the Mahsuds and Wazirs in the district of Waziristan

Respected Sir, I am the person who had made a speech when Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru visited Razmak[1] At that *jirga* of the Mahsuds, Brigade officers, the Resident and the Political Agent were also present, and so were Dr. Khan Sahib and Abdul Ghaffar Khan I was recruited directly as a Subedar in 1903, the year when King George V, then Prince of Wales, visited Karachi. Later, on 12 December 1911 at the Delhi Durbar, King George V awarded the Order of British India for gallantry to me In 1919, I served Afghanistan when Nadir Khan was the country's Commander-in-Chief and Amanullah Khan was the King Amanullah had distributed land measuring 8,000 *jareebs* among the people, and also promised to make me a General He also conferred a *farman* upon me In 1921, because of the British attack on Waziristan, I could not go to Kabul.

I was recruited in the army on 27 July 1903 at the age of 20 and I am now nearly 63 years old Now I want to spend my remaining years in the service of Allah, humanity and the Muslim League

Yours obediently,
M HAYAT KHAN MACHI KHEL
Village Os Pass,
Tehsil Sarwekai,
Waziristan

Note I was awarded the title of Khan Sahib by the Government on 1 January 1946 It is my earnest prayer that Allah mercifully bless me and all the Muslims with the privilege of seeing Him in the Hereafter Loyalty to Islam is the key to the Holy Prophet's favours Allah is Doubly Radiant, and all the deeds of a man will be judged by their motives Kindly reply to me at your convenience

M HAYAT KHAN

[1]On 18 October 1946

39

Umar Khattab & Muhammad Zaman to M. A Jinnah

F 678/62

NO 49 INDIAN GENERAL HOSPITAL (C), SEAC,
26 February 1947

Dear Sir,

We are sending you a copy of the letter[1] addressed to the Agent, Habib Bank Ltd, Delhi The amount of Rs 304 has been collected from the Musalmans of this unit for the Bihar Refugees Relief Fund

Yours sincerely,
UMAR KHATTAB
S/Hav
MUHAMMAD ZAMAN
L/Nk

[1]Not available in *QAP*

40

Bahadur Khan Lashari to M A Jinnah

F 886/52

KARACHI,
26 February 1947

Sir,

I beg to state that I am a poor *zamindar* of District Nawabshah, Sind, and hold my lands there I had remained under the protection of the Manager, Encumbered Estates in Sind, and my estate number was 1346

I was discharged from the protection of the Manager in 1945 and since then I have been making applications to the Revenue authorities from lower to higher [ones] that the account may be rendered to me and my request may be granted, but to no effect I enclose herein copies of correspondence exchanged between me and the Revenue authorities of Sind [1] You will kindly go through the correspondence

My case is about [sic for against] Mr Sidiki, Manager of Encumbered Estates in Sind, who has sent me copy of an incomplete account of my estate. I have suffered very much at the hands of Mr Sidiki and no higher authority has done justice to me

I now place my case before you and request you to go through all my correspondence, have mercy upon me and write to the Chief Minister, Revenue Department, Sind Government, to accord me justice, as the matter relates to my property.

For this act of kindness, I shall ever remain grateful

I beg to remain, Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
BAHADUR KHAN
S/O YAR MUHAMMAD KHAN LASHARI
Zamindar, *Dehs Nos 27 & 38,*
c/o Gidumal Shopkeeper,
Jam Sahib Olia Post,
Taluka & District Nawabshah (Sind)

Copy forwarded for necessary action to.
1 The President, Sind Provincial Muslim League, Karachi
2 The Chief Minister, Revenue Department, Sind Government
3. The Chief Judge, Chief Court of Sind, Karachi

[1]Not printed

41

Mrs K L Rallia Ram[1] to M A Jinnah

F 487/20-21

5 MASSON ROAD, LAHORE,
26 February 1947

Dear Mr Jinnah,

Your letter of the 19th[2] reached me again after five days, [on] the 25th I was puzzled again why your letters should take so long to reach me. First I suspected that the Punjab Government was detaining and censoring my letters as they used to do when I was a Congressman My name then was in the black list and every letter of mine was censored But this time it wasn't the fault here I examined the Karachi seal thoroughly and am [af]fixing it on the letter [itself] [3] for you to see that the delay was made either by your servant in posting or by

the neglect of the Karachi Post Office, against which you should lodge a report

Here is the Karachi Post Office seal on the stamp They sent the letter by air mail on the 24th and it reached me yesterday, the 25th. I felt anxious and at the same time angry at the post office people, for you wanted me to do the urgent business of enquiring about Brij Narain's article on "Questions for Interpretations!" I have been at this work since this morning Three times my man went with my letter to Professor Brij Narain's house and also to the Editor of the *Tribune*, and every time to find the man out I know you must be worried why I have not attended to this little business that you asked me to do, but now I have explained my position I am still after the Professor and as soon as the reply comes, I will send it on to you[4] and I will also send a wire If the Professor refuses to give permission, then would you care to get as many copies of the *Tribune* [sic] in which the article was published? I could buy it from the office of the *Tribune* and send them on to you and these could be used like the pamphlet could be Please let me know if you want these copies I will despatch them at once

The League leaders have just been released [5] Congratulations to you, the uncrowned king of the Muslims and others who worship and admire you May God give you long life to finish the work to a successful end

The Hindu press did not mention a word about it Thank God that the *Pakistan Times* is there to give the Muslim news in big headlines Even your statements are put in an insignificant corner on the second last page It burns me to death to see your statement[6] presented thus I do hope the leaders are now out to guide the masses and prepare them for the coming times when momentous decisions are in the offing

I will post this by air mail The press cutting will come by ordinary post

Long may you live

Sincerely yours,
MRS K L RALLIA RAM

[1]Mrs Rallia Ram was a keen supporter of the AIML and kept Jinnah informed about the various political developments in the Punjab

[2]Not available in *QAP*

[3]Not printed

[4]See No 55

[5]The Punjab ML leaders were arrested following the Civil Disobedience Movement launched by the Provincial ML on 24 January 1947 for the restoration of civil liberties The 34-day Movement was called off on 26 February when the Punjab Government accepted the terms of settlement as explained by Jinnah in his interview to API on 24 February 1947 The arrested leaders were released on 26 February See *Pakistan Times*, 26 and 27 February 1947 and *Civil & Military Gazette*, 27 February 1947 Also see No 21, note 4 and Appendix VII

[6]For Jinnah's statement see Appendix XI

42

W B Scott to M A Jinnah

F 503/2

32 MARQUIS STREET, CALCUTTA,
26 February 1947

My dear Sir,

Pardon my troubling you Since Anglo-Indians and Muslims have been neighbours together, it is, therefore, nothing but right [that] we should both join hands together [*sic*] in New India

I understand that owing to a certain Rule, Anglo-Indians are not allowed to become members of the League Will you kindly consider this point and I request the favour of your kindly issuing such order as your good self thinks fit and proper whereby Anglo-Indians can become members of the League

Anxiously awaiting for [*sic*] a favourable reply at your convenience

Trusting no offence is taken,

Yours obediently,
W B SCOTT

43

Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy to M A Jinnah

F 458/61

BENGAL SECRETARIAT, CALCUTTA,
26 February 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

You may be interested in the report given by Sardar Naranjan Singh Gill[1] of what he saw in Bihar The Sardar Sahib does not want his report to be used until he has received the comments of the Premier of Bihar I sent the Sardar Sahib to Bihar and refused to discuss with him matters regarding Noakhali unless he visited Bihar

I also send you a copy of my own report[2] on the Bihar situation which I have gathered as a result of my visit to Bihar and my discussion with the Premier there, also a copy of a letter[3] which I have written to him You may be interested in these, particularly in the report of Sardar

Naranjan Singh Gill which does not hesitate to bring out the terrible atrocities committed by the Hindus

I also enclose a copy of a letter[4] which I have written to Sir Frederick Burrows and which is my first reaction to the statement of H M G [5]

Yours sincerely,
SHAHEED SUHRAWARDY

[1]See Appendix IV [2]Enclosure 1 [3]Enclosure 2
[4]Enclosure 3 [5]No 1

Enclosure 1 to No 43

F 965/180-187

A NOTE ON BIHAR BY HUSEYN SHAHEED SUHRAWARDY

In spite of my best efforts to be optimistic regarding rehabilitation of Muslims in Bihar, I feel that there is little to justify any great hope in that direction I fear that the Ministry are not taking adequate steps to reassure the Muslims of the province that their lives and properties will be safe at the hands of their Hindu neighbours or that the Muslims will receive adequate protection I do not think that the Ministers have realized the extent to which the confidence of the Muslims has been shaken in the ability, if not the desire, of the Government to protect them and to take offensive action against Hindu aggressors The view generally held, not only by non-officials but also by officials, is that more than 5,000 persons were killed in the riots Their minimum estimate is 8,000 but [it could well be upto] 15,000 It is further admitted that most of the persons killed were women and children It is also admitted that the atrocities perpetrated have no parallel in history It is purely brutal and brutish savagery Even primitive people would not have stooped to the brutalities performed by the Hindus of Bihar Butchering of little children and babies in arms became a normal course of events The account of how the head of a suckling child was cut off while it was feeding from the mother's breast and [of] how a mother's breast was cut off while the child was suckling, is disquieting [these are] accounts which Mr. Gandhi refuses to believe and which have been falsely denied by some of his informants It is regrettable that Mr Gandhi himself has either refused to credit any of these stories or deliberately made up his mind that he will not under any circumstances do so One can quite understand why Mr Rajendra Prasad has tried to assure Mr Gandhi that everything is all right in Bihar and that he need not go there.

2 As I have said above, the Ministry does not realise to what extent the Muslims have lost confidence in the Ministry and in the Hindus Over and over again, the Premier has stated that the reason why the people had left Bihar was due to the propaganda by the members of the Muslim League who had been entrusted with the task of supervising Relief Camps and who, according to him, had betrayed their trust by calling upon the people to leave Bihar in order to make the tragedy appear worse than it actually was and to get some political advantage To my mind such an attitude only shows his incapacity or unwillingness to realise the extent of the tragedy and the repercussions on the Muslim mind It also shows a complete want of imagination and a desire to find scapegoats for his own failures. He gave some stray cases of how refugees ran away from the Digha Camp when it was in the charge of the Muslim League, and of how Muslims left unaffected localities long after the incidents had ceased For instance, he gave the example of the town of Barh from which there has been a general [Muslim] exodus Within the town itself, there were only a few incidents but round about it nearly all the villages have been decimated This the Premier refuses to realise I pointed out to him over and over again that he should realise that persons are not likely to leave their hearths, their homes, their lands and their property and everything dear to them merely on account of political propaganda He had, however, made up his mind to blame the Muslim League It is difficult with such an attitude of mind for the Ministry to take adequate steps to reassure the Muslim population

3 I placed certain suggestions before the Premier, most of which he could not accept because he still thinks that life can proceed in the normal way In my view, the steps that he is taking are wholly insufficient to get the Muslims back and there seems to be no alternative left to the Government of Bengal but to take steps to settle the Muslim refugees of Bihar as soon as possible and take them out of Relief Camps

4 Up till now the Bihar Ministry has done nothing except talk I believe it is only recently that they have accepted the view that the Muslims who lived in villages where there were only a few Muslim houses and where the vast majority has been wiped out cannot be expected to go back to those villages It is only recently that they have agreed to houses being built in villages where Muslims still exist, so that persons from these outlying villages may find some shelter I was informed that Muslims round about [sic] Lakhanpur were prepared to

come, live in Khanpore, keep their wives and children there and put up huts for themselves in the fields and live there at the risk of their lives No houses have yet been erected I have requested that these houses should be erected before the rains set in It is doubtful, however, if this will cater for the refugees of those villages which have been destroyed It may help the Muslims of those areas round about [*sic*]who are still in [*sic*] the soil but feel unsafe in the event of an uprising This is about the most that I could [say] of the constructive work being done by the Ministry Nobody is taking advantage of the offer of Rs 250 for erecting houses It may be noted here that the houses demolished in Bihar were far more substantial than those demolished in Noakhali and Tippera I just cannot see what the Ministry has done which can induce the Muslims to go back. I understand that collective fines are now being imposed for incidents now taking place Up till now not more than ten times the *Panchayat* rent or *Chowkidari* tax has been imposed although I am told that recently up to forty times has been recommended There is also a move to get hold of the bad characters and make them responsible for looking after the property of the Muslims in the affected areas This, as we can see, will not carry anybody far because when their houses were abandoned whatever was left behind was looted These are all the measures

5 The Ministry has turned down the suggestion for the creation of pockets of defence But it seems that it will not stand in the way of Muslims finding a habitation in areas where they still exist. They [Ministry] are not, however, prepared to find land for them [Muslims] to put up a habitation on I suggested that they [Government] should purchase land in order to enable these Muslims to put up [their] households The Premier made it a condition that it will [only] be applicable to those Muslims whose houses have been destroyed in villages where Muslim houses were few The Premier was not agreeable to consolidation of holdings or exchange of lands It is not possible for the Muslims to go to their lands and cultivate them and it is no use the Premier expecting them to do so There are stories of persons who had returned who have been assaulted and killed, and there is a general story of boycott and of hatred and oppression and also taunts, which make it impossible for the Muslims to return to their previous homes I think the Premier should be asked to set up an organisation that would act as an intermediary so that the lands of the Muslims who want to sell them may be purchased by the Government at proper rates and compensation given to the Muslims accordingly. These lands would subsequently be sold to the neighbouring Hindus If this is not

done, then I think the Muslims will have to sell their lands for a paltry price or abandon their lands which ultimately will be encroached upon As a matter of fact, many lands given out in *batwara* are now being claimed by the local Hindus as having been given to them on rent and, therefore, they are claiming permanent rights thereon There are also *bakasht* lands which are now passing out of control of Muslim *zamindars* Some sort of a final Arbitration Board has been set up The Hindus claim these *bakasht* lands of the Muslims, and the Muslims are not there to contest In spite of what the Premier said, I have very definite information that the Hindus of various areas are by no means repentant or are desirous of taking the Muslims back It is greatly to be regretted that the Ministry is not carrying on any propaganda in that area to induce them to do so The Premier agreed that bail had largely been given to persons who had been arrested, and he said that orders had been passed to examine each case and to cancel bail where necessary He further stated that he had ordered an increased police force of 2,000 and had agreed to 25 per cent of them being Muslims, either from Bihar or from U P and Ballia, but that he was not getting any Muslims Also, the remuneration of *chowkidars* is being increased so that they may guard Muslim properties I got the following somewhat miscellaneous information which I put down on record for what it is worth

(a) The Muslims of Nagar Nausa kept a fight for a long while They were ultimately relieved by the military About 150 were saved
(b) In Talhara, fourteen wells were filled with bodies actually to the brims [*sic*] with corpses of women and children There are many such wells filled with corpses scattered throughout Bihar One District Magistrate said that instead of fourteen wells there were four wells
(c) Three-fourths of the Patna Division on the southern area was affected, all within ten miles of Patna Little was done to relieve the Muslims in those areas
(d) In Patna, the main exodus started in the third week of November but there was certainly a large-scale exodus [even] before that time
(e) There are two Relief Camps in the district of Monghyr for 8,000 refugees, two in Patna with 2,000 and five in Bihar Sharif with 3,000. Dry rations are also being given in the villages As many as 10,000 [refugees] are being supplied in Bihar Sharif and Nawada There are 5,000 [refugees] in Gaya, 500 in Chhapra and some in village camps, total[ling] about 30,000
(f) In Bihar Sharif, hardly any Muslims are left From that subdivision about 25,000 people have fled

(g) The Muslims fought in Karaiparsarai, which is 16 miles from Patna All the *bastees* round about it were destroyed. After the fight, the Muslims had evacuated this village also.
(h) [As many as] 743 villages have been affected but in Ghazipur and Kharagpur Muslims still continue to live. Three subdivisions of Patna and one subdivision of Monghyr have been affected. In all 13 subdivisions have been affected
(i) In Patna [district] out of 1,890 villages incidents occurred in 375 villages

6. The following are the suggestions[1] which I made

SUGGESTIONS MADE TO THE PREMIER

(i) Villages where there were few Muslim houses (some are wholly destroyed) inhabitants cannot be expected to go back What can we do about them and their lands?
  (a) Build houses for them in adjacent Muslim localities
  (b) Arrange (through the Relief and Rehabilitation Department) for exchange of lands
(ii) Rebuild houses (partially damaged) where Muslims still exist

[Steps mentioned in] (i) and (ii) [above must be taken] before the rains

(iii) In order to build [houses] for Muslims, we need homestead lands for them [How to secure such land?]
  (a) Acquire?
  (b) Exchange?
  (c) Pay money to enable [them] to purchase lands (and put up houses) for two categories [of Muslim affectees] according to the Hon'ble Prime Minister
    (1) Those whose villages have been wholly or almost wholly wiped out
    (2) Where there are a few Muslim houses in a village
(iv) Lands of
  (a) widows
  (b) all [those] killed
  (c) those who cultivated [land] by their own labour
  (d) those who cultivated [land] by *bhagidars*

Is exchange possible?

(v) Police. For some time at least, get Punjabi Muslims or Afridis
(vi) Arms for Muslims
(vii) Muslims—their future—what assurances?
(viii) Necessary propaganda against Hindus—that they must accept Muslims
(ix) Engage more Muslims in the rehabilitation work

(x) Orphanages
(xi) Widow Homes
(xii) Cases hardly any arrest (accused bailed out)
(xiii) Special constables and [their] responsibility

The Premier agreed to build houses in adjacent Muslim localities and to rebuild houses where partially damaged and where Muslims still exist He was not prepared either to acquire land or to [arrange] exchange [of] land to build homesteads for Muslims I do not think he will be prepared to give money to enable them to purchase lands In any event, if he did put up houses for them on lands in Muslim localities, he would do so only for those villages where there are few Muslim houses He was not prepared to do anything to exchange the lands of widows, of persons who have been killed or of those who cultivated [land] with their own labour and who cannot go back to their land, or who cultivated [it] by *batwara* I wonder if the Ministry would be agreeable to realising the rents for the benefit of the landlords in *nij jot ryot* and *bakasht* lands

The Premier was not prepared to bring in Punjabi Muslims or Afridis as police He said that the Hindus would resent it in view of what took place in 1942 It was clear that he was more anxious for Hindu sentiment than to reassure Muslims He was not prepared to give arms to Muslims for their protection As regards future assurances, it appeared that he was hoping that the Muslims would begin to return with the passage of time How could they stay away leaving their properties behind, [he asked] He was agreeable to carrying out the necessary propaganda amongst the Hindus However, it still remains to be seen whether he will do so or not

He was not prepared to engage Muslims in rehabilitation work He is practically trying to give some relief through Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and carrying on anti-Muslim League propaganda through him According to him, it is the Muslim League which must be held responsible for the Hindus attacking Muslims Why did the Muslim League raise the slogan of Pakistan, [he asked] Through Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan he is carrying on propaganda that Muslims must desert the Muslim League as Muslim League is responsible for what is taking place

It appears that the proposal of Orphanages and Widow Homes has not yet struck him He will probably put up Orphanages and Widow Homes

He said that about 6,000 persons have been arrested and he said that 3,000 persons are in *hajat* This is not the report of the local people

7 Although our conversation was fairly cordial, as I had no desire to pick up a quarrel with the Premier and I had not gone there with the intention either of accusing him or of teaching him his business or anything of the kind, I must confess that I was deeply disappointed at the general attitude of the Premier and the Ministry. I see little hope of the Government of Bihar taking any big steps which may induce the Muslims to go back to Bihar Something spectacular was necessary [but] that the Premier would never do On the other hand, there is every fear that the European elements will leave the Bihar Service *en masse* Muslim officers are all apprehensive The Bihar Service would be manned almost wholly by Hindus and this is not likely to create any great confidence in the future I was surprised to find that the Premier and the Muslim League there had no contact with each other at all The Muslim League had written to him for further discussions He had replied to the effect that he would meet them in the beginning of February but up till now he has not met them He has agreed to take them into confidence This was my last request

[1]In the original text, these suggestions were made at the end They have been brought forward here

Enclosure 2 to No 43
Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy to S K Sinha

F 458/57-58

CALCUTTA,
24 February 1947

My dear Mr Sinha,

I wish to thank you and your Government for the arrangements that you made during my stay in Patna and for the time you gave to me to enable me to discuss the Bihar Muslim refugee situation with you There was one aspect of the matter which I did not put down in my notes although I have taken it up in point number eight,[1] when I suggested that propaganda should be carried on amongst the Hindus to enable them to live side by side with the Muslims as before I find that the Muslims are greatly apprehensive regarding the Hindu attitude They gave a number of cases when Muslims who had attempted to return to their villages have been assaulted or done away with Apart from that, the Muslims are being boycotted, their lands are not being tilled by Hindus in many areas, they are being jeered and taunted and generally they find it unsafe to return This does raise the

question of what should be done regarding their property and lands. They cannot go to their lands for tilling, nor can they hope to get their produce in case the land was let out in *batwara*, nor can they hope to realise their rents They will either have to sell their lands or, in course of time, the lands will be encroached upon by their neighbours and lost to them The suggestion made by Mahatma Gandhi in Noakhali strikes me as a very reasonable one namely that if the Muslims (of Bihar) wish to part with their lands, they should be given adequate compensation by the Government They can buy lands elsewhere or set themselves up in other areas The lands which will be so purchased by the Government can be subsequently sold to neighbouring Hindus or settled as the Government thinks fit Do you think that this is feasible? I am prepared to put this scheme into operation in Bengal for Hindus

2. In the case of *nij jot ryot* and *bakasht* lands, cannot the Government help to realise rents or generally to look after the rights of the Muslims?

3 You may remember that I suggested to you and you were good enough to accept the suggestion that you should contact the Muslim League more frequently and I am sure that the situation would be eased if you were to take them into your confidence It may be that in the beginning there may be grave suspicion and intransigence and so on, and your patience may be taxed to the utmost, but I do appeal to you however, to keep at it and to go on meeting them There is every hope that some solution will be found and you will come to appreciate each other's point of view May I suggest some names of Muslims with whom such contacts would be useful

(a) Syed Abdul Aziz, Bar-at-Law, who may be designated Chairman (Unfortunately, he is at present bed-ridden and cannot move, but he will be available and will prove a great help when he can move)
(b) Syed Jaffar Imam, MLA
(c) Syed Mazhar Imam
(d) Mr Latifur Rahman
(e) Maulvi Abdul Ghani

4 In my humble opinion, much propaganda is necessary to reassure Muslims I would urge you to recognise that the Muslims have received a terrible shock not only in the number of deaths but also in the manner of the killing, particularly of women and children I just find it impossible to induce the refugees to return, and hence considerable propaganda from your side is necessary amongst both Hindus and Muslims The Muslims would like to know what measures are

being taken and I feel that the more often these measures are reiterated and are brought to the fore the more they are likely to be assured of the future It is for this reason also that I feel that constant contacts with the Muslim League, which I have suggested [above], will bring about the necessary psychological change.

Thanking you once more for your kindness and courtesy,

Yours sincerely,
H S SUHRAWARDY

The Hon'ble Mr Sri Krishna Sinha,
Premier of Bihar,
Patna

[1]This refers to the suggestions for rehabilitation made by Suhrawardy in his Note in para 6(viii) See Enclosure 1 above

Enclosure 3 to No 43

Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy to Frederick Burrows

F 458/59-60

CALCUTTA,
24 February 1947

My dear Governor,

I am taking the liberty of writing to you this letter which is more in the nature of thinking aloud than of constructive suggestions It appears to me that we have got to do a terrific amount of work in order to prepare ourselves for June 1948 The problems will be very much greater if there is no settlement between the League and the Congress The alternatives appear to be the following

(a) A settlement between the League and the Congress The League going to the Constituent Assembly and co-operating with the Congress and working out a scheme, also entering into the Minorities Advisory Committee[1] in order to draft safeguards for the interests of all minorities
(b) Each province setting up its own independent organisation particularly in Sections B and C[2] In our Section we shall have to draft a separate constitution as it is not likely that we shall get the Government of Assam, as at present constituted, to agree to work with us or even to hand over any of its Bengali territories
(c) Pakistan Constitution It seems to me that this is the alternative

which the H M G has visualised but not specifically mentioned This is likely to take shape This, however, does not exonerate us from having our own constitution and working out our own provincial plans

2 Constitution-making is not so difficult but the question of agreements and treaties with others and to what extent we have to rely upon them are of very great importance If we are going to be independent, it appears to me that the following problems must be tackled at once

(a) Defence We have got to have an Army as well as military education, military bias, military training, a territorial force, conscriptional training for two years, officers' training establishment and so on
(b) Workshops for making guns and munitions
(c) Shipbuilding yards in Calcutta and Chittagong for small and large craft
(d) Arrangements for making armoured vehicles and tanks It may be necessary, therefore, to control the steel works and factories under our jurisdiction so that they may produce the necessary kind of steel material
(e) Self-sufficiency in food grains and, therefore, a more intensive programme of Grow More Food
(f) A survey of deficiencies in foodgrains, such as mustard oil, *ghee*, groundnuts, salt, pulses, linseed, sugar, etc , and devising ways and means of how to supplement them
(g) A survey of all our industries from the point of view of making ourselves self-sufficient in necessary commodities, for instance, cloth, iron and steel, cement, oils, etc
(h) A general survey of our industries and a programme of industrial development by attracting foreign capital and industrial enterprise
(i) Control of jute cultivation, sale and purchase of the jute industry and also of jute manufactures
(j) Finances of the province and how to make ourselves self-sufficient
(k) Currency
(l) Customs
(m) Transport
(n) Requisite proportion of Muslim and Hindu officers in the administration of the province in all its branches We may have to get rid of those on whose support we cannot rely in moments of crisis, such as Gurkhas, Assam Rifles, and the U P and Bihari

Hindus in the Armed Forces and [in the] Police Force

(o) The Government's authority is bound to be shaken and considerably undermined It is not possible for the Government to have a Police Force that will cover the entire province It is necessary to think of ways and measures of assuring protection to the people likely to be in jeopardy in the event of a mass uprising

3 There are thousands of other problems I am stunned by [H M G 's] announcement [of 20 February 1947][3] It will be easy for a settled Government to take over from the British Government That could be done almost immediately But if a new constitution has to be framed, that is to say, if there is going to be separation and division, then it is clear that much work will have to be done The Muslims may feel happy that it is suggested that power may be handed over to the province but I doubt if the provinces will be sufficiently organised by June 1948 to be able to stand on their own legs as an independent entity Hence practically this is tantamount to forcing us to accept the Centre

4 The most important thing is that we must get hold of jute and tea These are the only two things with which we can barter with the other provinces For instance, in order to develop our river system, it is necessary to come to an agreement with Bihar, Assam and even Burma If they refuse to do so, what have we got with which to coerce them? This will surely have to be worked out

5 These thoughts are rather puerile, but they are the first reactions of a person who, while believing in independence, also believes that sometimes too high a price may have to be paid Also, no attention has yet been paid by anyone regarding the problems that will arise if separation is also coupled with independence Hence I have no knowledge and no experience.

6 Would it not be advisable to set up some sort of organisation or Committee or Special Officer that will advise on the basis of an independent constitution for Bengal? Maybe we shall not need it but it will nevertheless be useful, if not in its constitutional aspects, [certainly] in its economic and financial aspects

Yours sincerely,
H S SUHRAWARDY

H E Sir Frederick Burrows, G C I E,
Governor of Bengal

[1]On 24 January 1947, the Constituent Assembly set up an Advisory Committee, popularly known as the Patel Committee, to deal with fundamental rights, minorities' rights and questions relating to Excluded and Tribal Areas *Civil & Military Gazette*, 25 January 1947

[2]Refers to A, B and C Groupings of the Cabinet Mission Plan See Appendix III

[3]No 1

44

Kazi Akhtar to M A Jinnah

Telegram, F 560/11-12

JUNAGADH,
27 February 1947

Quaid-i-Azam, Mount Pleasant Road, Bombay

Whereas the right of sending one representative in the Constituent Assembly is being conceded to Bhopal with a population of eight lac and the Baroda State is also being given the right of sending three representatives on a population of twenty-eight lac and thirty-five thousand, that is, two representatives for twenty lac and one for eight lac thirty-five thousand, this meeting of Sorath Jamiatul Musalmans of Junagadh strongly believes that Junagadh being a premier State of Kathiawar holding high historic position and having a population of eight lac nineteen thousand must be entitled to send one representative to the Constituent Assembly and emphatically appeals to grant it this right

KAZI AKHTAR
President, Sorath Jamiatul Musalmans

45

Rahman Ali to Deputy Commissioner, Jubbulpore
(Copy to M A Jinnah)

F 839/1

JUBBULPORE,
27 February 1947

A complaint has been received from the Muslims of Mauza Amoda, S H Madholi, Tehsil Sehora, that the Naib Tehsildar, Sehora, during his tour arrived at Amoda village on 16 2 1947 He collected the Hindus from surrounding villages and delivered a great[ly] provocative speech against the Muslims, which created a tense atmosphere As a result of such speech the Hindus are bent upon picking up some quarrel to assault the Muslims and the villagers are returned [*sic*] to their villages with the avowed object to retaliate and thus break public peace and tranquillity

The Muslims, being in minority, are being frightened and are in great suspense

It is, therefore, requested that before any mishappening [*sic*] you will be good enough to enquire into the matter immediately in the interest of maintaining public peace and tranquillity through an uncommunal-minded [*sic*], impartial and honest officer other than Mr D B S Gour, S D O , Sehora, who is the prejudicial [*sic*] against the Muslim community since the ordering of the firing on peaceful Muslims in the *Moharram* festival of 1940

A drastic action be also taken against the communal-minded Naib Tehsildar, Sehora, for delivering the provocative and communal speech to incite the Hindu public against Muslim public

RAHMAN ALI
Secretary, District Muslim League

Copy forwarded to

The Commissioner, Jubbulpore Division, Jubbulpore for necessary orders

H E The Governor, C P & Berar, Nagpur

The Hon'ble Premier, C P & Berar, Nagpur for issuing immediate orders in the matter to the magisterial and police authorities, Jubbulpore, to take steps to avoid mishaps

Quaid-i-Azam M A Jinnah, President, All India Muslim League

The Honorary Secretary, All India Muslim League, Delhi

The President, Provincial Muslim League, C P & Berar, Akola

The Editors the *Dawn*, Delhi, the *Morning News*, Calcutta, the *Star*, Bombay, the *Manshoor*, Delhi, the *Wahdat*, Delhi, the *Hindustan*, Bombay, the *Anjam*, Delhi, the *Alfarooq*, Kamptee and the *Alburhan*, Akola

46

Pir Ilahi Bakhsh to M A Jinnah

F 294/2-3

KARACHI,
27 February 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Owing to my illness I was not able to meet and express my views

personally to you This has become necessary in view of the recent statement of Major Attlee[1] I have also studied very minutely the debate in the House of Lords I think there is no doubt now that a change is coming I know you must be seriously thinking about all these matters I have only one suggestion to make You may kindly set up a committee either from among the topmost people of the Muslim League or from amongst the Musalmans of Sind for drafting the Constitution of Sind at least so that at the time of handing over power by the British we should have some ready-made constitution to fall [back] upon

I think you must be thinking about the constitution of the Punjab, Bengal and other Pakistan Provinces as well If for the sake of uniformity you think it necessary to have one committee representative of all the provinces, that could also be done But I think each province will like to have a constitution suited to its own local conditions It will therefore be in the fitness of things that, to start with, each province should frame its own constitution which may afterwards be placed before the All India Muslim League Council for further consideration and amendments and also for co-ordination, if need be I think you will kindly agree with me that there should be no delay in this matter and I hope you will kindly put this matter before the next meeting of the Working Committee which you propose to call in the middle of March

You will kindly excuse me for my impatience in intruding upon your valuable time and thrusting my views But this has been through nothing but my zeal and anxiety to be ready long before the actual transference of power takes place I have placed my humble views before you, and I hope you will kindly excuse me for intruding upon your valuable time

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,
PIR ILAHI BAKHSH

[1] No 1

47

A K Dosani to M A Jinnah

F 908/29-30

JUNAGADH,
27 February 1947

A meeting of the members of the Ahl-i-Sunnat wal-Jama'at was

held on 27 February 1947 and passed the following resolution.

RESOLUTION

The Muslim inhabitants of Gujerat, Kathiawar, have read with a feeling of danger and anxiety the scheme of forming a political group of 50 native States of Kathiawar, Gujerat, Rajputana and Malwa as published in the newspapers, each consisting of about 85 lakhs of souls and with a yearly income of three crores of rupees This scheme and the joining of certain Muslim States in the said scheme being risky for these States and seriously harmful to the communal, political, cultural, educational, and monetary interests of their Muslim subjects, this meeting of the Members of the Ahl-i-Sunnat wal-Jama'at warns the Muslim States concerned and their Muslim population of this danger

Keeping before the mind's eye these dangerous and harmful conditions, this Meeting resolves that

1 The historical State of Junagadh, founded before 450 years [*sic*] and enjoying special prestige, status and dignity, should not join this group or any other grouping or union which leaves the Muslim interests in the hands of others
2 This State of Junagadh should incorporate the other States of Gujerat, Kathiawar, in itself under its own guidance and form a special separate group of the Muslim States
3 The State of Bhopal, with a population of 8 lakh souls, is to get a separate representative, and Baroda, with a total population of 28 lakh and 35 thousand people, has been accorded the right to send three representatives, two for twenty lakh, and a third representative for the remaining 8 lakh and thirty-five thousand people Accordingly, a prominent State like Junagadh of Kathiawar with its historical significance and having a population of 8,19,000 (eight lakh and nineteen thousand) souls must be accorded the right to send one representative to the Constituent Assembly

The above Resolution is to be sent to the following

(1) The Quaid-i-Azam, Malir, Karachi
(2) All India Muslim League, Delhi
(3) The Chairman of All India States Muslim League, Baroda
(4) His Excellency the Crown Representative, New Delhi
(5) Secretary, States Negotiating Committee c/o Chamber of Princes, Assembly Hall, New Delhi
(6) Secretary, the Constituent Assembly Negotiating Committee, New Delhi

(7) Muslim Members of the Interim Government, New Delhi
(8) His Highness the Nawab Sahib Bahadur, Junagadh, and
(9) The Hon'ble Dewan Sahib, Junagadh

A K DOSANI
Honorary Secretary,
Ahl-i-Sunnat wal-Jama'at,

48

Habibur Rahman to M A Jinnah

Telegram, F 560/9-10

LUDHIANA,
27 February 1947

Mr Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Malabar Hill, Bombay

Dear Mr Jinnah, in view of Mr Attlee's[1] and Lord Anthone's[2] statements you are fully aware of the future constitutional position of Muslims Time demands you to come forward and chalk out such new constitutional schemes which will end differences and effect honourable compromise

HABIBUR RAHMAN
Vice-President,
Majlis-i-Ahrar-i-Hind

[1]No 1
[2]Probably he meant Viscount Christopher Addison

49

M Faizul Islam to M A Jinnah

F 908/31

82 JHOWTOLLAH ROAD, PARK CIRCUS, CALCUTTA,
27 February 1947

Beloved Quaid-i-Azam,

I take the liberty of informing your honour that Pakhtun Association, Bengal and Assam Branch, with its headquarters at Calcutta, has recently been formed under the Markazi Pakhtun Association, Delhi, for the social, economic and religious upliftment [*sic*] of the Muslims in

general and Pathans in particular The scattered Pathans of Bengal and Assam have been linked together through this Association and, if God be willing, they will never shudder even in laying down their lives for saving the honour of *Islam* [1]

May I, therefore, have the honour to request you to grant your ripe counsel and guidance to this new Association and direct its activities through right channels The Pathans will always be only too willing to serve the cause of *Islam*

I have the pleasure to enclose herewith the rules and regulations of the Association for your kind perusal

Hoping that you will be pleased to extend your kind patronage, support and guidance towards this organisation,

Yours obediently,
M FAIZUL ISLAM
Secretary, Pakhtun Association,
Calcutta

[1]Emphasis here and hereafter in the original

Enclosure to No 49

F XV/254-257
[Original in Urdu]

PAKHTUN ASSOCIATION, CALCUTTA

Aims and Objectives

1 Every Pathan belonging to the Frontier Province and its States, Afghanistan, Baluchistan, Independent Tribal Areas, and Indian Pathans can become members of this Association Any sincere Muslim (non-Pathan) can also become a member with the permission of the Executive Committee

[The rest of the 11 clauses have been omitted]

Patron Maulana Abdul Ghafoor, Calcutta
President Hafiz Safi Ullah, Calcutta
Vice-Presidents Muhammad Sharif Khan and Haji Muhammad Ishaq, Calcutta
Secretary Khan M Faizul Islam, Calcutta
Assistant Secretary & Treasurer Fazal Rahim Khan, Calcutta

50

Ahmad Hajee Ayub Khadbai to M A Jinnah

F 886/66-67

KHADBAI BUILDING, PORBANDAR, KATHIAWAR,
27 February 1947

Most respected Quaid-i-Azam Sahib,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

I have the honour to enclose herewith a copy of a scheme as proposed by me for putting up a hosiery and textile mill at Karachi, and a copy of a letter addressed to the Minister-in-charge of Industries in the Sind Government, for your honour's kind and sympathetic support and blessings

In this connection, I most respectfully beg to address your honour as under

Probably your honour remembers that since the year 1938 I am established here as a manufacturer of hosiery and textile articles of various kinds The articles manufactured in our mill are shipped to Karachi, Bombay and foreign countries Your honour has been kind enough to pay a visit to our mill in the year 1940 The mill then was converted into a limited company with a capital of Rs 9,00,000 of which I am the managing director and partner

My friends and well-wishers wish me to put up a similar mill at Karachi They have promised me their full support Looking to the circumstances ahead, I have decided to put up a mill at Karachi.

On my part, I assure your honour that every effort will be made to start the work at an early date

Lastly, I pray, your honour will forgive me for taking your valuable time

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,
AHMED HAJEE AYUB KHADBAI
Hosiery Manufacturer

Enclosure to No 50

F 886/68-69

KHADBAI BUILDING, PORBANDAR, KATHIAWAR,
27 February 1947

The Hon'ble Minister-in-charge of Industries,
Department of Industries,
Karachi
Dear Sir,
Re A scheme for putting up Hosiery & Textile Mill at Karachi

We respectfully beg to submit to your honour as under

That we are established here, since the year 1938, as manufacturers of various kinds of hosiery and textile articles, such as vests, singlets, drawers, socks, pullovers, mufflers, bedsheets, table covers, curtain cloth, napkins, towels, handkerchiefs and such other articles in cotton, wool and art silk varieties

We are anxious to put up a similar hosiery and textile mill at Karachi if arrangement is made to allocate sufficient yarn to our mill [and] besides land, electric power and water are made available at cheaper and concession[al] rates

As per our scheme, a limited company will be floated with a capital of Rs 18,00,000 With this capital, a plant required for manufacturing hosiery and textile articles can be made available with a production capacity of about three hundred dozens of hosiery articles and about two hundred pieces of textile articles per day

We are in a position and expect to put up and start the work within a year or thereabouts if land is made available immediately and power and water are supplied to us in time besides yarn

We have enclosed herewith a copy of our scheme for your honour's information and have mentioned therein our requirements of yarn, land, power and water, and trust that your honour will do the needful in the matter

Upon receipt of your honour's favourable reply, we would be very much pleased to send our Mr Ayub to discuss the matter and to come to some final decision

We shall gladly furnish any other information required in this connection

Thanking your honour in the meanwhile,

Yours faithfully,
for Khadbai Brothers,
AHMED HAJEE AYUB KHADBAI
Partner

Annexure to Enclosure to No 50

F 886/70-71

KHADBAI BUILDING, PORBANDAR, KATHIAWAR,
Undated [*February 1947*]

Bismilla'ir Rahman'ir Rahim

PROPOSED SCHEME FOR PUTTING UP A NEW HOSIERY AND TEXTILE MILL AT KARACHI

Name —

Office —

Capital Rs 18,00,000 (Rupees eighteen lac) to be divided into 18,000 ordinary shares of Rs 100 each

Objects
(a) Hosiery To manufacture cotton, woollen and art-silk vests, singlets, drawers, socks, pullovers, cardigans, mufflers, etc
(b) Textile To manufacture cotton and art silk bed covers, table covers, napkins, towels, handkerchiefs, piece-goods, etc

Production About 300 dozen hosiery and 220 pairs textile articles per day

Requirements

Land About ten thousand [square] yards, preferably near railway or port

Power Electric power about 150 h p

Water About ten thousand gallons per day

Yarn About 1,800 lbs per day, out of which 1,400 lbs in cone form and the balance in hank form

Estimated Cost of Plant and Machinery Department

	Rs
Winding	36,000
Knitting	3,19,200
Bleaching	20,400
Calendering	21,000
Dyeing	5,000
Cutting	5,000
Sewing	57,000
Ironing	1,400
Packing	1,000
Baling	1,200
Controlling Machinery	35,000
Total	5,02,200

51

A G F Khan to M A Jinnah

F 886/73

94 NEW CHINCHBUNDER ROAD,
RAZAK CHAMBER, BOMBAY 9,
27 February 1947

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

I beg to state that Mr R L Khan, M A , LL B , Pleader at Dapoli and Secretary of the Dapoli Muslim League, Ratnagiri, has sent to me the enclosed report of atrocities perpetrated by the District Police on the unfortunate inhabitants of the said town in the month of December last and has authorised me to forward the same to you for your information and such action as you may deem proper I am accordingly forwarding herewith the report for your perusal

With respectful regards,

I beg to remain, Respected Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
A G F KHAN
Stores Department,
B B & C I Railway

Enclosure to No 51

F 886/74-76

DABHOL POLICE ATROCITIES

On receiving a report from Dabhol, Taluka Dapoli, District Ratnagiri, about the sufferings of Muslims therein and after the riot of the 5th December [1946], and about the deliberate partiality of the police, a deputation was sent to Dabhol on the 19th to organise relief and to see the real situation We received a report from S I Ahmed, leader of the deputation, which states that the behaviour of the officer was open to a serious charge of deliberate partiality for the Hindus and against the Muslims.

On instructions from them, I am stating the following facts in support of the charge of deliberate partiality of the police

1 Bhurke Dada, a *mavali* and an outsider (called "Jai Hind") had since long been instigating Hindus, but the police did nothing to stop him, in spite of oral complaints being made against him We understand that he is a deportee from Bombay and so a very strict watch should have been kept on him
2 On the 5th instant it was Bhurke Dada who started the riot by throwing stones, one of which struck a boy resulting in [his] bleeding But though the Muslims reported this to the P S I [Police Sub-Inspector], the culprit, surely the mischief-monger, was deliberately not immediately arrested, rather not arrested at all Meanwhile more stones were thrown
3 The Muslim procession had many small children and so when the Musalmans, in great fear, began to hurry home, as the shower of stones increased, the police deliberately did not check the Hindus
4 The P S I , instead of remaining at the affected place, went away to the wharf, leaving the Muslims to the tender mercies of the Hindu mob, which grew more and more violent No firing was resorted to by the police at this stage Had it been done, much loss could have been avoided
5 The Muslims tried to defend themselves from the Hindu mob and in this way injuries might have been caused to some of the Hindus but as a rule the Muslims remained peaceful as the intact Hindu houses on the way would show Even then the Muslims are harassed by the police
6 Late in the evening the Hindus began to set fire to and loot Muslim houses and shops The Muslims could not extinguish the

fire, as there was continuous firing by shotguns from the Hindus One Muslim succumbed and many others received gunshot [injuries] The police deliberately did not check the rioters As against 15 Muslim buildings only 2 of the Hindus have been burnt, one of which is quite adjacent to the burnt Muslim houses and might have caught fire from them Even then the Muslims are being persecuted in greater numbers

7 When firing was resorted to very late in the night, the rioting ceased

8 Abbas Sahib Shaikh Bamne's house at Vanoshi was unsuccessfully tried to be burnt the same night but the police did not take any precaution and the next night the same house was completely burnt

9 Medical aid was not prompt and adequate for the Muslims Even on the 20th an injured boy in need of medical help was sent by the Muslims to Ratnagiri

10 The police either did not deliberately take the statements of all the Muslim sufferers, or did not take the statements in full and rebuked some for giving names of some Hindu culprits

11 Indiscriminate arrests of many responsible and respectable Muslim leaders have been deliberately made leaving many Hindu culprits [to go] scot-free Many of the arrested Muslims were the main supporters of their families In this way, Muslims are being much harassed and many are in sheer need of daily bread

12 The total number of Muslims arrested is 58 and that of Hindus 28 only There are as yet 42 Muslims and probably no Hindus who have been warned by the police not to go out of Dabhol except with special permission It is feared that they will be arrested soon, as 11 such others have already been arrested

[*Paras 13 to 16 have been omitted*]

17 Many Hindus from outside (Agarwani etc) had taken part in the mob, but deliberately no investigations have been made in this connection and no outsider has been arrested

18 Statements of intelligent and literate Muslim eye-witnesses were not taken deliberately

19 While making *Panchnamas*, the P S I , instead of taking some responsible Muslim leader like Mr Nasiruddin Badar with him, took a Muslim man hard of hearing who is quite incapable and inexperienced for this purpose Thus many deliberate understatements and wrong information must have found place

20 *Mudd-i-maal* was not taken charge of by the police and the

deputation found many such articles still lying

21 In short, the police did what was humanly possible against the Muslims and it is essential that the proceedings should be quashed

Therefore, the appointment of an impartial officer to make fresh inquiries is very necessary, otherwise it would be detrimental to the Muslim interests

52

A Krishnaswami to M A Jinnah

F 181/31-32

CAMP CARLTON HOUSE, BANGALORE,
27 February 1947

Dear Sir,

May I wish you sound health and victory during the coming months which are invested with great significance for the minorities, the non-Brahmins and the Muslims I trust that the *Liberator* reaches you every day The situation has altered in Madras very much in our favour, but it has slightly deteriorated in Hyderabad, where Congress industrialists are getting fresh concessions and the Scheduled Castes and non-Brahmins are becoming restive Some of the non-Brahmins have joined the Communist movement in sheer despair

Would you forgive me for troubling you with a small request? I understand that the Hon'ble Mr I I Chundrigar is to lead a delegation of non-officials to an international conference to be held in Geneva to consider the problems of trade and employment early in April If he is to select some non-officials who are equipped with a sound knowledge of economics, may I request you kindly, if you approve, to suggest that I be taken as one of the delegates On the other hand, if what I have said is improper, kindly forgive me for the suggestion made

With respectful regards,

Yours sincerely,
A KRISHNASWAMI

53

M L Qureshi to M A Jinnah

F 832/16

ANGLO-ARABIC COLLEGE, DELHI,
27 February 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

The report of the Advisory Planning Board appointed by the Government of India was released some time ago The recommendations of the Board are an attempt to bring about an enlargement of the functions of the Centre and to sabotage Pakistan under the guise of economic planning I have carefully examined the constitutional and economic implications of these recommendations in a brief note, a copy of which is attached herewith I shall be grateful if you kindly go through it and take whatever action you consider necessary in the matter

I am also sending copies of this note to Muslim League Members of the Interim Government

With profound respects,

Yours sincerely,
M L QURESHI
Honorary Joint Secretary,
All India Muslim League Planning Committee

Enclosure to No 53

F 835/1-7

A NOTE ON THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE ADVISORY PLANNING BOARD
BY
M L QURESHI

The Advisory Planning Board has recommended the appointment of a Planning Commission and of a permanent Tariff Board, the amalgamation and expansion of the Central Waterways, Irrigation and Navigation Commission and the Central Technical Power Board, and the centralization of important industries and minerals The Board has also made recommendations in connection with the development of agriculture, nationalization of industry, distribution of wealth, labour legislation, etc These recommendations are of far-reaching

importance as will be seen from the following account

PLANNING COMMISSION

The proposed Planning Commission is to be empowered to co-ordinate the provincial and central plans, allocate material resources in short supply, plan the development of major industries and important minerals, watch and stimulate progress in regard to the execution of the plans, and to make recommendations to the Government about the allocation of funds for development purposes, the form of State aid and State control to be extended to industries, foreign and internal trade, and about monetary and financial policy, including currency and credit at home and abroad The implications of these very wide powers to be conferred on the Planning Commission are as follows

(1) In the interests of the co-ordination of the provincial and central plans, the Commission will exercise complete and effective control over economic planning in provinces, and over the various departments of the Central Government in so far as their development programmes are concerned
(2) The development of industries, which at present is a provincial subject, will come under the virtual control of the Commission because of the power conferred upon it to plan the development of major industries
(3) Mineral development, which at present is a provincial subject, will also come under the control of the Commission
(4) Through the exercise of its power to allocate material resources in short supply and to recommend the allocation of funds for development purposes, the Commission will be able to decide about the pace of economic development of different provinces and about the character of the economy that they are to have, policies which, at present, are determined by the Provincial Governments and on which will depend the future material wealth and the standard of living of the inhabitants of the areas concerned
(5) The execution of the various development plans in a province will, for obvious reasons, be entrusted to the provincial departments concerned, which will cover practically the entire field of provincial administration On account of its responsibility for watching and stimulating progress in regard to the execution of the plans, the Commission would be empowered to interfere even in the day-to-day administration of the provinces
(6) The Commission's powers with regard to some important matters such as the allocation of funds for development

purposes, trade, monetary and financial policy, etc , are confined only to making recommendations to the Government But once a comprehensive scheme of planned economic development is launched, its success is of utmost importance, for its miscarriage would spell disaster No sacrifice would be considered too great for ensuring the success of the scheme and there would be every justification for controlling the entire life of the community, if it was considered necessary for this purpose The recommendations of the Planning Commission can be turned down only at the risk of economic chaos in the country and will, therefore, be as good as orders which must be carried out The Finance, Commerce, Industries and a few other Departments of the Central Government would be no more than subordinate agencies of the Commission Thus the Planning Commission would be a sort of Super State exercising more or less complete control over the Central and Provincial Governments

TARIFF BOARD

The Advisory Planning Board has recommended that the Tariff Board should be placed on a permanent basis and should be given wide powers so that its scope would include all forms of State aid to industries This would imply that Foreign Trade, Industries and Customs would be Central subjects

AMALGAMATION AND EXPANSION OF C W I N C AND C T P B

The Advisory Planning Board has recommended that the Central Waterways, Irrigation and Navigation Commission and the Central Technical Power Board should be amalgamated and expanded so that in addition to their present surveying and advisory functions, they should be able to undertake designing and construction of works This would imply that the Centre would be able to influence and control the development of waterways, irrigation, navigation and power in the provinces

CENTRALIZATION OF INDUSTRIES AND MINERALS

The Board has recommended that twenty-one industries, of which a list has been given, should be brought under Central control The list includes all the basic industries and practically all the important large-scale industries Centralization includes Central control over location The development and location of basic industries, on which all other

industries are dependent, determine the pace of industrialisation and the general character of the economy (e g industrial or agricultural) of different areas

In the case of many industries the Central control over location has been used by the Government of India to the detriment of Pakistan areas Similarly, the centralization of minerals has very great significance so far as economic development of different areas is concerned

SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH AND SUPPLY OF TRAINED PERSONNEL

The Board has rightly emphasised the importance of scientific research and the supply of trained personnel It has made suggestions which would be regarded as valuable had it not been for their strong bias in favour of Central direction and control

AGRICULTURAL PLANNING

The Board has emphasised the importance of increased agricultural production and has made some valuable suggestions about agricultural development But some of the recommendations, though very good in themselves, have important political implications For example, the Board has recommended the stabilisation of agricultural prices and the co-ordination of provincial research Stabilisation of prices requires Central control over production, imports, exports, procurement, machinery, and distribution Similarly, co-ordination of research also requires Central control over provincial research institutions Further, the Board has recommended that the Centre should, if necessary, make use of its financial powers to influence the direction of agricultural development in the provinces The net result of all this would be that agriculture, which is at present a provincial subject, would virtually come under Central control

NATIONALISATION OF INDUSTRIES

The Board has recommended that in addition to railways, ordnance factories and other public utilities, which are already State-owned and [State-] operated, such industries as are considered essential in the national interest but for which private capital might not be forthcoming should be nationalized The Board has also half-heartedly recommended that the case for the nationalisation of coal, mineral oil, iron and steel, motor, air, and river transport should be considered Thus, practically the entire field of industrialisation is to be left to private capital which, due to the Muslims' lack of capital, would in effect mean capital owned almost entirely by the Hindus. This is bound to increase still further, as fast as industrialisation proceeds, the economic and political power wielded by the Hindus as

against the Muslims [*sic*] It will also result in the perpetuation of the existing non-Muslim vested interests and the creation of new ones and in the intensification of the existing inequalities of wealth between the two communities

The Board has sought to justify its solicitude for the capitalist on the plea that the nationalisation of a large range of industries might stand in the way of the rapid industrial development of the country But this is an exploded doctrine Besides, the fundamental issue involved in the nationalisation of industries is the equitable distribution of wealth and the prevention of concentration of economic and political power in the hands of a limited number of people or of a particular group, in the interest of general welfare and democracy

If industries in this country are to be nationalised, the State must at the present stage mobilise all its economic and political resources to achieve this end, otherwise the capitalist vested interests will be so strengthened and firmly entrenched that nothing short of a violent revolution will be able to overthrow them But the question is whether the Advisory Planning Board does really seek to destroy them or to strengthen them still further

DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH

The Board has expressed the desire that "the wealth produced should be distributed in an equitable manner" But the repetition of this platitude means nothing The Board has made no practical suggestions as to how the equitable distribution of wealth is to be brought about This omission on the part of the Board is significant in view of the detailed recommendations it has made in other directions and in particular of the great pains it has taken to suggest all possible means, direct and indirect, to bring about an enlargement of the functions of the Centre under the guise of economic planning Other significant facts are the Board's opposition to nationalisation of industry, which is one of the principal methods to ensure an equitable distribution of wealth, and its omission to make any recommendations about the methods to be adopted to bring about an improvement in the economic condition of the labouring classes beyond suggesting that comprehensive labour legislation should be undertaken without even defining the objectives of such legislation

There is no doubt that as a result of economic development, the production of wealth in the country would be substantially increased, but its distribution would continue to be as inequitable, if not worse, than that at present, and the existing inequalities of wealth would be intensified

CONCLUSIONS

(1) A balanced economy for the whole country as one economic unit may imply unequal economic development of different areas For example, certain areas may be left mainly as agricultural areas with a lower per capita income than in others which are selected for industrialisation

(2) As a result of economic development on a capitalistic basis there is bound to be some improvement in general well-being but this is likely to be accompanied by some of the worst evils of capitalism, for the existing inequalities of wealth would be intensified and the domination of the capitalist over the economic and political life of the country would be further increased

(3) If the recommendations of the Advisory Planning Board are accepted, then, in addition to Foreign Affairs, Defence, Communications and Central Finance, which are to be Union subjects under the Cabinet Mission proposals, the following subjects shall also come under Central control, more or less

(i) Planning and Development
(ii) Industries
(iii) Minerals
(iv) Agriculture
(v) Currency and Banking
(vi) Foreign and Internal Trade
(vii) Customs
(viii) Development of Waterways, Irrigation, Navigation and Power
(ix) Scientific Research and
(x) Technical Training Abroad

This would make for a most powerful unitary form of government which would reduce to a mockery even the limited autonomy at present enjoyed by the provinces Besides, the economic unification of the country would be completed and this will stand in the way of its subsequent partition into two or more independent economic units The recommendations of the Board are thus an obvious attempt to sabotage Pakistan through economic planning

(4) If Pakistan is not to be ruled out for all times, there is no option but that planning should proceed on a regional basis Regional Planning Commissions may be appointed for the purpose An inter-regional liaison machinery may also be established to ensure mutual co-operation and to avoid pursuit of conflicting policies

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Mrs K L Rallia Ram to M A Jinnah

F 487/22-24

5 MASSON ROAD, LAHORE,
27 February 1947

Dear Mr Jinnah,

Here are some more important cuttings[1] on the Hindu reaction to British declaration of February 20th

I am still trying to find Professor Brij Narain[2] to get his permission for the said article to be published into a pamphlet The man whom I sent after him for the purpose suddenly took ill I have deputed another fellow for the task now Last evening I posted a letter by air mail to you[3] explaining the delay in answering your letter

All sorts of rumours have been published by the A P I [4] about Sind declaring itself an independent State in June 1948 The news has not come in the Muslim press

One para in the British Government Statement[5] is very important It runs as follows

[*Not reproduced in the original*]

So far as I know the Muslim League have not so far expressed any opinion but I shall be surprised if, when they read the terms of the statement carefully and with due consideration, *they will think it is so likely to produce Pakistan*[6] (apparently as likely as Viscount Templewood has suggested)[7] This sentence is full of meaning you have to prepare for this situation The meaning by declarations seem to appear more weighty to the British Government than their actual behaviour during the recent months towards the Muslims You should collect all the available material pointing to the fact that the Caste Hindus plan to wipe out all those who stand in their way and what their designs are for the country The Congress today is not what it was previously when all minorities and even Muslims had faith in its declarations Now it is more a body of the Caste Hindus plus the Mahasabhaites who, after having been routed in the last elections, are fast entering the Congress camp which makes it a more orthodox and anti-Muslim and anti-non-Caste Hindu These facts should be presented to the new Viceroy, Lord Mountbatten, who is now acquainting himself with the Indian situation But who is there to represent the League viewpoint? Mr Asaf Ali, the Congressman, has already

impressed the Congress point of view which they go on saying as the Indian point of view The trend of talks in the House of Lords indicates a leaning towards the Hindu Congress point of view which only proves that the League viewpoint has not been strongly represented and propagated During these fifteen months a Himalayan task awaits the League workers Again, I would suggest that the help of those Hindus who understand the Caste-Hindu viewpoint should now be sought Swami Dharam Theerath's help at this time would go a long way in exposing the imperialists' designs of Caste Hindus It should not be missed

God give you strength of body and mind

Sincerely yours,
MRS K L RALLIA RAM

[1]Not available in *QAP*
[2]See No 55
[3]See No 41
[4]Associated Press of India
[5]No 1
[6]Emphasis in the original
[7]Lord Templewood (Conservative), while opening a debate in the House of Lords on the British Government's announcement of 20 February 1947, had opposed transfer of power without fulfilling obligations to the minorities, Indian States, etc Templewood feared that the decision would "lead not to unity but division of India " See *Civil & Military Gazette*, 27 February 1947

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Brij Narain to Mrs K L Rallia Ram[1]

F 674/18a-18b

27 February 1947

Dear Mrs K L Rallia Ram,

I feel extremely flattered by your letter[2] Most readers of the *Tribune* heap curses on my head for what I write in that paper—I enclose a letter as an illustration[3]

The Editor, *Tribune*, would have to be approached for permission to reprint my articles, as I have been paid for them Very probably he would give the permission If you insist on it, I will ask him But I am definitely of the opinion that no useful purpose will be served by reprinting the articles dealing with politics The articles are not of permanent interest, and the political situation changes from day to day The cost of paper and printing is prohibitive, and the sale of the pamphlet will be nil.

I hope, therefore, that you will not insist on the reproduction of these articles in pamphlet form

The enclosed card may be kindly returned to me after perusal

Yours sincerely,
BRIJ NARAIN
Honorary Professor of Economics,
Punjab University

[1]Mrs Rallia Ram forwarded this letter to Jinnah as promised by her in No 41 Her forwarding letter, however, is not available in *QAP*
[2&3]Not available in *QAP*

56

Ghulam Rasul to M A Jinnah

F 908/32

QUETTA,
27 February 1947

Sir,

I have the honour to forward herewith a copy of a resolution in Urdu[1] passed by the Managing Committee of the Anjuman-i-Islamia, Baluchistan, in its meeting of the 2nd February 1947, along with an English translation thereof for your information

2 I am also directed to invite a reference to the concluding paragraph of the Anjuman's resolution dated the 15th September [1946][2] and my verbal talk in the matter with you at Karachi last month and to request that your permission to name the new hall of the Islamia High School, Quetta, as JINNAH HALL, may kindly be communicated early

I beg to remain, Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
GHULAM RASUL
General Secretary,
Anjuman-i-Islamia, Baluchistan

[1]Only the English translation provided by the Anjuman itself is reproduced here
[2]Not available in *QAP*

Enclosure to No 56

F 908/34

EXTRACT OF PROCEEDINGS OF A MEETING OF THE ANJUMAN-I-ISLAMIA, BALUCHISTAN, QUETTA HELD ON 2 FEBRUARY 1947

Resolved that grateful thanks of the Anjuman-i-Islamia, Baluchistan should be conveyed to Quaid-i-Azam Mr Mohammad Ali Jinnah for his help in the recovery of Rs 27,500 from Qazi Mohammad Isa Khan [1] The Anjuman fully realises that in spite of his more important multifarious occupations, the Quaid-i-Azam did not drop this matter [out] of his sight The Anjuman is much obliged

Besides, the Anjuman is most grateful for the very generous donation of Rs 1,000 so kindly given by the Quaid-i-Azam to the Anjuman and hopes that the Quaid-i-Azam will continue to patronize the Anjuman

The Anjuman acknowledges with thanks the receipt of [two] cheques for the above amounts sent through the Anjuman representatives—Nawabzada Mir Shahbaz Khan Nousherwani and Ch Ghulam Rasul

[1] As General Secretary of the Anjuman-i-Islamia, Baluchistan, Qazi Isa had collected Rs 33,750 for the construction of a Girls School The money was claimed by the Anjuman and a sum of Rs 27,500 was paid to it through the intervention of the Quaid-i-Azam See F 564/19-22, 8 October 1946, *QAP* and interview with Nawabzada Mir Shahbaz Khan Nousherwani, *NAP*, Oral Archives, Cassette No 64

57

A K I Bayat to M A Jinnah

F 861/83

47 CHURCH STREET,
PIETERMARITZBURG, NATAL,
28 February 1947

Dear Sir,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

In response to your appeal on behalf of the Bihar Relief Fund, we have pleasure in informing you that a sum of £ 280 has been remitted by us, through the Standard Bank of South Africa Ltd to the Habib Bank, Delhi, and a copy of a letter written to-day to the Manager of the Habib Bank is enclosed herein for your perusal We may mention that

thıs amount has been collected by the Marıtzburg & Dıstrıct Muslım communıty for the benefit of the vıctıms of Bihar The Fund ıs stıll open and we hope to send you, ın the near future, another substantıal sum

We shall be glad ıf you wıll please ınform the Treasurer of thıs Fund to acknowledge the receıpt of thıs money

Wassalaam,

Yours ın Islam,
A K I BAYAT

Enclosure to No 57
A K I Bayat to Habıb Bank Ltd , Delhı

F 861/82

[NATAL, SOUTH ARFICA]
28 February 1947

Dear Sır,

Wıth reference to the letter addressed to you by the Marıtzburg & Dıstrıct Muslım communıty, dated the 26th ınstant, ın whıch ıt was stated that a sum of £ 280 has been remıtted to you through Reuters Agency to be credıted to the Bıhar Relıef Fund, we wısh to state that thıs sum of money has been remıtted through the Standard Bank of South Afrıca Ltd and not through Reuters as stated prevıously

Although the money has been sent ın our name, actually thıs money was collected by the Marıtzburg & Dıstrıct Muslım communıty for the Bıhar Relıef Fund We shall be glad, therefore, ıf you wıll please credıt thıs sum to the account of the Bıhar Relıef Fund and ınform the responsıble persons who handle thıs fund of ıts receıpt and at the same tıme please acknowledge the receıpt of the same to us

Yours faıthfully,
AMOD BAYAT
Manager

The Manager,
Habıb Bank Ltd , Chandnı Chowk,
Delhı, Indıa

58

M A Hassan Ispahani to M A Jinnah

F 309/319-320

CALCUTTA,
28 February 1947

My dear Mr Jinnah,

Last night I received your letter of the 19th instant[1] The delay in transit is shocking I have written to you thrice since I left Karachi—5th,[2] 17th[3] and 22nd[4] instant—and have forwarded copies of the letters to Bombay I hope you have received the letters I am grateful to you for enquiring about my health Since [*sic*] the last two weeks I am feeling fit and am ready now to undertake the Middle East trip We are scheduled to leave Karachi on the 9th March and are to meet there by the evening of the 7th I propose to leave here on the morning of 7th and shall be obliged if you issue any instructions to me that you may desire before that date I suppose you will not have any objection to my speaking as your representative or as a representative of the Muslim League during my trip to the Middle East in my spare hours which I propose to devote to political work

The resignation of Maulana Mohamed Akram Khan[5] as President of the [Bengal] Provincial League nearly brought about an ugly situation Fazlul Huq and Abul Hashim both declared themselves as candidates for the office Shaheed Suhrawardy, until a day before the meeting of the Council of the Provincial League, felt that the election should proceed and was confident of crushing Fazlul Huq and carrying Abul Hashim with an overwhelming majority My reading was different So, the day before the meeting, I went to Shaheed and told him that it was in the interest not only of himself but also of the Muslim League in the Province and outside to call off the election and to persuade Maulana Mohamed Akram Khan to withdraw his resignation At first, he hummed and hawed, but on being told that there would be serious repercussions and that Fazlul Huq had marshalled some strength among the students and others overnight, he agreed to consult his colleagues On Sunday morning wisdom dawned on him Abul Hashim was made to withdraw and Maulana Mohamed Akram Khan was persuaded to withdraw his resignation by a resolution of the Provincial Working Committee which endorsed the Parliamentary Party's resolution of the previous evening All Sunday, the

streets of Calcutta, particularly around the Muslim Institute, were packed with lorries carrying shouters, some in favour of Shaheed and Abul Hashim and others in support of Fazlul Huq I was very disgusted The Hindus were jubilant It was then [that] Shaheed realised that our advice was sound The meeting of the Council was noisy and extremely rowdy Quite a lot of fellows were against Abul Hashim and several shouted down Suhrawardy The crisis was averted because Maulana's consent to withdraw his resignation was obtained Fazlul Huq was also present and I could see that he had organised a substantial backing in a very short time, basing his flashy return to the Provincial Muslim League politics on appealing material, namely

1 *Zulm* by Suhrawardy and others on Muslims in Noakhali and Tippera [for] not releasing them, comparing the inaction of the Bihar Ministry in taking to task the Hindu culprits
2 Non-establishment of a Muslim University in Bengal
3 Insufficient service rendered by the Ministry to the Muslims of the Province in spite of the fact that it commanded a strong majority in the election

The above points appealed not only to the elders but also to the students

Frankly, both Abul Hashim and Fazlul Huq are, in my opinion, unfit to be President of the Provincial Muslim League Abul Hashim has recently been spoken of openly as receiving money in the name of the League and for his own paper and other things from persons who are given contracts in the Civil Supplies Department These gossips have increased his unpopularity As for Fazlul Huq, everyone knows him too well

I find from newspapers today that Fazlul Huq has met Mr Gandhi and on his way back has delivered a speech calling upon the Muslims to work for the overthrow of the present Ministry in Bengal if they wanted to achieve what was their due in the Province

I am enclosing a copy of the letter that I am addressing to Mr Fazlul Huq today

Your application for shares in the Orient Airways was received four days ago and the receipt was airmailed to you yesterday As soon as allotment is made, the necessary letter will be sent and within a few days it will be exchanged for the scrips of the Company

My brother Ahmad is well but is extremely hard-worked No one seems to convince him that overwork is not good for a person past 45 He is leaving for Hyderabad (Deccan) tomorrow

Habib Rahimtoola is here on his way to Bombay from Delhi. He

leaves for Bombay with his wife tomorrow You write to me of pressure of work Will you please prevent work from pressing you so long as you are in indifferent health We cannot afford to have you in indifferent health Work *must*[6] wait I beg of you to heed this advice

With kind regards to Miss Jinnah and [your]self,

Very sincerely yours,
HASSAN

[1]This letter refers to Jinnah's enquiry about buying shares in the Orient Airways for which he had remitted a cheque for Rs 25,000 to Hassan Ispahani See Z H Zaidi, ed, *M A Jinnah-Ispahani Correspondence, 1936-1948*, Karachi, 1976, No 334, p 513

[2]Not available in *QAP*

[3]In this letter he emphasises the need for opening an Information Centre in New York and also indicates the difficulties that were likely to be encountered See F 309/315-316, 17 February 1947, *QAP*

[4]No 15

[5]See No 8, note 1

[6]Emphasis in the original

Enclosure to No 58

M A Hassan Ispahani to Fazlul Huq

F 309/321

PERSONAL

CALCUTTA,
28 February 1947

Dear Mr Fazlul Huq,

I was pained to read in the press today a report of your speech to the Muslims of Chandpur on the 27th instant, criticizing the Bengal Ministry and declaring that unless there was a change, Muslims could not expect justice It was certainly neither the fit place nor positively the time for you to make such an utterance You are a member of a political organisation and no member is above its laws The Ministry is a Muslim League Ministry and is in power because it commands almost the unanimous support of the Muslims within and outside the legislature No Ministry is perfect either in this country or anywhere else If you have any grievances against your own Ministry or any individual Minister, it should be ventilated in a constitutional way and within the party of which you are a member Utterances like the one referred to above are, in my opinion, irresponsible and likely to cause trouble at a time when Muslim India is faced with the most serious crisis in its history Today every Muslim, old and young, big and small, must join hands, forget personal ambitions and grievances,

and get ready to face the onslaught of the enemy I hope that, in view of what I have written, you will be pleased not to issue statements or deliver speeches of the type of the speech you delivered at Chandpur and it will not be necessary for me to draw your kind attention once again to the submission that I have made in this letter

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M A HASSAN ISPAHANI

A K Fazlul Huq, Esq , MLA,
Jhowtolla Road, Park Circus,
Calcutta

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Yusuf Quraishi to K H Khurshid

F 886/77
[Original in Urdu]

CENTRAL JAIL, SRINAGAR,
28 February 1947

Dear friend,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

It has been a long time since I last heard from you You must be too busy to find time for writing There are a few things that I must mention to you The situation does not seem to be under control Only time will tell as to who is to blame for it Our friends from Jammu are engaged in endless squabbles Only God can help them They are totally indifferent to Kashmir Not to speak of answering our letters, they do not even like to talk about us They seem to have misread the whole situation Things of this sort have only strengthened the hands of our enemies

To them, freedom of Kashmir is merely freedom of the *detenus*, secured not through any bold struggle but through shameless begging for it They are spending all their energies on things that are really worthless, believing that by doing so they can preserve their image The fact is that they have made a shambles of the Kashmir politics

I know nothing about our Riasi[1] friends It is said that Mr. Saghar and Mr Rahbar have been shifted to some unknown place The

newspapers these days are full of speculations about their release, but I am not interested in such things.

The *detenus* belonging to the National Conference have gone on hunger strike here in protest against the Governor's refusal to grant concessions that they had demanded I, too, have applied to the Chief Secretary, the Governor and the Inspector-General of Jails for similar concessions I will wait for their reply for a few days and if I do not hear from them favourably, I will also resort to "direct action"

After the Punjab, it is now the turn of the N W F P[2] None of the Muslim newspapers is available to us, which is most regrettable I hope you would write to me about the state of affairs at your earliest convenience Since my previous address seems to have earned a lot of notoriety, I shall like you to write to me at the following address

Muhammad Ameen
c/o Khwaja Muhammad Siddiq Ilaqa Band,
Maharaj Bazar, First Bridge,
Srinagar (Kashmir)

Yours,
QURAISHI

[1]Riasi sub-jail where *detenus* had been lodged
[2]Refers to the Civil Disobedience Movements in these provinces See Appendices VII & VIII

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Hasan A Shaikh to M A. Jinnah

F 438/1

15 BANK STREET, FORT, BOMBAY,
28 February 1947

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

I have the honour to inform you that the *Morning Herald*, which will be the first English daily of Muslims in the Western and Southern India, will make its appearance in the first week of March[1] The *Morning Herald* will espouse the policy and programme of the All India Muslim League and will always stand up for the ideal which you have presented to the Indian Muslim nation. This tremendous task could be satisfactorily performed only with your blessings

We will, therefore, be greatly obliged if you would kindly send us your message for publication in the first issue of the *Morning Herald*

Thanking you,

Yours respectfully,
for the *Morning Herald*,
HASAN A SHAIKH

[1]In an interview on 25 February 1992, Mr Shaikh informed us that the *Morning Herald* did appear in March 1947 and continued to be published under the Editorship of Mr Sharifuddin Pirzada up to the end of June 1947

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Akbar Sultan to M A Jinnah

F 1013/5-6

ISHA'AT MAHAL,
CHATTA BAZAR, HYDERABAD (DECCAN),
28 February 1947

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

A special number entitled "Martyrs of Bihar" is being published by the Isha'at Mahal of Hyderabad, [Deccan], which shall contain full details of the awful incidents of Bihar together with the pictures showing the dilapidated buildings and places

It has been decided by the organisers of the Institution that the profits realised from the sale of the publication shall be contributed to the Bihar [Relief] Fund The main aim of the publication is to produce a real fact of the incident [*sic*] before all the world In this connection an Urdu letter showing some details is submitted for your kind perusal

The organisers of the Institution request that they may kindly be honoured by a "Message" from you As directed by *Aziz-i-Millat*, Mr Syed Abdul Aziz, the Institution proposes to send a representative to ascertain the correct statistics of the incidents of Bihar The proposal may kindly be confirmed by you

I beg to remain, Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
AKBAR SULTAN
Director

Enclosure to No 61

F 1137/120-123
[Original in Urdu]

ISHA'AT MAHAL, CHATTA BAZAR,
HYDERABAD (DECCAN),
28 February 1947

Respected Sir,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum wa Rahmatullahi wa Barakatuhu

In this modern age, which claims to be the torch-bearer of civilisation and culture, man is facing such soul-searing and horrifying trials and tribulations and humanity is passing through a phase of such terrifying and grave perils that the horrors of the Dark Ages and the Arab Age of Ignorance pale into insignificance by comparison The Indian sub-continent, which for centuries had been like a paradise in which peace and harmony prevailed everywhere and which could not even be touched by the conflagration of the Second World War, has now turned into a land where murder and loot by narrow-minded and bigoted individuals are the order of the day and it is turning into a veritable hell owing to the hate and enmity amongst its inhabitants Those of our brethren who dream of *Ram Raj* in India are determined to wipe out all the Muslims along with the traces of their culture from this land Though plots are being hatched in all parts of India to exterminate the believers in the Unity and Oneness of Allah and there have been practical demonstrations of it at various places yet it was left to the Hindus of Bihar and the Congress Government there to inflict under an organised conspiracy such painful cruelties and atrocious barbarities on the innocent Muslims of that Province that it beggars all description, details of which will make one's hair stand on end and draw tears even from stones, not to speak of human beings

It is a strange coincidence that our institution—Isha'at Mahal (Hyderabad)—came into being at a time when thousands of Muslims were being massacred in Bihar and the flames from their burning homes reached the sky Unarmed and helpless Muslims, pitted against great hordes of armed and well-organised Hindu murderous mobs, courageously fought, laying down their lives in the name of Islam Innocent nurselings were forcibly snatched from the breasts of their harrowed mothers and butchered with extreme cruelty Helpless and hapless women jumped into flames to save their honour Thus lacs of Muslims were being martyred and wounded, and countless

were rendered homeless

These shameless acts of naked barbarism compelled the organisers of Isha'at Mahal *to suspend for the time being their long and glorious activities in the field of Urdu art and literature and, instead, to pay heed to the need of the hour, rendered urgent by the blood of these martyrs of Bihar, which is crying out to the Muslim Nation its harrowing tale of death and destruction*[1] For this purpose, we are bringing out a special issue of *Shuhada-i-Bihar* to commemorate these martyrs of Islam and the profit from its sale will be donated in full to the Bihar Relief Fund on behalf of this institution Isha'at Mahal will appreciate not only your co-operation in this connection but also all possible financial assistance from people close to you Whatever donation is given in cash or kind will be gratefully accepted by this institution

The ways in which you can co-operate with us in this matter are explained in the following few lines

(1) All cash donations shall be duly acknowledged and a proper receipt shall be sent to the donor A list of all respected donors will also be published in the *Shuhada-i-Bihar Number*

(2) Advance payment is requested for the purchase of the *Shuhada-i-Bihar Number* Any amount received in excess shall be refunded

(3) Please arrange to send maximum number of advertisements with advance payments (rates will be notified on demand) from all trading and commercial firms

(4) Eye-witness accounts of the Bihar tragedy may be sent for publication

(5) Your viewpoint about the Bihar tragedy, in prose or verse, may be sent to us

(6) Photographs, paintings and cartoons depicting scenes of the Bihar carnage, loot and arson may also be sent

(7) Biographical sketches of prominent martyrs of Bihar, with relevant details, their photographs, etc, may also be sent to us

(8) Cuttings or relevant extracts from articles published in Urdu and English newspapers and magazines concerning the Bihar incidents may also be sent

(9) Articles may be sent on any one or more of the following topics:

(i) How to bring to a successful conclusion the movement for the preaching of Islam among the non-Muslims and how to promote the movement for religious and moral uplift of the Muslims themselves

(ii) How to purge the Muslim society in India of the un-Islamic customs and traditions relating to marriages, deaths, etc

(iii) How to improve the economic and financial condition of the Indian Muslims
(iv) To explore possibilities of setting up on a large scale an All India Muslim *Bait al-Maal*, to receive and collect donations on account of *Zakat*, charity, etc , in order to eliminate the economic degradation of the Muslims in India and to provide adequate help and assistance to the needy Muslims
(v) The arrangements to be made to protect the life, property, religion, culture, language and other rights of the Muslims in the provinces where they are in a minority
(vi) Views on reciprocal exchange of population in the Hindu-majority and Muslim-majority provinces in India and on whether Indian States should be exempt from any such arrangement
(vii) Expression of opinion on the scheme for the formation of a concentrated Muslim bloc or creation of separate units for the Muslims in the provinces where they are in minority
(viii) Creation of Pakistan as the only means of securing Hindu-Muslim unity, the future prosperity of the two communities and peace and harmony in India

Furthermore, valuable articles, messages, etc , appropriate for the *Shuhada-i-Bihar Number* may be sent to us, which shall be duly published

All articles may kindly be written in a clear and legible hand bearing your name and complete address at the end

The articles and advertisements and maximum possible financial assistance for the publication of the *Shuhada-i-Bihar Number* and advance payments for extra copies as well as for advertisements may also be remitted to us as early as possible The 15th of March 1947 is the last date for receipt of remittances and articles

One copy each of the *Shuhada-i-Bihar Number* shall be sent to all the contributors, honourable donors and advertisers, on publication In case extra copies are required, advance payment may urgently be sent so that the required number of copies may be kept for them

We remain,
Yours obediently,
ORGANISERS OF ISHA'AT MAHAL

[1]Emphasis in the original

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Note by Anonym on British Government Statement of 20 February 1947

F 917/333-336

Undated [February 1947]

WHITE PAPER X-RAYED
H M G 'S CONFUSION MAY LEAD TO CHAOS

The White Paper of February 20[1] has been called a dramatic announcement and acclaimed as a historical declaration of British policy towards India On close scrutiny it appears that, save the definite promise to perform the final act of abdication "not later than June 1948", H M G 's announcement is incredibly vague It is as emphatic and categorical on one point as it is confused and vague on the many vital problems and issues which it raises without resolving any The Labour Government have made up their mind to withdraw from India in sixteen months' time but they are not clear in their minds as to how their historic promise is going to be implemented If Mr Attlee honestly believes that "continued peace and security are more than necessary today", he should know that his Government's "definite intention to effect transference of power" is not more important than the mechanics of the act calculated to terminate British control in India A critical analysis of the White Paper will serve to show that this much-eulogised document contains more glamour than grace, more speculation than statesmanship, more confusion than signs of any clear-cut policy Perhaps the importance of this document consists more in what it conceals than in what it reveals

None who has the scantiest regard for truth and justice could possibly attend to the Congress's preposterous demand for the dismissal of the Muslim League Members from the Interim Government If there is not the remotest reference to this demand in Mr Attlee's statement or in the White Paper, it is, manifestly, a vindication of the position to which the League has steadily clung all these months But the more important than this is the admission—substantially on the lines of the League's Karachi Resolution[2]—inherent in the White Paper that "there are still differences among Indian parties which are preventing the Constituent Assembly from functioning as it was intended that it should " While this admission of the failure of the Constituent Assembly is welcome, it is unfortunate that the implications of this statement have not been pursued with the remorseless

logic which, according to some, marks H M G 's latest announcement as a culmination of the Labour Government's solicitude for Indian independence How can His Majesty's Government "desire to hand over their responsibility to authorities established by a constitution approved by all parties in India in accordance with the Cabinet Mission's Plan" when, on their own admission, "there is at present no clear prospect that such a constitution and such authorities will emerge " The contradiction is blatantly obvious

Again, "if it should appear that such a constitution will not have been worked out by a fully representative Assembly before the time mentioned in paragraph seven, His Majesty's Government will have to consider to whom the powers of the Central Government in British India should be handed over, on due date, whether as a whole to some form of Central Government for British India, or in some areas to the existing provincial governments, or in such other way as may seem most reasonable and in the best interests of the Indian people " But why cannot His Majesty's Government decide now to whom the powers of the Central Government are to be handed over as they themselves see no chances of an agreed constitution of the present Constituent Assembly becoming "fully representative", and when they know that "the present state of uncertainty is fraught with danger and cannot be indefinitely prolonged "

What heightens the tragedy is the fact that H M G insist on "preparatory measures" being put in hand "in advance" without knowing themselves how the final transfer of power is going to be effected How can preparations proceed when they do not precisely know how will the "transfer of power" proceed?

Furthermore, it is said that "inevitably, as the process of transfer proceeds it will become progressively more difficult to carry out to the letter all the provisions of the Government of India Act of 1935 Legislation will be introduced in due course to give effect to the final transfer of power " Apart from the fact that these difficulties have not been defined, it is not clear whether the powers of the Central Government are to be strengthened, as some believe, before the final transfer of power takes place Are they going to bestow a sovereign status on the "form of Central Government" which comes to exist before the "due date" If they propose to divide sovereignty between the Central Government and the "existing Provincial Governments", what will be the position of Muslim majority provinces where Congress Ministries are installed at present? As the Government of India Act of 1935 does not give a representation to Muslims in accordance with their numbers,

will the Act be amended accordingly? Even if the provincial part of the 1935 Act is not amended, will elections be held on the eve of final transfer of power to ascertain the trend of public opinion and to form an estimate of party strength? For instance, the representative character of the present Frontier Ministry is being seriously challenged and it has been confidently suggested that if general elections were to be held again in that province, the present political set-up of the Provincial Government is sure to be changed Again, the parenthetic insertion of the phrase "in some areas" can be construed to mean that part of the sovereignty may be left to parts of some provinces In other words, are smaller separate entities to be recognized within the provinces? Let it be known that if sovereignty is to be divided, as it must be divided, it can only be between the Muslim-majority provinces regarded for this purpose as one group and the Hindu-majority provinces as another We are anxious to know what other way seems "most reasonable and in the best interests of the Indian people "

These vital questions have been left unanswered Whitchall's intentions are still shrouded in secrecy, but the best of intentions are likely to be misunderstood if they are not made known at the proper time H M G have introduced an element of dangerous uncertainty into the Indian politics, forgetting their own observation that the present state of uncertainty is too serious to be allowed to drift H M G 's confusion may lead to chaos, and their reluctance to disclose or discuss the fuller implications of their February 20 announcement may mean that they will be surrendering sovereignty, on the "due date", not to any government or governments but to forces of anarchy But must India find herself in the throes of a civil war after the British withdrawal? Britain's Labour Government have refuted the "divide and rule" charge by fixing a deadline for India's political deliverance from foreign yoke, but the announcement is sure to be stripped of its dramatic content if they fail to know and let others know what is going to happen when the supreme moment comes, that is, how the power transferred to "responsible Indian hands" is going to be divided among its rival claimants Having known and having declared that there is little hope of the Constituent Assembly drafting a constitution acceptable to all parties, Mr Attlee's Government should not lack the courage of conviction in finally passing a death sentence on the Cabinet Mission Plan. Their failure to do so will only prove an incentive to the Congress to perpetuate the farce of constitution-making and manoeuvring for power as the zero hour approaches Britain's last move to move out of India has been appreciated by all parties, but this finality cannot be

more welcome than the explanation of its essential concomitants Why this equivocation, why this half-hearted attitude, why this hesitant policy? Or, is it that the British Government is again playing with words so that it can eat those words if and when the contingency arises? If H.M.G 's latest announcement is a challenge to Indian parties to resolve their differences, it is equally an ultimatum to Britain's sense of realism to realise the responsibilities of a quitting power If the White Paper of February 20 places the Indian parties on trial, it also puts Britain to the severe test of how and [to] whom she is going to hand over power on the due date Let her "Quit notice" not become an invitation to disaster Let her withdrawal not herald an era of acuter internal dissentions Let the White Paper not become a black document, because Britain's socialist statesmen did not know their own minds

[1]No 1
[2]Passed by the AIML Working Committee on 31 January, 1 and 2 February 1947, at Karachi It concluded that as the Congress had not accepted the Cabinet Mission's Statement of 16 May 1946, no useful purpose would be served to reconsider AIML's decision of 29 July 1946, whereby it had withdrawn acceptance of the Cabinet Mission Plan

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Swing Felter to M A Jinnah

F 955/40

726 JOOST AVENUE, SAN FRANCISCO 12,
CALIFORNIA, U S A
Undated [?*February 1947*]

INDEPENDENCE FOR INDIA[1]

Now that Mr Attlee has promised full freedom to India, one problem is to satisfy the Muslim minorities without splitting India with [sic] "Pakistan"

India should become a Republic or Commonwealth of 50 or more States like those of the U.S.A , with large provinces divided into three or four parts and tiny ones united, all according to religious or language majorities Then each group would have local autonomy in electing its Governor and Legislature and framing its State Constitution, electing the "best man" by plurality vote Many would be Muslims Of the 562 native princes (many of whom exact enormous

taxes, protected by treaties with Britain) those who are wanted as Governors or other officials would be so elected The others can live on their savings Then all States would democratically elect the All India Governor and Legislators and draft the National Constitution and Bill of Rights as in the U S A Religious extremists should bury their differing dogmas and conflicting creeds (that have filled too many rivers with blood for too many millenia) and unite in Humanist Brotherhood to make as much heaven on earth as possible, as per the Lord's Prayer—the best possible preparation for any life after death

The many progressive leaders in India should welcome the help of the UNO, Security Council, Social and Economic Commission, etc , in solving the problems of caste, 60 million "untouchables", child marriage, ignorance, poverty, famines, etc , and protect all against internal or external aggression Long live the India Commonwealth or Republic

This writer is American-born of American-born parents of English-French-German-Dutch descent For thirty years he has befriended hundreds of Hindus (from Brahmins to "outcastes"), Muslims, Sikhs, Parsees and Buddhists, and has lived under the same roof with them in his own home and at the International Houses of the Universities of California, Chicago and Columbia There, 500 students from 60 different countries (all races, colours and creeds) sing, dine and dance together, fulfilling their slogan "that brotherhood may prevail"—a good working-model for the whole world to follow

In the past five years the writer has reached 150 million readers through 2,000 letters to 300 American and British newspapers—on World Federation, with voting power in the unicameral World Congress for each nation in proportion to its *literate population* This would stimulate education and prevent any nation from getting more votes by sub-dividing All treaties should be UNO-lateral Selfish slaughter-suicide "sovereignties" and narrow nationalisms (that caused two world wars in a generation) should be, not "sacrificed", but wisely "invested" in UNO-"security-sovereignty" to remove the social, economic, industrial and political causes of war All waterways that serve more than one nation should be internationalized, as should all access to raw materials like oil—and all markets for exports A World Constitution and Bill of Rights should guarantee the Four Freedoms to all people, as trust territories or republics All military alliances should be UNO-lateral The world-slogan should be "Internationalize—or be Atomized " "Brotherhood—or Bust "

Internationally yours,
SWING FELTER

Editor· You may print my complete address so that readers may write to me direct Enclosed is 5¢ to pay for copy of your paper (or clipping) when letter is printed, or for return of manuscript if unused I thank you International postage enclosed for England and India

[1] At the top of this letter, a note by the author appears as follows
"Mailed for publication to 25 dailies in England, 25 in India and 80 in the U S A , with copies mailed to 50 leading statesmen in these countries May be printed in part only if space is limited "

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Note by Iskander Mirza on Islamic Confederation in the North-West and the Formation of an Islamic Bloc in the North-West

F 895/242-244

SECRET & PERSONAL *Undated [February 1947]*

The Quaid-i-Azam,

H M G 's announcement[1] that the British Government will hand over the administration of India by June 1948 to such authority or authorities as may be in the best interests of the peoples of India makes it incumbent on the Muslim Nation to start preparations immediately to meet all eventualities Though the position of Muslims has improved beyond all expectations since 1936, thanks to the efforts of the Muslim League and its great Quaid-i-Azam, yet the time has been too short to make up the leeway due to the Muslim Nation's century-old sleep Our position is specially precarious in the Armed Forces and our position has deteriorated since the collapse of the Axis Powers Our proportion in the Army has come down to 30%, the Navy does not matter as the Indian Naval strength is negligible, and in the Air Force our position is deplorable In the officers' ranks our position is worse It is not possible to improve appreciably, situated as we are, our position in the Armed Forces The Bihar and Garhmukteswar[2] massacres in which similar methods were employed show beyond a doubt what we have to expect unless we find ways and means of meeting a numerically stronger enemy on more or less equal terms

Our fighting strength is in the North-West We should take practical steps in this area I suggest an Islamic confederation of the North-West consisting of (1) Kalat State, (2) Tribes of Baluchistan, (3) the Shiranis, (4) the Mahsuds, (5) the Wana Wazirs, (6) the North Waziristan

Wazirs, (7) the Daurs, (8) the Touris of the Kurram Valley, (9) th Barakzais, (10) the Afridis, (11) the Shinwaris, (12) the Mullaghoris (13) the Mohmands (Upper & Lower), (14) the Bajaur Tribes, (15 Chitral State, (16) Dir State, (17) Swat State, (18) the Tribes of the Blacl Mountains (Chagerzais and Hassanzais), and (19) the Nindihar Tribes

If we succeed, we will have a fighting force of over 3,00,000 men a the disposal of this Confederacy with another 1,50,000 men from th Afghan Tribes in support in case of necessity I am of the opinion tha if this materializes, [the] Congress will soon start talking sense Implementation of this scheme is very difficult but not impossible for th Muslim League which has performed the miracle of the present-day "Muslim India" We should work secretly and try and get the sympathy of the British administrators of the areas concerned We can obtain rifles, machine guns and ammunition through Kalat State by doing a little "gun running" up the Persian Gulf The scheme requires carefu staff work and, I am afraid, money Political work should start first

I M

[1]No 1

[2]Communal rioting took place at Garhmukteswar in the UP in November 1946, resulting in heavy loss of Muslim life and property

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Nazir Ahmad to M A Jinnah

F 846/15

9 WILDERNESS ROAD, MALABAR HILL, BOMBAY,
1 March 1947

My dear Sir,

I am enclosing two notes which I prepared some time ago and about which I spoke to you I do not know how far under the altered conditions of today action is necessary on the various points discussed in these notes But I shall be grateful if you will kindly go through them at your leisure I am going out of Bombay for 10 days and will be back on the 12th March If there are points relating to these notes or other matters which you might like to talk over with me, I shall be at your service

Yours sincerely,
N AHMAD
OBE, PhD
Member, Indian Tariff Board

Enclosure 1 to No 65

F 846/16-21

NOTE I

For some time past, very elaborate and persistent efforts have been made to enlarge the powers of the Central Government and to extend its influence and control over provincial matters, especially in spheres like industry, trade, agriculture, education and research, which are intimately connected with the social and economic life of a people These efforts carried out in many directions, appear to be the result of a well-laid, deep and far-sighted plan, conceived with the object of forestalling the constitutional issue by bringing about a state of affairs in which a substantial measure of provincial or regional autonomy is neutralised by the existence of a large number of centrally controlled activities, organisations and institutions During the war years especially, advantage was taken of three factors to push forward this scheme of centralisation, and since then the process has been continued with zeal and vigour These three factors, it may be stated in

passing, are as follows

(1) The Congress Ministries in seven provinces were only too willing and eager to hand over power and control to the Central Government whenever required to do so, as they have no objection to—and indeed would welcome—a unitary form of government

(2) The state of emergency brought about by the war necessitated imposition of many controls by the Central Government, and the powers acquired for this purpose by such measures as the Defence of India Rules were utilised to extend its influence even in spheres which had little to do with the war efforts

(3) There was no effective opposition by the minorities at the Centre or in the provinces to this policy of centralisation The League, especially, being out of government, did not perhaps realise the extent to which this policy was being pursued in many spheres

It is submitted that if it does not realise it even now and take effective and immediate steps to check it, a great deal of the provincial or regional autonomy, if at all conceded, would prove [to be] a still born child

In this note, it is proposed to point out two spheres of activity in which the powers of the Centre have been extended during the last few years in a manner which goes much beyond the contemplated powers of the Centre according to the Cabinet Mission Plan These are as follows

1 The establishment of the so-called "national" laboratories, research stations and technological institutions, [and]

2 The setting up of a number of all-India Committees and Boards, ostensibly for purposes of co-ordination, but in reality with a fair measure of power and control

[NATIONAL INSTITUTIONS]

In regard to the first item, namely the laboratories, research stations and institutions, the following points are worthy of mention

(A) So far as my information goes, it has already been decided to build the following institutions at the places mentioned against them

National Physical Laboratory, Delhi
National Chemical Laboratory, Poona
National Metallurgical Laboratory, Jamshedpur
National Fuel Research Station, Dhanbad
National Glass and Ceramics Laboratory, Calcutta
High-Grade Technological Institute, Calcutta

Central Fruit Research Station, Delhi

In addition, plans for building the following institutions are also under consideration

Central Road Research Station, probably at Rurki[1]
Central Building Research Station
Central Training Institute at Madras
Central Textile Institute at Bombay or Ahmedabad
Central Woollen Research Institute at Cawnpore
All India Medical Institute

(B) These institutions will be built and maintained from the Central revenues, and will be directly under the control of the Central Government or under bodies appointed by it There is, however, no provision whatsoever that the interests of the Muslims and other minorities will be safeguarded in the composition of these controlling bodies (committees, boards of management, etc) or in the selection of the staff or in the admission of students Therefore, if the principle of establishing and maintaining these institutions from the Central revenues is accepted, *then it must be stipulated that at least 30% of the posts and the seats will be reserved for Muslims, while a due share will be given to the other minorities* [2] This is most essential as otherwise these institutions on which the total cost will run into several crores of rupees may be completely captured and exploited by one community

C) So far as the location of these institutions is concerned, it will have been noticed that most of them are to be located in non-Pakistan areas With the exception of Calcutta in Bengal, neither the Punjab, Sind, nor the N W F P is anywhere on the map so far as these laboratories and institutions are concerned, which in effect means that their benefits, direct as well as indirect, will go mostly to the areas in which they are located, even though their cost and running expenses are borne partly by the other provinces In this connection it may be mentioned that the policy of concentrating these institutions in non-Pakistan areas is being carried to such lengths that the Fruit Research Institute at Lyallpur[3] in the Punjab is being shifted to Delhi simultaneously with its expansion by the Government of India This is being done notwithstanding the fact that the Punjab is the premier fruit-growing province and the home of the fruit industry In regard to these institutions and particularly their location, the following points are worthy of immediate and earnest consideration and action by the League

(i) It should be decided whether and to what extent this policy of establishing all-India institutions, especially for subjects which rightly belong to the provinces, should be pursued at the present juncture when the whole question of the future Constitution is in the melting pot. There seems to be a great deal of confusion and contradiction in trying to get provincial or regional autonomy on the one hand, and unwittingly give it away on the other hand by establishing dozens of all-India institutions dealing with all kinds of subjects, under the control of the Centre

(ii) If, after due consideration, it is found that there is no serious objection to the establishment of the institutions during the present transition period, then the question of their location should be decided in such a manner that all parts of India get appropriate share, and the present tendency to concentrate them in certain areas is checked In this connection, the following concrete suggestions are made

(a) The Fruit Research Station, which is at present at Lyallpur, should not be shifted from that place to Delhi. It should be enlarged and expanded by the Central Government, but should be allowed to remain at Lyallpur

(b) The question of locating the National Chemical Laboratory should be examined afresh The decision to locate it at Poona was taken mainly on account of the stipulation made by Messrs Tata & Sons Ltd, who donated about Rs 8 lac for this purpose If they do not waive this stipulation, their contribution should be returned to them with thanks, [and] the Government should defray the entire cost and locate this laboratory at Lahore

(c) In the case of several of the all-India institutions for which plans have either been completed or are under preparation, the nature of the subjects covered by them is such that its [*sic*] requirements differ widely from province to province Therefore, purely from the scientific point of view, it would be much better to develop these institutions province-wise or region-wise, so that the specific needs and requirements of each region may be properly attended to As in the case of the U S A the country is big enough to have more than one institution of the same type In fact, it would be a distinct advantage This reasoning would apply, among others, to Road Research [Institute], Building Re-

search [Institute], Textile Research [Institute], Textile Institutes (Cotton, Woollen, Silk, etc), Engineering or Technological [Institutes], Medical Institute, etc. The provincial engineering and medical colleges should be expanded, with grants from the Centre, if necessary, so that each one of them becomes a first-class institution, rather than that in each case, one institution of a kind should be put up somewhere to serve the need of the whole of India For instance, in the case of the High-Grade Technological Institutions, it is proposed to spend nearly Rs 3 crore on a single institution to be started from scratch In my opinion it would be much better if this amount were distributed over half a dozen existing engineering colleges (where the foundations already exist) and which should be raised to a higher level The same would apply to the medical colleges as against establishing an All India Medical Institute The difficulties and hardships of students from distant provinces, with very different social customs, would prevent them [institutes] from acting as all-India centres, and ultimately they would be dominated by the local men

Apart from these institutions, a large number of Training Schemes are now being sponsored and financed by the Central Government, covering a wide range of subjects as will be seen from the Annexure

ALL INDIA COMMITTEES AND BOARDS

For some time past, a large number of all-India Committees and Boards are being set up They are so numerous that it is difficult to give a list, but, if necessary, a reference to the various Departments will elicit information concerning the number, terms of reference, powers and personnel of these Committees and Boards Several interesting points will emerge from an examination of these data, such as the following

(1) Between them, these Committees and Boards cover a very wide range of subjects, many of which are really provincial subjects In such cases, the Committees are constituted ostensibly for the purpose of co-ordinating the work, but in actual practice they have come to exercise a fair amount of power, as Government's decisions are generally based upon their recommendations They serve, in actual practice, as links in the chain which is being gradually forged to extend the powers of the Centre and to neutralise the effect of provincial or regional autonomy in any future Constitution of India

(2) The representation of Muslims on these Committees and Boards is extremely meagre, rarely exceeding 5 to 10 per cent and being nil in many cases For instance, recently two Committees were set up on Superphosphates and D D.T and neither of them included a single Muslim Where some representation is given to Muslims, it frequently takes the shape of only one Muslim member in the Committee of ten or fifteen people, so that he does not even have a supporter to second his point of view This is a very painful and humiliating feature, and must be remedied by laying down a condition *that where it is found to be absolutely necessary to set up these Committees, at least one-third of their members should be Muslims.*

(3) Even if in some cases a few Muslims are appointed to the membership of these Committees and Boards, it rarely happens that a Muslim is appointed to the position of the Chairman It is difficult to understand why it has been assumed that members of the other communities are better entitled and qualified to act as Chairmen and Presidents

(4) The above remarks apply with greater force to the delegations and missions which have been sent abroad during the last two years If their composition is examined, it will be seen that the representation of the Muslims on these delegations has been extremely meagre and that in very few cases, indeed, a Muslim was selected as head or leader of the delegation All this has tended to give a false notion of the relative importance of the communities to the outside world and has prevented the Muslims from putting forward their point of view *This point requires special consideration and should be properly remedied in case more delegations are sent abroad*

[1]Roorkee
[2]Emphasis here and hereafter in the original
[3]Now called Faisalabad

Annexure to Enclosure 1 to No 65

F 846/22-23

Training schemes sponsored by the Central Government Departments

AGRICULTURE DEPARTMENT

1 Advanced training in European forestry of Forest Officers of Provincial Governments at the Imperial Forestry Institute, Oxford

2 Forestry Training at the Edinburgh University
3 Overseas Training in Agriculture and Horticulture
4 Training in Animal Husbandry and allied subjects (including Dairying)
5 Fisheries Training Scheme Third Course, Calcutta/Madras
6 Indian Dairy Diploma Course
7 Post-graduate Training in Agriculture and allied Sciences
8 Post-graduate Training in Dairying
9 Post-graduate Training in Veterinary [Science] and Animal Husbandry
10 Post-graduate Training in Zoology
11. Short Dairy-Farming Course
12 (i) Training of Indian Forest Rangers
(ii) Training of Superior Forest Service Officers
13 Training of Lady Teachers in Fruit Preservation and Canning
14 Training of ex-Servicemen as Tractor Drivers etc for operating tractors and tractor-drawn implements

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT

1 Scheme for sending students abroad for advanced technical studies
2 Further Education (Post-Matriculation) of ex-service personnel whose education was interrupted by the War

HEALTH DEPARTMENT

1 Training of Nurses in the United Kingdom
2 Malaria Course (Training in Malariology)
3 Post-graduate Instruction for workers in the field of Public Health
4 Training of Sisters, Tutors, and Nurse Administrators
5 Training of A N S Cadets, on demobilisation, in various civil hospitals

INDUSTRIES AND SUPPLIES DEPARTMENT

1 Training for Coal-Face Machinery instituted by the Ministry of Labour and National Service at the Mines Mechanisation Centre, Sheffield, England
2 Apprentices Training in Ordnance and Clothing Factory
3 Training in Sericulture

LABOUR DEPARTMENT

1 Higher Technical Training Scheme
2 Training of Labour Officers in the U K
3 Scheme for the Rehabilitation and Resettlement of Disabled Services Personnel

4 Technical Training of Demobilised Services Personnel
5 Vocational Training of Demobilised Services Personnel
6 Vocational Training of ex-service women

TRANSPORT DEPARTMENT

Deputation of serving Government Road Engineers for training in the U K and the U S

WORKS, MINES AND POWER DEPARTMENT
PRINTING AND STATIONERY

1 Scholarship Scheme for training abroad
2 Apprenticeship Scheme for training in the Government of India Press
3 Scheduled Castes Apprenticeship Scheme for the training of Artisans
4 Indian School of Mines, Dhanbad
5 Overseas Training Scheme in Electrical Engineering and in Commercial and Administrative side of Electrical undertakings

Enclosure 2 to No 65

F 846/24-26

NOTE II

An earlier note dealt with the elaborate and persistent efforts which have been made for some time past to extend the control and influence of the Central Government over provincial subjects in two ways, namely

(i) establishment of the so-called "National" Laboratories, Research Centres and Technological Institutions financed from the Centre, and
(ii) setting up of all-India Committees dealing with a wide range of subjects

These attempts appear to be the result of a well-laid, deep and far-sighted plan, and their object seems to be to forestall the constitutional issue and to bring about during the interim period a state of affairs in which any provincial or regional autonomy provided by the new Constitution is to a large extent neutralised by the existence and functioning of these all-India institutions and committees

This note deals with similar efforts, made apparently with the same object, in two other ways, namely (a) the setting up of panels to report upon industrial development and *(b) the setting up of an advisory* planning board

INDUSTRIAL PANELS

These panels were set up about a year-and-a-half ago by the Department of Planning and Development which has since ceased to exist as a separate department Their object was to make a survey of the existing industrial development and to report upon the future expansion of each industry, with special reference to the number of new factories required, their location, availability of raw materials, etc , Government control, training of technical personnel, supply of machinery from abroad, etc In all, 29 such panels were set up and it is understood that most of them have submitted their reports It is not denied that in many cases, the panels have done useful work, especially in the collection of factual data and in crystallising the industrialists' point of view in regard to the scope of expansion of the different industries From our point of view, however, there are certain important factors in regard to the composition of these panels and their reports, which must be considered and properly appreciated if we are to safeguard our interests These are as follows

(a) The composition of 3 out of the 29 panels is not known On the remaining 26 panels, 166 persons were nominated in the first instance, of whom only 18 were Muslims, their proportion being less than 11% There were no less than fourteen panels out of 26 on which not a single Muslim was nominated while in seven cases there was only one Muslim on each panel Even on the Leather panel, dealing with an industry in which the Muslims have always been prominently active, their representation was only two out of seven Only in two cases was a Muslim appointed Chairman of the panel Thus from every point of view, the Muslim representation was extremely meagre and inadequate, and it can not be said that with such representation, the Muslim interests could either be properly presented or safeguarded In view of these circumstances, it must be made quite clear that *the recommendation of the panels should not be considered as final but that the Muslim provinces have the right to alter or modify them at a subsequent date* [1]

(b) Among other questions, the panels have considered the question of location of new factories which will be established in the near future It is not known how far the interests of the Muslim provinces have been safeguarded in this respect, but it is quite possible that these interests may have been sacrificed to the wishes of the majority, so that an attempt may be made to concentrate these factories in the Hindu-majority provinces with the help of the assistance [sic] which the Central Government may

be prepared [to give] in the way of import permits and other facilities Already this point is being mentioned again and again by the interested parties that the establishment of new factories should not be in a haphazard way, but should be according to some plan, e g that [was] envisaged in the panel reports It should be made quite clear that *if the interests of the Muslim-majority provinces have been sacrificed in the matter of location of new factories, these provinces do not regard these recommendations as binding on them, but will proceed as soon as the new constitution is drawn up to develop their own industries to suit their requirements and, if necessary, to back them with Government aid*

ADVISORY PLANNING BOARD

This board was set up by a special notification of the Government on the 9th October, 1946, soon after the Interim Government took office, with the following terms of reference

(i) to review the planning that has already been done by the Government, the National Planning Committee and other bodies

(ii) to make recommendations in the light of this review for the co-ordination and improvement of planning

(iii) to make recommendations as regards objectives and priorities

(iv) to make recommendations regarding the future machinery of planning

These terms of reference are wide enough, but since this Board has started to function, it has considered a wide range of subjects, and appears to be expanding its scope and functions day by day so as to cover the whole field of planning For example, it has considered the role and functions of the Centre in relation to provincial subjects, classification of industries, mineral development, research, irrigation, power development, etc , etc The Board has also considered the reports of the various panels, and has thus added the authority of its name to them

The first question which immediately arises is whether at the present moment when the future Constitution of the country is being drawn up—or at least an attempt is being made—which will define the powers of the Centre *vis-a-vis* the Provinces and the subjects to be reserved for each, *this is the right time to set up at the Centre a machinery for planning and to consider under its purview all sorts of subjects which may ultimately be assigned to the provinces and on which the provinces*, especially the Muslim-majority provinces, may have very strong and definite views of planning It should be noted in this connection that no means

have been provided for the proper presentation of the views to the Board as constituted at present

The second point which deserves consideration is that if in spite of the work of the Constituent Assembly, it is decided that planning should go ahead, *would it not be right and proper that the Board should be reconstituted by the Cabinet as a whole with well-defined and agreed terms of reference* and that both the major parties should nominate their quota of persons on the Board so that all points of view are considered in this important matter of planning

These points require immediate consideration and action

[1]Emphasis here and hereafter in the original

66

Rahman Ali to Burhanul Haq and Others
(Copy to M A Jinnah)

F 839/2

JUBBULPORE,
1 March 1947

Copy of Telegram from the Secretary, District Muslim League, Jubbulpore, to

Maulana Burhanul Haq, MLA, care Khan Sahib S M Yunus,
Deputy P M G, Nagpur
Premier, C P & Berar, Nagpur
Minister, Local Self Dept, Nagpur
H E The Governor, C P & Berar, Nagpur

Communal tension started without reason by an attack with knife by a Hindu [on] four Muslims before noon One died in hospital, three seriously injured Prompt precautionary action necessary

RAHMAN ALI
Secretary,
District Muslim League

Copy forwarded to

Quaid-i-Azam M A Jinnah, President, All India Muslim League, Bombay
Honorary Secretary, All India Muslim League, Delhi
The President, Provincial Muslim League, C P. & Berar, Akola

The Hon'ble Mr Ghazanfar Ali, Member, Health, Delhi
The Hon'ble Mr Abdur Rab Nishtar, Member, Communications, Delhi
The Hon'ble Mr I I Chundrigar, Member, Commerce, Delhi
The Hon'ble Mr J N Mandal, Member, Law, Delhi

Note. Telegram was held as objectionable by the local [officer of the Administration]

R ALI

Enclosure to No 66

F 839/3

JUBBULPORE,
2 March 1947

To
The District Magistrate,
Jubbulpore

Your attention is invited to the article published in the *Jai Hind*, Jubbulpore, dated 2 3 47 on page 6, col 1, regarding an attack on 4 persons by one, which is not correct, as it is clear that a Hindu has attacked four Muslims with a knife without any cause or provocation

2 It appears that the incident which occurred on 1 March 1947 in daylight in an open market at about 11 a m was prearranged and it seems that a gang has been deputed to commit such heinous crimes and the Hindu elements have probably been told not to give any clue of the culprits nor arrest the offender, otherwise there is no reason why the offender was not caught and arrested at the time of attack on four persons in front of different shops then and there between Kamania Gate and Niwarganj near the Police Station House.

3 Niwarganj is a place where a number of Muslims are always made victims and their houses looted and burnt It is being done since the year 1927 and no culprit [has been] brought to trial It is predominantly a Hindu locality and no punitive police was ever posted there The local police force in the Station House Niwarganj always consists of Hindus although they should be half Hindus and half Muslims at such places where Hindus are located predominantly

4 The statement in the *Jai Hind* and the announcement by the police seem absolutely false as he [the attacker] had sense only

to attack Muslims and not any Hindus and that he was clever enough to run away and thus escaped himself [*sic*] It is also learnt that he is a man known to almost all Police head constables and constables and also to all Hindu elements of the locality

5 It may be remembered that the festival of *Holi* is to be observed on the 7th instant and Hindu elements have started to commit heinous crimes which remind [us of] the disturbance and breach of peace and tranquillity of the *Holi* of 1938 of the "Congress Regime" It is being repeated during the Congress Regime and the Hindus believe that they are free to commit any offence they like against the Muslims and no one can harm them On the other hand, if such an offence would have been committed by any Muslim, the whole locality would have been surrounded by Police and Army Force and a number of Muslims, under the pretext of suspicion, would have been arrested and harassed to maintain law and order, and the "Goonda Act" immediately would have been applied If the criminal in the broad daylight and open market cannot be traced out by the Police, we are afraid the Police can do anything else [*sic*]

6 It is therefore requested that you will be good enough to make elaborate arrangements in the interest of maintaining public peace and tranquillity as it is the primary duty of the Government to safeguard the minorities

RAHMAN ALI
Secretary,
District Muslim League

Copy forwarded to

H E The Governor, C P & Berar, Nagpur
The Prime Minister, C P & Berar, Nagpur
The Minister, Local Self Government, C P & Berar
The Commissioner, Jubbulpore Division, Jubbulpore
The D S P , Jubbulpore
Quaid-i-Azam M A Jinnah, President, AIML, Bombay
The Honorary Secretary, AIML, Bombay
The President, Provincial ML, C P & Berar, Akola
The Editors, *Dawn*, Delhi, *Statesman*, Delhi, *Star*, Bombay, *Manshoor*, Delhi, *Wahdat*, Delhi, *Anjam*, Delhi

67

Mohammad Aslam Alizai to M A Jinnah

F 654/44

PERSONAL

BRITISH LEGATION, KABUL,
1 March 1947

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

For some time past, I have been thinking to request you through my friend, Sardar Nishtar, or Mohammad Ali Maniar of Bombay, to accept a *karakul* cap as a very humble token of my gratitude As you had been very busy during the past few months, I hesitated to encroach on your valuable time but it is no longer possible for me to suppress my ardent desire, and I hope to be excused for this presumptuous approach for requesting you to let me know the size (girth) in inches of your cap.

I am a Muslim of the N W F Province (Pakistan Zone) and had been Personal Assistant to Col Iskander Mirza for about 4 years at Peshawar At present, I am working in the British Legation at Kabul on a diplomatic appointment as Oriental Secretary.

I have given the above references merely to disclose my identity, otherwise my chief qualification [*sic*] is to be one of your humblest servants, who prays with every breath for your long life, happiness and the successful achievement of the sacred mission for which the Almighty has chosen you, and the Muslim nation has acknowledged you as the Quaid-i-Azam, whose name will shine in the annals of Islamic history, as the Saviour and Emancipator of one hundred million Muslims of India

My son, Mohammad Azam Alizai, aged 16, and a student of Islamia College, Peshawar, has exhorted me to convey his respects to you, whom he holds dearer than even his parents

Your most humble servant,
MOHAMMAD ASLAM ALIZAI

68

Pir Ilahi Bakhsh to M A Jinnah

F 294/4

SIND SECRETARIAT, KARACHI,
1 March 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I enclose copies of the two letters addressed to the Hon'ble Sheikh Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, the leader of the Sind Assembly Party, and Seth Yusuf Haroon, President of the Sind Provincial Muslim League, in connection with the preparation of the constitution for the future independent Sind

I shall be grateful if you would kindly direct them to give this matter their prompt attention

Yours sincerely,
PIR ILAHI BAKHSH

Enclosure 1 to No 68

F 613/2-3

Pir Ilahi Bakhsh to Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah

KARACHI,
27 February 1947

My dear Shaikh Sahib,

You know that the Britishers are going to hand over power by June 1948 to some of the Provinces It is possible [that] Sind may be one of these It falls on the present Muslim League Assembly Party to prepare the constitution for the future and be ready to accept the responsibility You are the Leader of the Muslim League Assembly Party It will be necessary to make preliminary arrangements in that direction I don't know whether you are thinking about it As the matter is so very important, I am sure you must be paying due attention to it I, too, beg to remind you of this responsibility which has fallen on us

Would you kindly call a meeting of the Sind Legislative Assembly Party as early as possible and put the whole matter before them, so that some arrangement may be made to set up a Committee for the drafting of the constitution and making all other preparations for

taking over the responsibility that may be transferred to this Government before June 1948 Would you kindly see to this as early as possible

Yours sincerely,
[PIR ILAHI BAKHSH]

The Honourable
Shaikh Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah,
Premier, Sind Government,
Karachi

Enclosure 2 to No 68

F 613/4

Pir Ilahi Bakhsh to Yusuf Haroon

KARACHI,
27 February 1947

My dear Yusuf,

You know, after the recent statement of [the] Prime Minister of England[1] things have been confused and unless the Sind Muslim League takes an immediate action it will not be possible for the province of Sind to take the reins of Government when the British quit before June 1948 I don't know what you propose to do You are the head of the Provincial Muslim League and it falls upon you to see that some immediate steps are taken to prepare the constitution so that by the time the Britishers are prepared to hand over the power we shall be in a position to have it and be ready to accept the responsibility Please take any suitable action as you deem fit, without any loss of time

Yours sincerely,
[PIR ILAHI BAKHSH]

Seth Yusuf A Haroon,
President,
Sind Provincial Muslim League,
Karachi

[1]No 1

69

A Hakim to M A Jinnah

F 474/2-3

193 ELIZABETH STREET, REDFERN,
SYDNEY, AUSTRALIA,
1 March 1947

Dear Brother-in-Islam,

I am enclosing a cutting from a newspaper called *Sydney Morning Herald*[1] which is published here daily

The contents of the editorial article have shocked us Muslims and we do not know how we can punish the cursed Publisher and his correspondent in London

We would like you to do something for this slandering and stigmatizing your name

It's not only an insult to you but to all the Muslim World at large

It's up to you to stand up like a Mughal and defend yourself and let us see what you are made of Please answer my this note so I could show all Muslims what you are doing about it

Yours faithfully,
ABDUL HAKIM,
Secretary,
Muslim League, Sydney

[1]Not available in *QAP*

70

Rusi Mistri to Liaquat Ali Khan
(Copy to M A Jinnah)

F 673/44

WAVELL HOUSE, BALLARD ESTATE, BOMBAY,
1 March 1947

CONFIRMATION COPY OF EXPRESS TELEGRAM FORWARDED TO-DAY TO THE HON'BLE MR LIAQUAT ALI KHAN AT NEW DELHI

Congratulations for excellent budget A right step to break the opposite fascist party through check on capitalism Fully believe your sound

and thoughtful economic proposals will check criminal capitalism spreading this country Break the rich to bring character and humanity back into this country Congratulations once again

RUSI MISTRI
Chairman,
Mistri Airways Ltd

71

Durgadas B Advani to M A Jinnah

F 910/278-281

20 LAXMI INSURANCE BUILDING, KARACHI,
2 March 1947

Dear Sir,

I have received your letter dated 23 February 1947[1] for which I am grateful

You have pointed out that it was at too late a stage that I sent the proposed amendments to the Sind University Bill to you, in view of the fact that the Bill was already under discussion at the time in the Legislative Assembly and that you were to leave Karachi.

I would, however, beg leave to say that the defects of the Bill were pointed out to you in detail and you took notes of the points, and the sending of the amendments was, really, not necessary If the Minister-in-charge had accepted the suggestions for improving the Bill in regard to the various points noted by you, the amendments could easily have been introduced by him It was only for ready reference and to facilitate matters that I sent the amendments to you, clause by clause Further, the Opposition had already tabled amendments and they purported to effect improvements in the Bill on the lines suggested by us, except in certain matters of detail But the League Government was determined to rush the Bill through and rejected all the amendments

On the contrary, they have made the Bill worse than it was, by introducing a new clause which seeks to compel the existing institutions to have themselves affiliated to the Sind University At our interview with you, I pointed out to you that the Bill was permissive in respect of the affiliation of educational institutions which could continue, if they so chose, to remain affiliated to the Bombay University I requested that in the case of institutions which chose to so remain affiliated to the

Bombay University, their existing privileges in respect of grants, admission to State colleges and to public service should not be discontinued Of this point, also, you were good enough to take note This did not require any amendment to any of the existing clauses of the Bill, but an addition But, far from improving the Bill in this respect, a clause has been added declaring that with the passing of the Bill the existing institutions stood disaffiliated to the Bombay University Whether this clause can become operative is a point which I do not desire to discuss in this letter, but the fact remains that the League Government introduced the Sind University Bill in 1947 in a worse form than the one that was introduced in 1945[2] and made it still worse by the addition, at the last stage, of a compulsory clause All this disregard of the legitimate rights of minorities has been shown in the teeth of public opposition and in spite of your having taken up the matter with the Minister-in-charge

You requested us at our interview with you to show a spirit of co-operation I may point out that the unbecoming and unseemly speeches made by the Premier and the other Ministers[3] and leading members of the Muslim League showed that they did not care one straw for co-operation, for the simple reason that they had now a clear majority and that they were absolutely determined to use the force of that majority in carrying the Bill through in a form in which they wanted to do so, and I may point out that this led the Opposition members to walk out of the House in protest This action met with the gibes and ridicule of the Government Benches in which the Premier played a leading part by saying in loud ironical tones, "Don't come back"

This, however, does not affect the issue in question and I feel that with the sympathy which you have shown it would not be too much to request you to still have the Bill suitably amended For the Sind Ministry the calling of a meeting of the Legislative Assembly is an easy matter This is absolutely necessary to prevent the domination of the University by communally minded politicians and the lowering of educational standards to a very great extent

The Hindu community is more vitally concerned than any other and is at present in a state of nervousness and the passing of the University Bill has cast a shadow of gloom over their minds and I trust that you will use your great influence to see that matters are put right

Though this has nothing to do with the subject-matter of this letter, I beg leave to say that Sind is at present far from being the place which would be good for everybody to live in, for the reason that there is corruption in high quarters, a systematic policy of supersession of

Hindus by Muslims in Government service, a great amount of insecurity in the countryside and, to crown all, a University Bill has been passed which has no parallel in any university in India and the world and it will require your best efforts to improve the present state of affairs and, above all, to see that the legitimate interests of minorities are safeguarded

I beg to remain,
Yours faithfully,
DURGADAS B ADVANI
M I E
ex-Mayor of Karachi
and
Chairman, The Sind University Bill Citizens' Committee

[1]No 19
[2]Not available in *QAP*
[3]Hindu leaders of Sind and the Congress were opposed to the establishment of the Sind University The Congress had moved fifteen amendments to the University Bill which were defeated The Premier, Hidayatullah, and the Education Minister, Pir Ilahi Bakhsh, deplored the opposition to the Bill pointing out the backward state of Muslim education in the province where Muslims, though forming 73 per cent of the population, lacked adequate educational facilities See *Pakistan Times*, 26 February 1947

72

Mirza Bashiruddin Mahmud Ahmad to M A Jinnah

F 200/1

ON BOARD THE KARACHI MAIL,
2 March 1947

Dear Mr M A Jinnah,
Assalaamo 'Alaikum wa Rahmatullahi wa Barakatuhu

As I told you when we met at Delhi, it has been my impression all along that at the proper time Sir Khizar Hayat Khan could be persuaded to join the League But unfortunately certain events spoiled this scheme of mine for some time Now, however, on H M G 's new declaration,[1] Sir M Zafrullah Khan approached Sir Khizar suggesting that at this critical juncture he should not fail his community Malik Sahib then asked Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan to come to Lahore As I also, on my way to Sind, had to stay there for one night, Sir Muhammad came there yesterday and discussed the matter with me Following this, last night, he had a long discourse with Malik Sahib

and Qizilbash [2] They have agreed to resign Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan has shown me Malik Sahib's declaration [3] which will be published tonight or tomorrow after he has seen His Excellency the Governor I pray that no hitch occurs

Now you have a great lever to get Muslim rights from your opponents Now only the N W F P remains I will try to study its situation I hope you will get help from some other sources as well, but no more can be disclosed in a letter Maybe we meet at Delhi in April

Yours sincerely,
MIRZA B MAHMUD AHMAD
Head of the Ahmadiyya Movement

PS My address during the time I am in Sind will be Nasirabad, Kinjijhee (J), Tharparkar District, Sind

[1]No 1
[2]Nawab Sir Muzaffar Ali Qizilbash
[3]Khizar Hayat Khan Tiwana's statement announcing his resignation was published on 3 March 1947 which brought the ML's 34-day Civil Disobedience struggle in the Punjab to a dramatic culmination See *Pakistan Times*, 3 March 1947

73

M A Jinnah's Membership Form for Primary Muslim League, Bombay

F 568/173-174

[Original in Urdu]

Roll No 3510 *2 March 1947*

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP—PRIMARY CITY WARD NO 1

I affirm that (1) I am a Muslim and that my age is 72 years, (2) I have read all the rules and regulations of the Muslim League and through this declaration I solemnly pledge to uphold the aims and objects and the above-mentioned rules and regulations of the Muslim League I shall abide by any amendments and modifications that may be made in them in future, and (3) I have paid two annas as membership fee for the year 1947

My name may please be entered in the roll of Members

Applicant	*M A Jinnah*
Full name and address	*M A Jinnah, Mount Pleasant Road, Malabar Hill, Bombay 6*
Date·	*2 March 1947*
Signature of recipient of fee.	[*Muhammad Din Azad*]

Note For convenience please memorise your roll number and also keep the receipt handy for election meetings or wherever necessary

[*Reverse side*]

AIMS AND OBJECTS OF THE ALL INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE

1 To establish fully sovereign States in geographically contiguous areas, demarcated and, where necessary, redivided into autonomous zones, where Muslims are in a majority, e g north-west and north-east territories, grouped together to form sovereign states and independent homeland for the Muslims, and their constituent units shall be internally autonomous and sovereign

2 That reasonable, effective and mandatory safeguards should be provided in the Constitution to protect religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights of the minorities in the above-mentioned zones and units, in due consultation with them

3 That clearly effective and mandatory safeguards should be provided in the Constitution to protect the religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests of the Muslims and other minorities in those parts of India where Muslims are in the minority

4 To promote and protect political and religious rights and interests of the Muslims in India

5 To promote unity and friendship of the Muslims with other communities of India

6 To establish and maintain fraternal relations among the Muslims of India and those of the other countries

74

Ahmad Abdullah to M A Jinnah

F 654/3

UMER HALL, MASJID STREET, BOMBAY 3,
3 March 1947

Dear Quaid-i-Azam M A Jinnah,

Jam'iyyat al-'Ulama-i-Islam, Bombay, by the Grace of God and by your good wishes, has been running a hospital for the prompt treatment of Muslim victims of the riot since its beginning There are still eight or nine patients under treatment at this hospital

This hospital was started under the guidance and supervision of the Bombay Provincial Muslim League and has thus proved that the Muslim League is working for the good and benefit of the Muslims in every sphere of their life

I am glad to inform your honour that Mr Hossain Imam, Maulana Tamizuddin Sahib, Nawab Siddiq Ali Khan, the Frontier Deputation, etc, had visited the hospital and have expressed their joy and full satisfaction at its work and management

I hereby give your honour a most hearty and sincere invitation to visit this hospital and thus try to oblige the Jam'iyyat and the riot victims

We are ever ready to welcome your honour and shall be glad to know of your honour's intention in the matter on telephone No 27196

Yours truly,
AHMAD ABDULLAH
Secretary,
All India Jam'iyyat al-'Ulama-i-Islam, Bombay Province

75

Central Government Servants from the Punjab to M A Jinnah

F 990/132-135

NEW DELHI,
3 March 1947

Most Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

We apologise for diverting your attention to the following few points in the midst of your multifarious activities and hope that you will give a very careful consideration to the points raised therein and guide the destiny of the Punjab in this critical and momentous hour

1 Nobody knows better than your good self that the coming years are very critical and full of potentialities from the point of view of the Muslims Your sound and wise leadership has so far piloted us safely through most critical hours [*sic*] It is a recognised fact that the Punjab is the cornerstone of Pakistan The sacrifices and fortitude exhibited by the Muslims of the Punjab have forced the dummy Ministry of the Punjab to resign This altered position places the Muslim League in the forefront to form a Ministry It is, therefore, categorically imperative that a man possessing personality, vast experience and administrative and tactical ability should be at the helm of affairs in the Punjab We mean to say that the leadership of the Punjab Muslims should vest in a person who should be able to guide and control the Punjab flawlessly in the difficult times ahead, should such an eventuality arise in 1948 in view of H M G 's announcement of the White Paper[1] Permit us to suggest humbly that Malik Firoz Khan Noon is the right type of man for the Premiership of the Punjab He bears all the qualities mentioned before It was his initiative and guidance during the recent Civil Disobedience Movement against the Ministry that has crowned the League with success The common argument against him that he was an Executive Councillor of the Viceroy and is, therefore, not expected to look after the interests of the Muslims has been completely washed off by his recent sacrifices [and his] going to jail for the sake of the community and Islam This spirit of Malik Firoz Khan Noon has actuated the masses to think differently and now they are thinking highly of him

2 It will not be out of place to mention here that the last phenomenal success of the League in the elections and subsequently in by-elections was due not so much to the leadership of Nawab of Mamdot in the

Punjab as to the will of the people to stand by the League and what it stands for The presence of Malik Firoz Khan Noon at that critical phase also gave a fillip to the cause of the Muslim League People said that when Malik Firoz Khan Noon was there no official would harm them

3 You are already aware of this fact that the Nawab of Mamdot is a good table-talker but he lacks all the qualities required of a leader He cannot deliver a public speech, cannot control a gathering, possesses no initiative of his own and is, therefore, not fit for the premiership He is a puppet in the hands of Mian Mumtaz Daultana and Raja Ghazanfar Ali who believe in intrigues and cliques It has been the utmost endeavour of Raja Ghazanfar Ali and Mian Mumtaz Daultana not to give prominence to the noteworthy activities of Malik Firoz Khan Noon, for they fear that their own leadership will be jeopardised otherwise This is a hard fact It will be admitted that the presence of Malik Firoz Khan Noon in the Punjab and his selfless services to the community have infused a new life in the Muslims of the Punjab

4 Raja Ghazanfar Ali has yet to live his past [*sic*] Everybody in the Punjab knows that for three or four years he stayed with Mian Mumtaz Daultana at the latter's bungalow The people in the Punjab had coined an obnoxious simile for Raja Ghazanfar Ali Therefore, whatever these two fellows plan out, they try to support it by hook or by crook and also support each other whether one is right or wrong Every time these two fellows have tried to put you on the wrong bus Raja Ghazanfar Ali will invariably plead Mumtaz's cause and try to put him in the forefront and vice versa They have never stated frankly the facts to you because their sole object is to hold the monopoly of the Punjab leadership They very well know that the Nawab of Mamdot is a puppet and will play in their hands as they will wish him to do Who does not know all this?

5 We admit that the Nawab of Mamdot has adhered to the Muslim League faithfully but this does not mean that he should be put in a wrong place for which he is not fit Surely Birla is financing the Congress but the Congress has not put him where Nehru will suit It stands to reason, therefore, that the Nawab of Mamdot should continue to be the President of the Provincial Muslim League but a different man should be selected for the leadership in the Assembly

6 During the last election for the leadership of the Muslim League Party in the Provincial Assembly you were, we feel, misguided by some one Had the Punjab MLAs been allowed to elect, by their free will, the leader of the Muslim League Party in the Provincial

Assembly, we can dare say they would have chosen Malik Firoz Khan Noon because they know the significance of such a high responsibility Even now if you give a free hand to the Punjab Muslim MLAs, we are sure that their choice will be Malik Firoz Khan Noon We think that by his sacrifices he has established a claim for such a leadership and we are also sure that you love him now

The Muslim Press in the Punjab has frequently voiced the public opinion for a change in the Punjab leadership The people desire it and we request you not to ignore the public demand It will be difficult, rather impossible, to amend the mistake done at this critical juncture as regards this matter A split in the League seems imminent if the MLAs are not allowed to exercise a free vote for the election of their leader Malik Firoz Khan Noon's election can avoid that impending catastrophe He knows the art of cementing people together and overcoming difficult crises

In the end we request you to personally guide the deliberations of the Punjab at this crucial stage in forming the Ministry because upon his Ministry will rest the strength of the Muslims of the Punjab at present and during the coming year We have implicit faith in your leadership We earnestly hope that you will fly to Lahore to judge the matters for yourself and give guidance as you consider right and wise

We also venture to suggest that the following should be the Ministers of the Punjab

1 Malik Firoz Khan Noon, Premier
2 Shaukat Hayat Khan
3 Mian Noorullah
4 Begum Shah Nawaz
5 One Scheduled Caste
6 A representative each of the Hindu and Sikh communities in case a Coalition Ministry is formed

Apologising for this tiresome narrative,

We are, Respected Quaid-i-Azam,
YOUR HUMBLE FOLLOWERS FROM THE PUNJAB
(in the Government of India)

No 1

76

Aziz Hindi to M A Jinnah

F 832/18

NAYAPARA, RAIPUR, C P,
3 March 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

In my humble opinion the recent statement by H M G[1] has radically changed the political situation of India Although there are some very stupendent [*sic* for stupendous] difficulties in attaining our goal of Pakistan, yet if we persist in our efforts and strictly adhere to our goal without diverting our attention or energy from our main objective, we shall certainly achieve our cherished goal before long It is in this spirit that I have attempted here to formulate some subject-points for the perusal of my great Quaid-i-Azam, and I hope they will receive due consideration

At this critical juncture I wish to emphasise one thing more that my humble services are completely at the disposal of my Quaid-i-Azam in whose personality I have gained absolute confidence and faith I request him, therefore, to entrust me with such a task to which I may be found worth [*sic*]

Most sincerely,
AZIZ HINDI

[1]No 1

Enclosure to No 76

F 832/19-21

SOME SUBJECT-POINTS

I

1 In the light of the recent statement by H M G,[1] we must stand fast to our Pakistan demand
2 We must not join the Constituent Assembly to enable the Congress to make an all-India Constitution
3 We must set up our own Constituent Assembly and make a Constitution of our own for the United States of Pakistan
4. We must clear up the anti-Pakistan influences from the Punjab and the N W F Province and establish our own Ministries there

Ways and means must be found to accomplish this task by June 1947

5 The position of the Sikhs in the Punjab should be considered seriously The demand for their homeland should be met by assuring them that the Pakistan States would recognise the independence of the five Sikh States in the Punjab if and when those States are merged in a single group and make out [sic] their group Constitution

(a) In this connection the Muslim Press should be invited to propagate the idea, already current in Sikh circles, and make it to be intensely felt and discussed amongst the Sikh community

(b) Some responsible persons should be entrusted with the task to discuss and negotiate, on behalf of the Muslim League, with the leading Sikh States the basic principles of a treaty which may in future be made between Pakistan and Sikh States

(c) The Muslim League should declare unequivocally that the Sikh population in the Punjab would simply be treated as a minority

II

6 A Muslim League deputation should be sent in the free tribes territories to make contacts with the Chiefs and Mullahs of the tribes and take them fully into their confidence and apprise them of the changed situation of India The deputation should also make them realise the paramount necessity of standing fast by the side of the Muslim League in case of dire emergency

7 A similar deputation of the Muslim League should be sent to Assam to form contacts with the Chieftains of the Hill Tribes there and try to enter into some agreement with them in respect of an everlasting union of their country with Bengal

(a) The deputation should also encourage and assist them in forming their own militia for their territorial defence

(b) At the same time the Muslim Press should be advised to propagate and circulate its issues in favour of the Muslim League policy in Assamese and Tribal languages

III

8 In view of the changed situation under [sic] the recent declaration by H M G regarding the Indian States,[2] big efforts should be made to effect unity among the Musalmans of the Kashmir State They

should be advised to struggle for greater constitutional powers by June 1948

IV

9 The military aspect of defence subject should carefully be brought into consideration and a responsible committee should be set up

(a) to collect information regarding the exact position and total strength of the troops, their whereabouts, their arms and equipment, the military stores, etc , [and]

(b) to prepare a plan for equitable redistribution and readjustment of the national forces, their stores and their equipment, community-wise, at the time of transference of power from the British to Indian hands

10 The manpower of the Muslim National Guards in all the Muslim majority provinces should be strengthened and increased and brought on military footing

11 Pressure should be brought to bear upon the Central Government to repeal the Arms Act altogether, so that the population may be armed to protect and defend themselves

12 A propaganda campaign should be launched on a very large scale in favour of Pakistan throughout the country during the interim period and the Muslim Press should be helped and strengthened enormously

V

13 The most appropriate time to form our own Constituent Assembly is now, and, therefore, under the slogan "Pakistan Now or Never" we should set up the same by appointing our own personnel to it, and get our task finished, i e the making of the Constitution for Pakistan States by the end of this year at the most [*sic* for latest]

14 To lay emphasis on our Pakistan demand and to justify it in the opinion of the world at large and to bring home to them the reality of its being the only solution to having an everlasting peace in this sub-continent after the British control and authority are ended, there should be formed three separate deputations to tour all the world over, assigning to each of them the separate duties of visiting the British Isles, the Continent and the U S A , and the Middle and the Near East

(A) Deputation for the British Isles

15 This deputation should make contact with the British Press and meet the high personnel of the British Government as well as of

the Opposition, and convey to them the grim resolve of the Muslim nation on having Pakistan at all costs The deputation should also justify the Muslim League's action in setting up a separate Constituent Assembly of their own design

This deputation should also try to seek the clarification from the British authorities about their position, regarding the redistribution and readjustment of the subjects now under control of the Centre, such as Army, Finance, Communications, Railways, etc , in case they decide to act upon the policy of "divide and quit India"

Note The Muslim Constituent Assembly must have a separate committee to deal with these specific subjects and its outcomes and proposals should be broadcast to the world at the most appropriate time

(B) Deputation for the Continent and the U S A

16 This deputation should seek interviews with the heads of the various Governments [of the Continent] and the U S A , and make efforts to turn their opinion in favour of Pakistan on the basis of the principle of self-determination

This deputation should also make its contacts with the members of the U N O and win their sympathy and support in favour of Pakistan

The deputation should also try to win over public opinion as well as [the opinions] of the officials of the respective Governments to recognise Pakistan's independence immediately as it is proclaimed by the Muslim League of India

If it is thought advisable, the deputation should also be entrusted with the task of exploring the possibilities of making some big contracts in advance with the Government of the U S A and other Continental Governments including the U K for purchasing military equipment and necessary machinery for the Pakistan States Such contracts, if made, would not become valid until the independence of Pakistan is declared

Under similar conditions financial aid should be sought

(C) Deputation for the Middle and the Near East

17 This deputation is largely meant for arousing the opinion of the Muslim World in favour of Pakistan Public meetings and demonstrations should be arranged in every Muslim State to lend support to the demand of Muslim India in having their own State according to the principle of self-determination Resolutions should be passed at their [*sic*] public meetings and sent to their respective Governments The Governments in their turn

should influence the opinion of the world's States through their diplomatic channels, in favour of Pakistan

VI

18 The problem of Indian States should also receive our careful attention In this respect there should be organised and contemplated efforts on our part to influence the States' groups, which are already being formed in Rajputana, Deccan, and elsewhere to stand aloof from joining the present Constituent Assembly and make their own group Constitution As a matter of course, they should be encouraged and supported to enter into separate treaties with the various independent units of this vast sub-continent, if and when they are formed

VII

19 It would perhaps have some demonstrative effect on the British Government in connection with our national demand, if we should stage, as early as possible, within the close of this year, an orderly movement on a gigantic scale of shifting our population from the minority [provinces] to Muslim-majority provinces In this movement no consideration should be given to immovable or movable properties belonging to those persons emigrating, because it would require time and money for its transference For that very purpose it is necessary that in the very beginning some planning committee should be set up in both the minority and majority provinces to looking [*sic*] after the properties and managing them

This entire movement should be made to start and rest solely on the religious usage and feelings of the Muslim nation

VIII

20 An all-India representative body of the Muslim Chambers of Commerce should be set up with the purpose of

(a) financing all the schemes put forward by the Muslim League for the achievement of Pakistan This financing should, however, be in the form of loans repayable by the United States of Pakistan at its establishment,

(b) collecting data through various bodies of the Muslim Chambers of Commerce, which are already in existence in the country, of the state of Muslim industries, their capital and investments, more particularly in those provinces where the Muslims are living as a minority

[1&2]No 1

77

Qazi M Isa to M A Jinnah

F 679/70-71 & F 1226/1-2

SYLHET,
3 March 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am here in Assam at the invitation of students to preside over their sixth annual conference Before leaving Delhi, I received the enclosed cheque for Rs 505 sent to me for the Bihar Relief Fund The donor is Lt Col Anis Ahmad Khan, Aftab Manzil, Aligarh, and I am forwarding the cheque to you The receipt, if any is to be issued, may kindly be sent to him

Matters of great importance keep you so busy that I never got an opportunity [of seeing you] and in fact realizing your heavy engagements, never encroached on your precious time Therefore, I venture to write down a few lines which I think I must bring to your notice

It must have been brought to your notice or at least you must have read in the papers that from October till the middle of December, 1946, I undertook an exhaustive tour of Baluchistan It was a tour of 2,500 miles from the borders of the N W F P and the Punjab to the frontiers of Iran and Afghanistan The tour was so successful that I can now proudly proclaim that you can send any one to report to you on the progress of the League in Baluchistan and I shall not feel ashamed of the working of the League For about

[*Pages 3 to 6 missing*]

entrust him with the task and without the slightest hesitation I shall surrender But under no circumstances I am going to allow our opponents in the garb of the League to give the impression that they can ignore me

I shall feel extremely grateful if you would explain to me as to how I should conduct the affairs at times like this when we are required to adjust ourselves to the new conditions What part would we be called upon to play in Baluchistan? People there must be prepared from now on

Please forgive me for making this letter unnecessarily so lengthy I had no intention of doing so but then I had to place my views or rather my feelings before you

I do hope you are in the best of health now

With best wishes and regards,

Yours sincerely,
ISA

78

A Humble Pakistani to M A Jinnah

F 990/125-126

Hu al-'Aziz[1]

3 March 1947

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

It is with great reluctance and only in view of the extreme importance of the Punjab affairs that I suggest you leave for Lahore immediately It will save you *endless* trouble later I wholeheartedly stand for Iftikhar [Mamdot], but I know his shortcomings, the internal dissensions of the Party and the personal ambitions of the upper stratum of the provincial leaders—the strata lower down are very sincere—and [the fact that] Mamdot by himself will not be able to handle the situation If necessary, he should be ready to stand down, but in whose favour?

Any mistake at this stage will give rise to knotty tangles, which will be difficult to undo later

Two things I stress Some diplomat should persuade Khizar and his lieutenants to retire from politics The new Ministry should adopt a realistic approach towards the economic problems of the Province, and do something tangible Time flies and they cannot mark time Things are there, which, if tackled judiciously, would show, by glaring contrast, the change for the better

I pray you leave for Lahore immediately and before someone starts the mess

With great respect,

I remain,
A HUMBLE PAKISTANI

79

President, Havelian Muslim League to M A Jinnah

Telegram, F 560/17

HAVELIAN,
3 March 1947

President All India Muslim League, Bombay

Two hundred and six men arrested this noon No arrangements, still hungry If damaged [*sic*] with coldness [*sic*] Government responsible

PRESIDENT,
Muslim League, Havelian, Hazara

80

M Karam Ali to M A Jinnah

F 216/1-3

NEW HOTEL,
21 SHAHR-I-ADALI PASHA, CAIRO,
4 March 1947

Dear Sir,

I have been here for several days During my stay, I contacted and met most of the Muslims in Cairo They are all set up in small parties and each party works against the other After a hard struggle, I succeeded in bringing them together The night before last, I had them in my Hotel, and discussed the question of the Muslim League

You have met all these Muslims Their bringing together is next to impossible, but I am doing the next best thing, that is I am trying to have a Muslim Society so that something could be worked out on the League principles We are meeting again tomorrow night, at which time the Society will be set up Its name will not be the Muslim League, but the work that this Society will do will be along the League lines I will do my best and the result is in the Hand of God I met Abdul Rahman Azzam Pasha, Secretary [General], Arab League, and requested him not to send any delegates to India,[1] as it will not be of any benefit to the League, but he consented that those delegates will not deliver any

speeches in India, and if the Muslim League wishes to have them at tea or any such things, they will attend the meetings Whatever you consider appropriate in this connection, please follow that

I have been here for the last two weeks, and I expect to leave soon If there is anything else that you wish me to do please let me know immediately, and I will do everything in my power to fulfil the same

The Arab League delegates are prepared to state that the Egyptian Muslims are in favour of Pakistan The Society that works for [the Indian National] Congress is known as the Indian Union, and the Society that we expect to start will be something like that The name will be selected tomorrow night The President of the Indian Union is a Hindu and its Secretary is a Muslim, who refuses to join the Society that we are organizing

The most powerful organization in Egypt is known as the Akhwan al-Muslimeen whose President is Sheikh Hassan al-Banna He has 50,000 volunteers and millions of followers The organization has a daily and a weekly paper I saw the place and met the President, who was extremely kind and sympathetic

If you think it proper, please have the League Secretary write him a letter, thanking him for his kindness It is not necessary that my name must be mentioned

His address Sheikh Hassan al-Banna, Akhwan al-Muslimeen, Hilmiah Qadimiah, Cairo

Very sincerely yours,
M KARAM ALI
Member, Working Committee, U P ,
Member, All India Muslim League Council

[1]Refers to the forthcoming Inter-Asian Relations Conference at Delhi See No 154

81

Yusuf A Haroon to M A. Jınnah

F 274/302

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE BUILDING, WOOD STREET,
KARACHI,
4 March 1947

My dear Quaıd-ı-Azam,

I am enclosıng herewıth a copy of the letter receıved from the Hon'ble P[ır] Ilahı Bakhsh and of my reply to hım

Before takıng any steps ın the matter I thınk ıt ıs best to awaıt the decısıon of the Workıng Commıttee and I hope you wıll ıssue me ınstructıons as to whether I shall call a meetıng of the Provıncıal League Councıl ın order to consıder thıs matter

With kınd regards,

Yours sıncerely,
YUSUF A HAROON

Enclosure 1 to No 81
Pır Ilahı Bakhsh to Yusuf A Haroon

F 274/303

[Not prınted Same as Enclosure 2 to No 68]

Enclosure 2 to No 81
Yusuf A Haroon to Pır Ilahı Bakhsh

F 274/304

KARACHI,
4 March 1947

My dear Pır Sahıb,

I thank you for your letter of the 27th February

H M G 's statement[1] has been of anxıous consıderatıon to me but ın the absence of any lead from the All Indıa Muslım League I can do for nothıng

I am forwardıng your letter to Quaıd-ı-Azam M A Jınnah for hıs ınformatıon but I suggest that before I take any steps we should waıt

for the decision of the All India Muslim League Working Committee In the meantime I am asking the Premier and other Ministers to let me have their reactions

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
YUSUF A HAROON

Hon'ble P[ir] Ilahi Bakhsh,
Minister for Education,
Government of Sind,
Karachi

[1]No 1

82

M A Jinnah to A R Ahmed

F 832/15

4 March 1947

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of 24th February, 1947 [1] While I am very glad that you have started this concern of yours and I wish it every success, I regret I cannot agree that you should use my name and call it "Jinnah Chemical Industries Ltd " It would create an impression that I am connected with this Company and have an interest in it, and I cannot understand how you could have got the Company registered with my name

Certainly, you have my good wishes for this venture and I cannot agree to my name being used as it will give the impression that I am connected with it or am interested in it Nor can I agree to allow you the use of my name as a patron of the Company Therefore, please take immediate steps to dissociate my name from the Company

Yours faithfully,
M A JINNAH

A R Ahmed, Esq ,
Jinnah Chemical Industries Ltd ,
Netrakona,
Mymensingh (Bengal)

[1]No 23

83

M. A Jinnah to Mahomedali Habib

F 951/4

4 March 1947

My dear Mr Mahomedali Habib,

Here is a letter from Singapore[1] which I enclose and I thought it might interest you and that you may be able to do something in that direction

Hoping you are well With very kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M A JINNAH

Mahomedali Habib, Esq ,
Habib Mansion,
Warden Road,
Bombay

[1]Not available in *QAP* The enclosure was in respect of a suggestion that a Muslim Bank might be established in Singapore See Nos 87, 88 and 152

84

M A Jinnah to Habib Bank, Ltd , Delhi

F 910/282

4 March 1947

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of 24th February[1] and the best suggestion that I can make is that you should send on the parcel of pullovers from M/S Java Hosiery Factory, Ludhiana, to Mr Mohamad Yunus. His address is Grand Hotel, Patna, and he is one of the members of the Muslim League Committee that was appointed for the relief of Bihar Muslims

Yours faithfully,
M A JINNAH

The Agent,
Habib Bank Ltd ,
Chandni Chowk,
Delhi

[1]No 24

85

M A Jinnah to Habib Bank Ltd , Delhi

F 156/4

4 March 1947

Dear Sir,

I am enclosing herewith two drafts totalling Rs 1,674/6/- (Rupees one thousand, six hundred and seventy-four and annas six only) which amount please realize and credit to the Bihar Relief Fund, and issue receipts direct to the donors per their names and addresses given as under

The Indian Muslim Students in the U S A [1]
c/o 923 Clymer Place, Madison,
Wisconsin, U S A
(Dr to Chartered Bank, Bombay) Rs 663/-/-

Sh Mubarak Ahmad Ahmadi,
E A Ahmadiyya Muslim Mission,
P O Box 54, Tabora, (Kenya), Africa
(Dr to Imperial Bank of India, Karachi) Rs 1,011/6/-
Total Rs 1,674/6/-

(Rupees one thousand, six hundred and seventy-four and annas six only)

Kindly acknowledge receipt

Yours faithfully,
M A JINNAH

The Agent,
Habib Bank Ltd ,
Chandni Chowk,
Delhi

[1]See No 4

86

M A Jinnah to Mahmood Hasan

F 561/90

4 March 1947

Dear Mr Mahmood Hasan,

I am still waiting for a certified copy of the *Dawn* Trustees Please let me have it as soon as possible Please send it on to me without delay

As regards my talk with you about securing premises for the Central League Office I have also heard nothing from you Please let me know how the matter stands as it cannot now brook any unnecessary delay

Yours sincerely,
M A JINNAH

Mahmood Hasan, Esq ,
Manager,
The daily *Dawn* ,
Daryaganj,
Delhi

87

M A Jinnah to Ahmad Ispahani

F 310/54

4 March 1947

My dear Mr Ahmad,

Many thanks for your letter of 24th February,[1] which I received on my arrival here

I am glad to here [*sic* for hear] that you have gone ahead with the programme Only this morning I received a letter from Muslims of Singapore[2] saying that there is no Muslim Bank there and most of the deposits are those of the Muslims, but the concerns are non-Muslim and they are bitterly complaining of the treatment they have been receiving

I no longer believe in the idea of having one ornamental Hindu director [3] The sooner we get rid of this the better The Bank will stand on its own merits But I would certainly prefer,

if a non-Muslim has got to be one of the directors, a Christian, a Parsi or a Scheduled Caste

Wishing you all success, with very kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M A JINNAH

M. A Ispahani, Esq,
51 Ezra Street,
Calcutta

[1]No 25
[2]This refers to Kazura & Company's letter dated 24 February 1947, which was sent to Habib Bank Ltd, Delhi See No 83
[3]See para 3 of No 25 as well as the Enclosure to No 25

88

M A Jinnah to Messrs Kazura & Co

F 951/3

4 March 1947

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of 24th February 1947[1] and I have drawn the attention of those who are in a position to handle this matter and I hope that something might be done in the direction of a Muslim Bank in Singapore, as desired by you

Yours faithfully,
M A JINNAH

The Proprietor,
Kazura & Co,
755, North Bridge Road,
Singapore

[1]See No 83 Also see Nos 87 and 152

89

M A Jinnah to Sheikh of Mangrol

F 89/13

4 March 1947

Dear Nawab Sahib,

I have received your telegram and thank you very much for it Of course, it was not your fault, nor was it mine, as I had not the faintest idea that the ship will anchor at Mangrol, until I got on board the ship And as it was going to halt there for some time, I thought I might go ashore and take the chance of giving you a surprise visit, but unfortunately, you were not there But all your people there were very nice and kind during the short stay of an hour or so They treated us kindly and in every hospitable manner

Hoping you are well With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M A JINNAH

[S M Nasiruddin]
The Sheikh Sahib of Mangrol,
Mangrol (Kathiawar)

90

M A Jinnah to Mrs K L Rallia Ram

F 928/3

4 March 1947

Dear Mrs Rallia Ram,

I have received all your letters and your telegram this morning [1] Please don't worry about Professor Brij Narain's article [2] I think we have managed it all right and there will be no difficulty

Thanking you for all your letters and the trouble you have been taking in giving me all the information from time to time,

Yours sincerely,
M A JINNAH

Mrs K L Rallia Ram,
5 Masson Road,
Lahore

[1] Not available in *QAP*
[2] *See Nos 54 and 55*

91

M A Jinnah to Hasan A Shaikh

F 438/2

4 March 1947

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of 28th February[1] and I wish [success to] your venture in starting a Muslim English daily, entitled the *Morning Herald* from Bombay I am very pleased to hear that your paper will support the policy and programme of the All India Muslim League I wish you every success

Yours faithfully,
M A JINNAH

Hasan A Shaikh, Esq ,
The *Morning Herald,*
15 Bank Street, Fort,
Bombay

[1]No 60

92

Ibadat Yar Khan to M A Jinnah

F 769/40

MUSLIM UNIVERSITY UNION, ALIGARH,
4 March 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

The new cabinet of the Muslim University Union has been installed and we have taken over the charge I wish you kindly to send your blessings to the new Ministry I am solemnly determined to see that efforts of young men should not flow in wrong channels Every one of us should realise his own responsibility instead of throwing blame on a higher personality

I am herewith despatching a copy of my election manifesto and I hope to send you a copy of my presidential address as soon as I get it published I would like to know your advice and suggestions regarding some important issues

To establish contact between the Muslim League and the Muslims of the Middle East, a students' delegation should visit Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Palestine, [and other] important Muslim countries to explain to them our point of view and convince them of the reasonableness of our demands Deputations should leave for different parts of India to organise the Muslims and should induce them to make batches of 5,000 and consolidate [*sic*]

I would like to pay my respects to you as early as possible and discuss with you some very important issues which I do not think it wise to put in writing I hope you will kindly let me know the date and time convenient to you in Bombay or in Delhi so that I may start work immediately

Yours sincerely,
IBADAT YAR KHAN
President,
Muslim University Union, Aligarh

Enclosure to No 92

F 769/41-43

ELECTION MANIFESTO OF IBADAT YAR KHAN

Not show and glamour but service has been nearest to my heart I stand for the Vice-Presidentship not to get garlanded but to serve I tried to do my best for the University and whatever I could not do on account of my individual capacity I pledge and promise I shall do now if you give me a chance

I stand with a definite programme and a definite manifesto For this I shall work, for this I shall strife [*sic* for strive], and for this I shall claim your vote, to enable me to get all these demands of the students fulfilled

1 For admission to the proposed Medical College, preference should be given to the students of this University Letters from Big Guns, Khan Bahadurs and Sirs should not be the criterion
2 Arrangements for electric fittings, important sanitary conditions, dispensary, and a common room in every boarding house, especially in the Engineering Hall, where the students need relaxation after acute strain and hard work
3 A healthy cheerful tone of the varsity, fair and straight dealings by the authorities with the students
4 Establishment of a first-class preaching centre immediately, [and] for the time being the conversion of Sultan Jahan Manzil into a

Preaching Centre and Adult Education Centre
5 Demand of a Free City for Aligarh
6. Demand to affiliate all the Muslim Education Centres of India with the Muslim University, Aligarh
7 To insist on a representative of the Union being included in the Muslim University Court
8 To send a delegation to the Middle East and other Muslim countries to establish a close contact between the Muslim University and other Muslim Education Centres in order to make Aligarh the centre of Islamic thought and Muslim culture of the Muslim World

N B I have already sent some of the above demands in the form of resolutions to the Vice-President of the Muslim University Union

93

S E Abbott to Iftikhar Husain Khan Mamdot
(Copy to M A Jinnah provided by Mamdot)

F 126/13

D O No GS 110 [LAHORE,]
[*5 March 1947*]

Dear Nawab Sahib,

I am desired to invite you to come to Government House to see His Excellency at your earliest possible convenience I am sending this written invitation as it is quite impossible to contact you on the telephone

Yours sincerely,
S E ABBOTT
Private Secretary to the Governor of the Punjab

Khan Iftikhar Husain Khan of Mamdot, MLA,
Mamdot Villa,
Lahore

94

Eshaq Bin Abdulrahman to M A Jinnah

F 679/66-69

BAHRAIN,
5 March 1947

Respected Sir,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

I am enclosing herewith a draft for Rs 16,651 (Rupees sixteen thousand six hundred fifty-one) representing donations made by the Muslims of this Island towards the Bihar Relief Fund organised by your gracious self

We are no doubt aware that this our humble contribution is indeed a small one comparing the needs of the thousands of Muslims of Bihar but nevertheless we are sending the amount to you with the greatest pleasure and may we request you kindly to accept this our humble contribution, coming as it does from the Arab, Persian and Indian Muslims of this Island

The contribution is especially noteworthy in that the major part of it has been donated by the Arab and Persian merchants of this place to signify their sympathies and support for the Muslims of India

May the Almighty shower His Choicest Blessings on you and may you be spared for the Muslims of India and of the world in general to enable you to lead them to achieve their ambitions Amen

Your most obedient servant,
ESHAQ BIN ABDULRAHMAN
On behalf of the Muslims of Bahrain

PS Receipt to be sent to Abdul Jalil Sheikh Mohamed, Noor House, 9 Club Back Road, Bombay 8

[*List of 159 donors, including 3 anonymous ones and His Highness Sheikh Saeed Maktoom, has been omitted*]

95

Ahmad Saghir Chowdhury to M A Jinnah

Telegram, F 560/20-21

CHITTAGONG,
5 March 1947

Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah, Mount Pleasant, Malabar Hill, Bombay

Twenty businessmen purchased all motor vehicles depot Chittagong from disposals Fazlul Qadir Chowdhury Secretary District Muslim League demanded five lac rupees donations On refusal of such unreasonable demand he utilised National Guards, entered my cinema house, destroyed everything causing damages more than a lac My car worth rupees ten thousand burnt Alhaj Islam Khan's business firm destroyed by throw of homes [sic] bricks Moulvi Nazir Ahmad Chowdhury's car destroyed Complete lawlessness prevails Great panic in town, life property unsafe National Guards threatening murder [and] loot Please interfere without delay Veteran Muslim Leaguers going massacred [sic] Ask Salar-i-A'la interfere Reply

AHMAD SAGHIR CHOWDHURY

96

Iftikhar Husain Khan Mamdot to Evan Jenkins
(Copy to M A Jinnah)

F 126/10-12

MAMDOT VILLA, LAHORE,
5 March 1947

Dear Sir Evan,

During my interview with Your Excellency on the evening of March 4th, I submitted that, in view of the disturbances which had occurred in Lahore, I wished the new Ministry to assume office and responsibility at once even though my negotiations with the Panthic Akali Party[1] had not yet concluded I further explained that the Council of Ministers to be formed immediately would be expanded in due course in the light of these or other negotiations, but that the Ministry, as initially proposed, was by itself in a position to command a majority of

the Legislature

Your Excellency desired further assurance on this last point and expressed the view that you would not like to take the risk of handing over the administration to a Ministry which might not stay in office for more than a very short period

During my interview with Your Excellency today, Your Excellency informed me that, the Caretaker Ministry having quitted office last night, the problem of substituting a new authority—either a new Ministry or the Governor acting under Section 93 of the Government of India Act—had become urgent Your Excellency further suggested that the best course would be for Your Excellency to assume the necessary powers of administration under Section 93 to fill the vacuum at once and for such period as I might require in order to form a Ministry commanding a stable majority

I submitted, and I wish to repeat the submission, that the Ministry, the appointment of which I am recommending, was already in a position to face the Legislature successfully and should be given an opportunity of proving it on the floor of the House

Your Excellency having formally summoned me to assist in the formation of a Council of Ministers, the stage of inquiry whether the Ministry, the formation of which I am advising, is likely to command a majority of the House, is really over The likelihood, presumed by Your Excellency when summoning me, can now be contradicted only by an adverse vote of the House

I have no reason to doubt the assurances of support which I have received from various groups of MLAs outside the Muslim League Party and I have no manner of doubt that the Ministry which I am proposing will be able to command a majority of at least 90 to begin with This number comprises the Muslim League Party of 80 plus 3 other Muslim members, 4 members of the Scheduled Castes, 1 European and 2 Indian Christians This number is most likely to go up to about 100 before the Legislature resumes its session[2]

I submit that, while opinions and conjectures may differ about the likely amount of support for the proposed Ministry, the only course fair to me at this stage is to put them to actual test As for the risk (which to my mind does not exist) that the Ministry may fall as soon as it faces the Assembly, I submit that, in theory, such a risk is involved in the formation of any Ministry at any time Normal constitutional procedure should not, however, be deviated from because of the presence of a theoretical risk of this nature

In view of these observations, I trust Your Excellency will permit

me to submit immediately for your approval the names of Ministers for the new Cabinet

Yours sincerely,
IFTIKHAR HUSAIN KHAN

[1]A Sikh party formed in the spring of 1946 in the Punjab Legislative Assembly to resist the demand for Pakistan
[2]The total number of the Members was 175

97

Evan Jenkins to Iftikhar Husain Mamdot
(Copy to M A Jinnah provided by Mamdot)

F 126/8-9

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, LAHORE,
5 March 1947

My dear Khan Sahib,

Thank you for your letter of 5th March 1947[1] Since our interview today, very serious communal rioting has broken out in Multan, and the situation in Lahore had deteriorated greatly Rioting is also reported in Amritsar In these very grave conditions you suggest that I accept your very general assurance that you command a majority in the Assembly and ask you to install a new Ministry forthwith I asked you at one of our earlier interviews to let me have the names of your supporters, and today I added that in the case of those who are not members of your own party, I should be glad to have a statement signed by them to the effect that they are prepared to support your Government in the House on all questions of confidence I still think that these stipulations are reasonable, and shall be grateful if you will be good enough to comply with them In the mean time I cannot continue indefinitely without a Ministry, and to fill the gap I have, with the concurrence of the Governor-General, made a proclamation under Section 93 of the Government of India Act, 1935 I need hardly say that I consider the early establishment of a stable Ministry in the Punjab most important, and I hope that within the next few days you will be able to let me have proposals much more definite than those contained in your letter I can assure you that the risks involved in any hasty action are anything but theoretical They are as grave as could well be imagined

2 My personal belief is that no Government which does not command the confidence of Punjabis generally can solve our present problems, and it is for you to consider whether in the additional time now available you should not resume negotiations with the other communities May I also suggest that at the present juncture a statement by yourself and the leaders of the Hindus and Sikhs condemning the present communal outbreak would have an excellent effect I have reason to believe that a move on your part for the issue of such a statement would be well received

Yours sincerely,
E M JENKINS

[1]No 96

98

M. A Sheikh to M A Jinnah

F 861/86

P O BOX 227, KISUMU [KENYA],
5 March 1947

Our dearest Quaid-i-Azam,
Assalaamo 'Alaikum

I have great pleasure in enclosing a draft for Rupees 2,655 from the Barclays Bank, Kisumu, on the Eastern Bank Limited, Bombay, for the welfare of our distressed brethren in Bihar This remittance is the first instalment of the fund raised by my League and I sincerely trust that this amount, however small it is, is much more worth [*sic*] a contribution from a limited number of the Muslims of this town

I, on behalf of my Committee, request you to acknowledge receipt in due course

All our hopes and desires are with you and we wish every success to All India Muslim League and thus to the final goal—PAKISTAN

Yours obediently,
M A SHEIKH
Honorary Secretary,
Nyanza Muslim Social Service League

Encl 1 draft No 127/3073
Copy sent to the Secretary, All India Muslim League, Delhi

99

Mir Badshah to M A Jinnah

Telegram, F 560/22

TANK,
6 March 1947

Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Bombay

We do not want Patel Committee[1] to come and decide our fate Their condition would be more disgraceful than that of Jawaharlal Only a pure Muslim Committee of Muslim League shall be welcome if any Passed unanimously in a tribal Jirga of Waziristan elders held at Tank on sixth Addressed to all concerned

MIR BADSHAH
President, Waziristan Tribal Jirga

[1]On 24 January 1947, a Committee under the Chairmanship of Sardar Patel had been appointed by the Indian Constituent Assembly to deal with the areas which enjoyed special status like the Tribal Areas of the NWFP The Committee was required to submit its report within three months Sardar Patel along with other members was to visit the Province and the Tribal Areas The visit was strongly opposed by the pro-ML elements of the Mahsud Tribe in South Waziristan

100

Mohamed Omar El-Madany to M A Jinnah
[Original in Arabic]

F 676/48

29 RUE CLAUDE BERNARD, PARIS 5^{e},
6 March 1947

Your Excellency Mr Mohammad Ali Jinnah,

May Peace and Blessings of Allah be upon you

I have the privilege of introducing myself and my family to you I am Mohamed Omar Abdennebi El-Madany I was born in the holy city of Madinah in the Hedjaz, where my family has been living to this day. Respected Sir, I beg to apprise you of my circumstances for your kind consideration I have heard a lot about your love for the well-being of and support for the Muslims in all corners of the world and I

cherish the hope that I will be fortunate enough to attract your kindness and generous favours

I left my holy country for Europe many years ago for education, and there I married a Swiss lady from whom I have five children, all of whom, by the Grace of Allah, are Muslims I stayed in Paris for a long time and during the last war,[1] I exhausted every penny I had saved because of the harsh and severe economic conditions Being aliens, we enjoy no right to employment or means of livelihood Nowadays I am faced with harsh circumstances which, if you do not urgently help us, may lead me and my family to death I want to return to my country but there are a number of difficulties in doing so, the most important of which are the lack of material resources and the fact that I, at present, possess no money at all It is these circumstances that have compelled me to seek help from Your Excellency, hoping that you would be kind and generous to us I pray to Allah to bestow His Favours on you and protect you as a reward for, among other things, your acts of kindness to us and your services to the humanity at large and Islam

While waiting for your munificence and help, I hope you will accept from me my greetings and lots of respect and regards

Supplicant,
MOHAMED OMAR ABDENNEBI EL-MADANY
A citizen of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia

[1]World War II

101

A K I Bayat to M A Jinnah

F 861/87

47 CHURCH STREET, PIETERMARITZBURG,
7 March 1947

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

We have pleasure to inform you that we have remitted a further £150 through Standard Bank of South Africa Ltd , to the Habib Bank, Delhi, to be credited to the Bihar Distress Relief Fund We may mention that last week we remitted £280 to the Habib Bank, through the same source and we trust that by now you have been advised of its receipt

This money was collected by the Maritzburg and District Muslim Community, in response to your appeal for the victims of Bihar

Yours faithfully,
A K I BAYAT
Manager,
Amod Bayat Wholesale & Retail Merchants

102

Najmul Huq to M A Jinnah

F 886/81-86

NOAKHALI, BENGAL,
7 March 1947

Revered Quaid-i-Azam,

May the Merciful and Beneficent Allah grant you long life and sound health so that you may be able to steer aright as usual the final phase of our national struggle for existence and emancipation through the fateful and troublous fourth eventful change that is sure to take place in the history of this sub-continent called India This is my constant and earnest prayer to the Almighty Allah, and surely such is the prayer of hundreds of millions of the Muslims of the world

With great hesitation and diffidence, I venture to disturb your good self once again and this is only to complete the phase of a visionary mission which I took upon myself to perform

I wrote a letter to your good self on 22nd November 1946[1] discussing some of our problems in my earnestness or madness, to see them solved The letter was sent per registered post to your New Delhi address I have received back the acknowledgment receipt bearing a postal seal of Karachi Frere Hall dated 29 11 46 but unsigned by or for the addressee However, I do not doubt that it safely reached your hand

I wrote a letter to the Under-Secretary of State for India while he was in New Delhi on the last occasion Although it may not be of any worth, I deem it my duty to apprise you of its contents and hence I enclose a copy of it for a very kind perusal of your good self It is pleasing to note that the British Prime Minister's declaration of the 20th February[2] and the British world policy now tend to follow a course after my ideas An unthinkable situation has been created after

the British Prime Minister's declaration If 60% Pakistan was conceded in the Cabinet Mission's Plan, the germ of 80% Pakistan is contained in the Prime Minister's declaration Increase or decrease of percentage, of course, largely depends on a successful negotiation for transference of power as has been contemplated in the declaration

Considering in the light of the Prime Minister's declaration, I think an attempt should be made for the creation of a Federation known as Azadisthan with a strong Federal Centre in eastern India

AZADISTHAN

(1) Azadisthan should consist of states of (1) Tippera (2) Cooch-Behar (3) Garo Hills (4) Khasi Hills (5) Jaintia Hills (6) Manipur (7) Naga Hills (8) Lushai Hills (9) entire Bengal and Assam minus States 1 to 8 (10) Andaman and Nicobar Islands (11) Jharkhand Santhal Parganas, Hazaribagh, Manbhum, Singhbhum, Ranchi, Palamau, Chhattisgarh, Eastern States Agency Tracts (12) Arakan and its Coastal Islands (13) French Chandernagore
Each unit state will be autonomous but non-sovereign

(2) The following will be among the Federal subjects
- (i) Defence—both external and internal—on land, sea and air
- (ii) Currency and Coinage
- (iii) All kinds of affairs with foreign States
- (iv) Communications and Transport—land, air and sea including railways, post, telegraph, telephone, radio and airways
- (v) Education
- (vi) Administration of Justice
- (vii) Customs and Tariffs—external and internal
- (viii) Commerce and Industry
- (ix) Banking and Insurance
- (x) Protection of minorities in Unit States
- (xi) Protection of religious profession and performances

(3) English will be the State language of the Federation

(4) All State languages of Units must be written in the roman script

(5) The principle of separate electorate for all distinct communities must be introduced in each Unit State

(6) The seat of the Federal Government shall be situated in Calcutta to be named Sirajuddowlah[3] Nagar

(7) The Federation will have unicameral legislature and power of taxation

ARAKAN

It was originally an independent State with a part of Chittagong

By a natural barrier it is absolutely separated from and unconnected with Burma Electoral rolls will soon be prepared for election to Burma's Constituent Assembly If active steps are taken with financial assistance, Indians in Arakan may be enrolled as voters and then they can elect their own men to the Constituent Assembly Future representatives to Burma's Constituent Assembly from Arakan may be influenced to demand, in the Constituent Assembly, that Arakan will secede itself from Burma and form a federation with Bengal This question is of vital interest and importance for Bengal Without Arakan, Bengal's position, both economically and strategically, will be very much adversely affected Arakan, with the Hills of Assam, will, in future, try to form one independent country, and Chittagong and Bay of Bengal, in such an eventuality, will be rendered insecure by that State I think, if an immediate step is taken in this behalf, some good result may be secured The Commerce Department of the Government of India may appoint an Assistant Trade Representative (Trade Representative of Burma having been appointed by this time, I think), who will tour Arakan, Cheduba Islands and other places with this object in view That officer should preferably be a man from Chittagong

Andaman and Nicobar Islands are now administered through the Chief Commissioner After the division of India in terms of the Prime Minister's declaration, they will either be made a Crown Colony for the British naval base under the Government of Ceylon or be given to Bengal, Burma or Madras I think everything depends on the force of the negotiations At least Andaman Islands, including the Little Andamans, should form part of Bengal If His Majesty's Government want to make these islands a Crown Colony, they should help inclusion of Arakan in Bengal and should give Bengal some northern islands of the Andaman Archipelago If Burma wants some islands, it should give up its claim over Arakan

JHARKHAND

The Prime Minister's declaration has made room for creation of separate suitable states such as Oudh, with its capital at Lucknow, Jharkhand and Dravidisthan Sponsors of these states should at once meet together, chalk out a plan and invigorate their movement in a constitutional method Of course, this will encourage Bengali Hindus to attempt to create a Hindu State out of Bengal But such a plan can be taken out of consideration if the Muslim League quickly transfers the Muslim population of Bihar to West Bengal and about 30 lakh of the Muslim population from the overpopulated districts of East Bengal

Besides, Bengal Government should not expropriate the rent-receiving

interests from land in the Eastern Bengal where Hindus mainly own such interests, at this stage Such a legislation may be enacted but its application to East Bengal should be deferred If Hindus of East Bengal are dislodged from their landed interests, they, being floating, will intensify the movement for the creation of a Hindu State out of Bengal and will easily migrate to West Bengal Muslims of Bihar should also migrate to Purnea and some other suitable areas of Bhagalpur

Oudh may be created as a separate State and may be made a home mainly for the Shias of India Majority of the Sunnis should migrate to Delhi and its neighbouring places so that the territory including Delhi, Agra, Aligarh, Moradabad, Bareilly and Shahjahanpur up to the borders of Nepal may form a new State The Anglo-Indians and the Indian Christians may be invited, with an assurance of protection, to live in Oudh

I think a personal representative or representatives of the President of the All India Muslim League may be appointed to explore, very confidentially, the possibility of having a constitution for Bengal as has been outlined above, by opening negotiations with H Es the Governors of Bengal, Assam and Bihar and the Viceroy of India and also important European citizens of East India

I think no portion of my letter to the Under-Secretary of State for India may be regarded as betraying weakness of mind Any such portion may be treated as a method of approach

Sikkim should be approached for entering into the Federation In view of the time limit given in the Prime Minister's declaration, we have little scope to waste time The new Viceroy, after his arrival, may proceed to make necessary changes with cyclonic speed

At least the Muslim League may set up one Constitution Subcommittee each for the Northeast, Northwest and Southern India so as to explore the possibility of an ideal Constitution for each of the areas

The Muslims of the Madras Presidency and Southern Indian States except Hyderabad should migrate to the part of Madras north of and inclusive of River Krishna up to Orissa border so that this tract may form a part of the Nizam's dominions but fully autonomous in internal administration Similarly, the part of Bombay between the latitude 16°N and the present boundary of the Mysore State and the Madras Presidency including Nova Goa should be a Muslim-populated area forming an autonomous unit of the Nizam's dominions The Muslims of southern Bombay and Mysore should move into this area Thus the Nizamisthan will get access to the seas of Bengal and Arabia Similarly, Mysore should get access to sea by getting the tract between

Shimoga and Mahe (French) In this respect, Hyderabad will be in alliance with Mysore In this fourth formative and transition period of India, I think, any shape may be carved out for any territory if only bold steps are taken Once the political thought settles up [sic], the present fluid conditions will disappear and nothing will then be possible without swords

If the Constitution Sub-Committee cannot be set up soon, I think the Bengal Premier may be asked to set up such a committee of some trusted and able officers so that the matter may be soon discussed with H Es the Governors concerned and in that case it will automatically come up for discussion in the Governors' Conference, which will be convened by H E the Viceroy after his arrival

With profound respects to your good self,

I am, a very humble worker of the Muslim League,

NAJMUL HUQ
B L
Lawyer Magistrate (First Class)

[1]Not available in *QAP*
[2]No 1
[3]Siraj-ud-Daulah

Enclosure to No 102
Najmul Huq to Arthur Henderson

F 886/87-98

REGISTERED/AIRMAIL

NOAKHALI,
17 January 1947

Sir,

I venture to write this private and most confidential letter to you and crave indulgence of your favour to read it I am a very loyal but humble subject of His Majesty the King Emperor and a faithful public servant. I am a very keen student of politics which is my most favourite but fruitless hobby

After the worldwide destruction brought about by the last World War, every responsible inhabitant of the earth and every student of politics is always anxious to give out a solution whereby a lasting peace and amity may be restored to this universe But the more a man of foresight and strong common sense thinks over this problem, the more bewildered he becomes to find that the chance of peace and tranquillity is receding far from this earth.

In spite of the very best efforts of the United Nations to bring about in end to chances of war for a long time to come, it will not be a evelation to observe that the next World War is bound to come sooner han many statesmen can think of

The starting point of the next World War will be the plains of Syria ind Persia and the Pacific regions It can be put in a simple way that Russia will be a menace to the world peace and she is fast preparing or plunging the world into the next World War

Russia gave the world the following Christmas presentation [sic] of iews

26 12 1946

Communist guerrillas' surprise thrust near Peiping[1]

28 12 1946

(i) Soviet technicians to be moved to Urals, Siberia and the Far East

(ii) Russia wants to speed up disarmament

29 12 1946

(i) Russia's changed attitude towards Western allies

(ii) Communist counter-attack in China

30 12 1946

Communists decide to set up separate government at Nanking Communist Headquarters at Yenan had issued orders for the establishnent of war-preparation committees in districts

These give clear indications that Russia is now engaged in ianoeuvres to lull the Western allies to sleep as to her main intentions nd activities and also her speedy war preparations In her future ampaign for world conquest, she will patch up alliances with pro-ussian China and pro-Russian sections of India She has, according to er object, to move up war activities near about Iran, China and the acific region

If positive and firm decisions are taken by the British at this stage, ar potentiality of Asia can be robbed of now I give below a skeleton f my scheme

(1) This is the time to persuade the Muslim countries, viz Turkmen, Kazakh, Uzbek, Tadzhik and Kirghiz Republics, Sinkiang (Chinese Turkestan), Afghanistan, Iran, and Western India (known as Pakistan) to form one bloc to be known as Central Asian League They will have the use of Karachi port and naturally countries *from Turkmen Republic to Afghanistan will have a chance of breaking away from the influence of Russia and China*

British Baluchistan may soon be joined with Sind and a railway line connecting Karachi, Quetta, and Chaman may be immediately opened through the Provincial Government of Sind so that the exports and imports of all the countries of this bloc may pass through Karachi

(2) (a) Bengal and Assam (to be known as Azadisthan to satisfy the aspirations of the majority people), (b) North Burma—north of the line connecting Fort White, Kalewa, Kanbalu and Manhope with its headquarters at Bhamo, and (c) Yunhusthan—comprising Yunan and Honan of China, that is the tract south of the line connecting Sadya in Assam, Suifu, Changsha and Wenchow of China should form a northern bloc known as South-East Asian League

Muslims of China will move into Yunusthan and Sinkiang and the Chinese language of these two countries will be written in the roman script Similarly, minorities of Burma, especially the Muslims, will move up into North Burma and the Burmese there will be written in the roman script Bengali language in Azadisthan will [also] be written in the roman script

(3) There shall be no Union Government for the entire India Pakistan, Azadisthan and Nizamisthan will be sovereign Muslim States Nizamisthan will get an access to the Indian Ocean through Masulipatam

METHOD OF ACHIEVEMENT

All the nations of Asia, including Russia, China and India, are in a formative stage now after the great upheaval of war and are in a transitional period now The All India Muslim League has proposed to convene a World Conference of Muslim Nations All facilities should be given to it and should be utilised Very confidentially, the great Muslim leaders should be impressed upon to invite Muslim leaders of China and aforenamed Muslim States of Russia and there the Scheme can be confidentially accepted If necessary, the Grand Mufti can be utilised in this respect as he is widely respected by the Muslim world as a religious leader

Immediately after the scheme has been accepted, with the help of the Muslim League, one Muslim University at Quetta and another in Calcutta should immediately be started and the British Government should confidentially contribute two crores of rupees for the establishment of both Universities

The Quetta Muslim University will draw Muslim students of Central Asia and the Calcutta Muslim University will draw students from

East Asia, especially China Each University will be made suitable for the type of students it is intended to attract to itself. Eminent English scholars will be appointed in both the Universities In this way a great number of Muslim students will come out with the ideal of Anglo-Muslim alliance

The Congress is already on the way to materialising such a scheme The appointment of Abul Kalam Azad in the Interim Government and the apportionment of the portfolio of Education to him are only to establish a University in Peshawar or Khyber so that Central Asian Muslims may be made anti-British and anti-Muslim League

India must turn red in future and so also China and other small States except the Muslim ones Without being converted to what may be loosely called "Sovietization", hundreds of castes, nationalities and races of India cannot be forged into one nation There is no other means of assimilation of the non-Hindu nationalities into the fold of Hinduism But that will be a very sad day for the world peace. India and Russia will come to an easy agreement on an equitable division of spheres of influence. Russia will take Northern Iran, Iraq, Levant States and Northern Africa, India will get Southern Iran, Arabia, Southern Africa, Burma and Southeast Asia Russia will be the leader of Asia and hence of the globe

The British people can have true and lasting friendship with Muslims only They need not fear Muslims or the rising tide in them everywhere. If Muslims aspire after getting sovereignty everywhere, that is not only their rightful claim but [that is] the spirit of this age Even after the attainment of sovereign status, every Muslim State, whether in India or in the Middle East, will require help and assistance of one or more great powers, at least for half a century if not for one full century, for an all-round development of each of the sovereign States Britain can work as the only guardian and friend of each of the Muslim States on the basis of equality and mutual assistance

The proposed United States of Europe may save the British Isles in time of war but Russia and India joining together can strike mortally at the root of its empire

The question of Sudan, Libya or Palestine recedes into insignificance in consideration of the danger that is likely to overtake the world from an alliance of friendship between India and Russia

If Central Asia can be brought under the influence of Britain and also South-Eastern China through the Muslim people, no other power will ever dare disturb peace and prosperity of the world

The Russians are master brains of manoeuvres. They could

successfully carry on their manoeuvring tactics during the war and could befool the whole world They will adopt similar tacts [sic] over again That is why Stalin has gone underground [sic]

BURMA

I think Burma should be given a constitution in which different peoples inhabiting Burma can get a scope to develop themselves in their own manner and aspiration

A confederal constitution, I think, should be the best one for all. a confederacy of 6 units of Burma viz

(a) Southern land (from Moulmein downwards)
(b) Shan states
(c) Karen land
(d) Jarbadi land or Northern land with its headquarters at Bhamo consisting of tracts of land north of the line connecting
  (i) Fort White
  (ii) Kalewa
  (iii) Kanabalu and
  (iv) Manhope
(e) Arakan
(f) Burmese land entire Burma minus (a) to (e)
  Roman script will be introduced for native languages of territories (a), (d), and (e)

The Region denoted by (d) or Upper Burma is always pro-British, although Central Burma showed the tendency of going out of the British influence Arakan has no connection with the rest of Burma due to natural barriers It was originally an independent State, including a part of Chittagong North Burma, or Region (d), has very little similarity with the rest of Burma and so also the Southern land

My suggestions may appear to be visionary and impracticable but, I think, to a realist they are the only solutions to meet the present and future ills of the human world Once decisive and firm decisions are taken, all my suggestions can be brought to reality

It is a historical fact that the British people survived and surmounted all the mortal onslaughts on them only through correct decisions, and firm and quick actions

But British statesmanship, if I am permitted to submit, could not rise to the mark and up to its reputation during the later part of war with Germany and also before Germany entered the war Germany could have been ultimately saved though brought to heels

Russia's one policy is to create problems, agitations and disturbances in the heart of enemy countries but to keep its arsenals and

field of preparations intact

Can a Jewish state in the Middle East ever be helpful to British interests? Traits of Jewish people as also of the Indian Hindus are throughout the whole history unchangeable Muslims were invited and substantially helped by the Hindus to invade India Again, while under the Muslim rule, the Hindus invited the British people and helped them substantially to invade and conquer India Again, while under the British rule, they invited Japan to invade and conquer India History repeats itself and this national character has not changed

Can the Jews remain grateful to Britain? Will they not prove ungrateful in times of danger? [No] This is specially because, after getting a foothold, the world Jewry, after centuries of deprivation, will attempt to expand their possession at the cost of Middle Eastern financially weak States and must ultimately establish alliances with Russia and India for absorbing in them the rich soils [sic] of the Middle Eastern countries Britain will then find no friend in the Old World

The British commercial community in India appears to have been overtaken by a marked stir, unsteadiness and uneasiness due to the impending political changes in this country They appear to be on the verge of winding up everywhere Their association with the commerce and industry of this country will be required for a long time, especially in regions where Muslims form a majority and will create their homeland, that is Nizamisthan in the south, Pakistan in the northwest and Azadisthan in the northeast

I consider it quite possible to convert the European business concerns of British India and other eastern countries into partnership concerns of the British people and the Muslims with a proportionate capital and interest in proportions of 40 60 after proper negotiations and safeguards for each party

Muslim India lags far behind in shipping industry and business It equally applies to cloth, yarn and jute industries If fusion of the British and Muslim capital in India is possible, monopolies of inland water transport of Bengal and Assam can at once be secured and protected for the successors of River Steam Navigation Co Ltd —a British concern operating within Bengal and Assam Similarly successors of British Indian Steam Navigation Co and Turner Morrison Steam Navigation Co can monopolize the entire import and export trade of the ports of Burma coast, Calcutta, Karachi and all the Middle East and Iranian ports If no such device is adopted, there is a likelihood that non-Asiatics will be ousted from the field by the rising commercial interests of a section of the Indians.

A pertinent question will be what is the guarantee that the Muslims will conduct [themselves] faithfully after they have captured all the vantage positions? Muslims may in their turn prove ungrateful and push aside the British My answer is neither the Christians would nor the Muslims can again think and act in terms of religious crusades There can be no unity on religious basis That is the spirit of the age The present stir in the Muslim world palpably against the British is only due to the fact that Muslim interests everywhere seem to have come into a clash with British interests Again, Muslim interests in Asia collide with the interests of non-European, non-Muslim peoples Muslims find not a single friend anywhere, hence the imperative tendency of the Muslim world to forge unity among themselves If once they can feel that their interests no longer collide with those of Britain and if they can see that the British people have stretched out a hand of fellowship and friendship with the Muslims everywhere, the present impelling necessity of unity among Muslims alone will soon die out and each Muslim power will divert its attention and energies towards self-consolidation

Then again every Muslim power will require patronisation [*sic*] and help of one great power for a very long time for all-round self-improvement This is, therefore, an absolute fact that Muslims will not prove ungrateful to the British Besides, it is in the Holy *Qur'an* that Muslims will find great friends among Christians, and Christianity in its true sense exists largely in Great Britain now Again there is no chance that Muslims will be in a position to turn their attention towards Europe for conquest as was the case in the 13th or 14th century None of the Muslim States will ever develop into an empire

The Muslim world will not again revert to *khilafat* or a Federation of the Muslim States of the world Kingship is unknown [as an] Islamic ideal

I conclude with the view that there is an imperative necessity for forging a lasting friendship between Great Britain and the Muslim States of the world—existing and budding

Prophecies of the great Prophet of Islam have never proved false According to his sayings, in a great war which will be fought in the plains of Syria, a great power of Europe will side with the Muslims and come out victorious That war will be fought most probably between Muslims and the Russians, and I have reason to believe that that power is Great Britain

I was holding a responsible position in Chittagong District Muslim League for 8 years before I accepted my present post of temporary

Magistrate exercising First Class powers I had the occasion to come in close touch with the Hon'ble Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, Finance Member, Government of India, and Nawab Muhammad Ismail Khan then

During the dark days of the War, I undertook risky and substantial relief works for the Burma evacuees The late lamented Mr Jameson, the then District Magistrate of Chittagong, that bold-hearted ICS officer who saved Chittagong from being abandoned to the Japs, used to be pleased to consult with satisfaction some aspects of the then problems with me

These suggestions are absolutely mine and none but my Creator knows them or shall know them from my side I could not procure a typewriter for myself typing such a confidential matter and hence I have written it myself

I have intruded upon your very valuable time, and it [my letter] may appear to be absolutely useless, but I have offered it with the best of motives I earnestly pray that you would be pleased to excuse me if I have in any way offended your good self by my letter, or rather this thesis

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
NAJMUL HUQ
B L

Arthur Henderson, Esq ,
Under-Secretary of State for India,
Viceregal Lodge,
New Delhi

[1]Now Beijing

103

A. Sacoor to M A Jinnah

F 908/35

IQBAL LIBRARY,
141a GREY STREET, DURBAN,
7 March 1947

Dear Sir,

We have great pleasure in informing you that at the Sixth Annual General Meeting of the Group held on Thursday, the 6th instant, you

have been unanimously elected our Patron for the ensuing year

Trusting that this will meet with your approval,

Thanking you,

Yours faithfully,
A SACOOR
Secretary,
Iqbal Study Group

PS We will be sending you our Constitution in the very near future[1]

[1]Not available in *QAP*

104

Habib Bank Ltd , Delhi, to M Yunus
(Copy to M A Jinnah)

F 679/73

CHANDNI CHOWK, DELHI,
8 March 1947

Dear Sir,

Under instructions from Quaid-i-Azam we have despatched today a parcel containing three dozen pullovers received from Messrs Janee [*sic* for Java] Hosiery Factory, Ludhiana

Kindly acknowledge receipt

Yours faithfully,
M A SIDDIQUI
Agent

M Yunus,
Member, Central Bihar Relief Committee,
Grand Hotel,
Patna

Copy forwarded to Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Malabar Hill, Bombay, for favour of information, with reference to his letter of the 4th instant.[1]

[1]No 84

105

J S Husein to M A Jinnah

F 659/12

KNOCKANE, THE MALL,
MUSSOORIE,
8 March 1947

Respected Quaid-i-Azam Sahib,

I shall feel highly obliged if you will very kindly allow me ten minutes of your precious time as I am very keen to pay my respects to you personally when I am so close to Bombay You are the saviour of the Muslim World in India as well as outside, and I have to bring to your kind notice something very important

Hope to be favoured with a very early reply, as I cannot afford to be here for long

With most cordial regards,

Yours obediently,
J S HUSEIN

Note Replied to let know the business of interview

106

Aga Khan to M A Jinnah

F 327/1-2

PERSONAL

LAND'S END,BOMBAY,
9 March [*1947*]

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I have waited till I heard of your return to Delhi before writing this The Nawab Ruler of Bhopal kindly came with me and I went to see Gandhiji with my long-cherished hope of bringing him as the uncrowned king of the H[indus] and you as the uncrowned king of the M[uslims] together and that you two should come to terms as to a future agreed Constitution for India With goodwill and common sense a Hindustan-Pakistan Con[federation] or alliance or Dual Realms, call it what you like, should be not only possible but not difficult Well!

Gandhiji feels that for any progress to be made in the matter of negotiations on the subject you would naturally like to meet a person with credentials to speak for and on behalf of the Congress He had, he said, no such credentials The only person who in his opinion could speak with such authority would be the President of the Congress whoever he may be at the time of the talks, "even an Englishman", as Gandhiji said If it meets with your approval the question of methods and ways and means to arrange contact is not likely to present much difficulty and I may suggest the name of a neutral [person] of the highest rank such as will leave no question of who first moved in the matter, Hindu or Muslim, to arise In great confidence I may suggest to you for your personal approval H H the N[awab] of B[hopal] If you approve of the idea, you may give H H your approval I fully understand that only you are entitled to speak for the Muslims of India according to all canons of historical precedent

All my sincere friendship,

AGA KHAN

PS. Of course if you don't like it the whole thing *drops*[1]

A K

[1]Emphasis in the original

107

Manzar-i-Alam to M A Jinnah

F 227/20-21

10-B FAIZ BAZAR, DARYAGANJ, DELHI,
9 March 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I had apprised you in my previous letter[1] that the Muslims were badly suffering in Indian States Our own organisation, namely the All India States Muslim League, has existed only in name The last meeting of the Council held in the middle of February, 1947, at Delhi unanimously agreed to my suggestion that an office of the All India States Muslim League should be organised at Delhi and that an independent annual session should be summoned to take stock of the present position of the Muslims in the States The Councillors also informally agreed to reorganise the States Muslim League as soon as possible The work has been entrusted to me During the last two

weeks I have succeeded in establishing a small office in a flat in Daryaganj, Delhi It is very near the office of the All India Muslim League The work of organising the Musalmans in the Indian States is a very difficult job and may not be possible without your kind help and guidance The All India States Peoples Conference sponsored by the Congress High Command will oppose us at every step and I am anxious to carry on the work without provoking opposition from any quarter Therefore, I am writing to secure your help and guidance in the matter and also to assure you that I sincerely desire to work on the lines that may kindly be suggested by you

In view of the new responsibilities that I shall have to discharge I could not carry on my work as the President of the Aligarh Muslim University Muslim League Therefore, in consultation with my Working Committee and Mr Mohammad Ismail Khan, President of the U P Muslim League, I have given over the charge of my office at Aligarh to Mr Jamiluddin Ahmad of the English Department, Muslim University, Aligarh

I am at present staying at Delhi and wish to consult you regarding the proposed steps for strengthening the All India States Muslim League If you intend to come here in the near future, kindly give me a date when I may be able to see you at your residence at Delhi If you do not propose to come here for some time more, kindly favour me with your kind message (that may be given to the press) so that I may be sure of your goodwill before proceeding further

I am confident that you will kindly do me the solicited favour at an early date

With sincerest wishes for your good health,

Yours sincerely,
MANZAR-I-ALAM

[1]Not available in *QAP*

108

Arshad Ali Haji to M A Jinnah

F 886/99

HOTEL MAJESTIC, BOMBAY,
10 March 1947

My most respectable and dear Mr Jinnah,

I am sure that you remember the name of this humble Muslim brother to whom you were kind enough to send to New York many books written by you, regarding the Muslim League cause

I am here in Bombay since the beginning of the current year, and I will be very glad to meet you if you will grant me an interview before the 20th instant, because afterwards I am prepared [*sic*] to leave Bombay for Europe and the U S A once again

Awaiting your favourable and earliest reply,

I remain, Honourable Sir,
Yours very sincerely,
ARSHAD ALI HAJI

109

Mohamed Azim Khan to M A Jinnah

F 886/100

PRIVATE & CONFIDENTIAL

SIR PHIROZSHAH MEHTA ROAD, BOMBAY,
10 March 1947

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am the Managing Director of the firm Gore & Co , Bombay, who are actively engaged in the import-export trade of cloth etc in a pretty large way We have old established connections with several well-known British textile manufacturers and exporters

With a view to install a textile mill in India in partnership with some of our old English friends, I had gone to England to settle the general terms and conditions of business between us and I returned to India lately

They are very influential people and seemed to be equally well-informed about the present political situation of India, as a result of

their position in the textile industry and close association with the highest authorities in England In the course of conversation I gathered certain impressions, which I would very much like to reveal to you in strict confidence, because the same might throw light, to a degree at any rate, for guidance of your deliberations to achieve our cherished goal of Pakistan

I request the favour of your granting me an interview at any time, if at all convenient to you

If necessary the time and date of appointment may be conveyed to *me by telephone*·

Office No 22041 (between 11 a m and 5 p m)

Residence No 89212 (between 6 p m and 10 a m)

Hoping to be excused for the trouble I may have given you,

Yours truly,
MOHAMED AZIM KHAN

110

Mahomed Munshi and Ebrahim Dadabhoy to M A Jinnah[1]

Telegram, F 560/23

JOHANNESBURG,
10 March 1947

Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah, 10 Aurangzeb Road, [Delhi]

Doctor Yusuf Dadoo and Naiker are Communists and anti-Muslim League and pro-Congress and Gandhiites They are leaving for India this Tuesday by air Please beware Personally we have nothing against them but Muslim interests demand we should caution you This is for your private information only

DOCTOR MAHOMED MUNSHI,
President,
EBRAHIM DADABHOY,
Secretary,
Servants of All India Muslim League

[1] Also see No 115

111

Sualeh Mohamed Tayab to M A Jinnah

F 908/36

152 KAMBEKAR STREET, BOMBAY,
10 March 1947

Sir,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

I beg to invite your attention to a letter addressed to you on the 16th January, 1947,[1] while you were in Karachi, regarding the establishment of a general hospital for Muslims in Bombay I have not yet had the pleasure of receiving your reply to it But I hope the letter is receiving your kind attention

In spite of your preoccupation I trust you will favour me with an early reply or grant me an interview on any day and time suitable to you

Anxiously awaiting your reply and thanking you,

Yours fraternally,
SUALEH MOHAMED TAYAB
Convener, Hospital Sub-Committee
The Muslim Ambulance Society[2]

[1]Not available in *QAP*
[2]The Society was established in 1932

112

Saif F B Tyabji to M A Jinnah

F 669/1

ANJUMAN-I-ISLAM,
92 HORNBY ROAD, FORT, BOMBAY,
10 March 1947

Dear Mr Jinnah,

I am enclosing a copy of a letter received by us from the Government of Bombay.

The matter was discussed by the Committee of Management and

we drafted a resolution of which I also enclose a copy

The matter appears to the Anjuman to be of great difficulty and of an all-India character and before we finally adopt a resolution, the Committee of Management desire that, if possible, your guidance and advice should be obtained

I should, therefore, be obliged if you could give an appointment when some representatives of the Anjuman could see you to obtain your views on the matter

Yours sincerely,
SAIF F B TYABJI
Joint Honorary Secretary

Enclosure 1 to No 112

F 669/2-3

IMMEDIATE POONA,
No. 150/99-C *2 October 1947*

Subject Introduction of religious teaching in syllabi of different educational institutions

Sir,

I have the honour to say that suggestions are made to Government to introduce religious education with a view to breed[ing] in every school-going child a feeling of admiration and reverence for all religions and to overcome religious insularity I request you to let me know your views in the matter so that they may be helpful to Government in deciding their attitude towards religious teaching in educational institutions

If you think that religious education should be introduced in educational institutions, I request you to send me immediately an outline of the scheme you would like to have to achieve the end in view

Your obedient servant,
S[IGNE]D
for Director of Public Instruction

To

The Education Inspectors,
Bombay District, Central District, Northeast District, Northern District, Southern District
The Inspector of Girls Schools,
Bombay District, Central District

The Principals of Secondary Training Colleges,
Bombay and Belgaum
The Heads of Government Secondary Schools for Boys and Girls
The Heads of the
Nutan Marathi Vidayalaya High School, Poona
American Mission High School, Ahmednagar
Babu P. P. Jain High School, Bombay
T and T V Sarvajanik High School, Surat
Raja L S High School, Dharwar
Chandramji Hindu Girls School, Bombay
Sir J J Parsi Benevolent Institute, Bombay
Pethe High School, Nasik
Anjuman-i-Islam High School, Bombay
Hindu High School, Karwar
St Xavier High School, Bombay
The Principals of
Government Training Institutions for Men,
Training College for Men, Poona, Ahmedabad and Dharwar
The Headmaster, Urdu Training College for Men, Poona
The Lady Superintendents,
Training College for Women, Poona, Ahmedabad, Dharwar
and Urdu Training College for Women, Poona

Enclosure 2 to No 112

F 669/3

DRAFT RESOLUTION

Item No. 4

The Managing Committee of the Anjuman-i-Islam has considered the Circular dated 2nd October, 1946 from the Director of Public Instruction asking for the views of the Anjuman on the suggestions made to the Government to introduce religious education with a view to breed[ing] in every school-going child a feeling of admiration and reverence for all religions and to overcome religious insularity

The Anjuman-i-Islam is strongly in favour of giving religious instruction to children The Anjuman is, therefore, of the opinion that the State must aid the giving of such instruction by allotting periods during the school hours for religious instruction and by grants-in-aid But the nature and method of this instruction must depend on the free and unfettered choice of the parent or guardian of the child and of the

association or authority in whom such parent or guardian has confidence No interference by the Government in the method of imparting religious education or in its substance can be tolerated, for any such interference would result in the curtailment of the right of free belief Nor can such religious instruction be subject to inspection by any officers of the Department of Education or be restricted to books or courses approved or sanctioned by that Department

It necessarily follows that religious instruction cannot be promoted with any particular "view", however laudable such view may be from the point of view of the State Religion is, and must remain, for the needs of the soul alone

Taking into account the overriding considerations set out above, the Anjuman is of the opinion that the method for encouraging religious education must consist of and be confined to

(a) schools being permitted to allot periods during school hours to religious instruction and
(b) the expenditure incurred by such schools on religious instruction being taken into account as admissible expenditure under the Grant-in-Aid Code

The attention of the Managing Committee has been drawn to a letter dated 7th December, 1946[1] sent by the Headmaster, Anjuman-i-Islam High School, in reply to the letter of the Director of Public Instruction, Poona, dated 2nd October, 1946 That letter must be read subject to the terms of this resolution

The Managing Committee particularly endorse the statement of the Headmaster that no religion is worth the name if it inculcates fanaticism and preaches hatred towards other religions, but they cannot agree to any scheme of religious education being submitted to you If religious education is to be permitted at all, it must be absolutely free to the exponent of every religion to give instruction in accordance with his own faith and beliefs

[1]Not available in *QAP*

113

Consul for Iraq to Secretary to M A Jinnah

F 676/25

ROYAL CONSULATE GENERAL FOR IRAQ, BOMBAY,
11 March 1947

Dear Sir,

I have pleasure in sending herein a booklet[1] in Arabic which gives the press interview of His Excellency the Prime Minister of Iraq to newspapers in Iraq on the subject of "Palestine" I shall feel grateful if you will kindly place this before Mr Jinnah at an early date for his information

Yours faithfully,
HIKMET EL-JAIBECHI
Consul for Iraq

[1] Not available in *QAP*

114

Mohiud Din to K H Khurshid

F 784/187-190

ISLAMABAD, KASHMIR,
11 March 1947

Dear Mr Khurshid,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

Thank God for the rebirth of our correspondence after a long and unavoidable—at least on my part—interval which was very much tiresome for me

You know that I was throughout helpless When you got the lucky chance to visit England, did you remember this humble friend of yours who is proud of your post? There was no farewell letter from you, and there came no news of your arrival from England at least on your part. You were in Karachi but what was your address? This did not induce me to write to you Now you are in Bombay, I know your address and therefore this letter To all my humble submissions your

honour's brief but magnificent apology shall be the same hackneyed term "lack of respite" There the matter ends

Dear friend! Whatever took place during the above-mentioned interval has satisfied me to a great extent The Bihar carnage was in the same direction in which the historic Punjab agitation was The messages of Quaid-i-Azam come true when the Muslims start any movement anywhere in British India And we are surely and steadily gaining ground But I am now a realist—and this is because of Quaid-i-Azam's moral cameos I see how much struggle lies ahead of us We have to face thousand and one heavy odds—of Congress inside and abroad, and of the treacherous Britishers, and, last but not least, traitors in our own camp British India is lucky in this that it has Quaid-i-Azam Here I see some dark clouds in the sky The condition of States is stationary While the two nations fight for freedom, the Princes fight for autocracy

Unfortunately the League has adopted the policy of non-interference in the States What is the sense? If the 1935 Act separated the States from the British India, that Act is going into oblivion The future is ahead The States are going to be free The Congress has already hired agents in the States Muslims long for the guidance of the League but they are dismayed—they complain of League's "non-interference" Accepting every item of League programme in British India, I cannot but disagree with its policy towards the States Does the League think of solving or rather tackling the State's problem after the British Indian problem is solved? If you ask me to support Pakistan because millions of Muslims shall be free from the domination of Hindus in British India, I will do it, but the same urge compels me to ponder a bit over my own fate If I am not in Pakistan, then why should I not tackle my own problems at home? Besides Pakistan needs Kashmir, and we need Pakistan But the fight for it must begin now Thus the policy of non-interference is beyond my understanding If the League is kind enough to tell us that it will never help us in any way, we shall act accordingly

The session of the Kashmir Assembly is to begin on March 27 The number of Muslim Independents is nearly 12 out of 21 The rest [of the] 9 Muslims are with the League but not with the Muslim Conference There are a few among them who are with the Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference, the rest are either with the Kashmir Muslim Conference or [with the] Jammu Muslim Conference Hamid[1] and his party are against Yusuf Shah[2] and his party—and both are traitors The Government does not consider them worth anything, otherwise it shall find many an MLA of this little group to get

ministership or anything from the Government Here I want the League to interfere Issuing a general statement will not do, the League must give definite instructions to the party leaders, even a Punjabi Leaguer may be instructed to confer with them Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar may do anything but that will be a long way What is needed is the guidance of the nine Muslims in the Assembly immediately

I got the licence of pleadership only last month I do my bit of work in the bar

I hope you are keeping good health and a cheerful mood

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,
MOHIUD DIN

[1]Chaudhary Hamidullah Khan
[2]Mir Waiz Muhammad Yusuf Shah

115

M A Munshi & Ebrahim Dadabhoy to M A Jinnah

F 861/88-90

P O BOX 2388, JOHANNESBURG,
TRANSVAAL, SOUTH AFRICA,
11 March 1947

Dear Quaid Sahib,

With further reference to our letter of January last[1] and the remittance of a Bank Draft therewith, we have pleasure in forwarding a further Bank Draft No A 283660 dated 27th February 1947 for the sum of Rs 13,218 (representing Rs 11,218/9/5 as contributions and Rs 2,000 as *Zakat* money) These amounts are forwarded for the relief and succour of the Muslim victims who had to suffer at the hands of our enemies We shall be pleased to receive your acknowledgement in due course

We are very much concerned and greatly perturbed at the recent happenings in India, more particularly at the attitude taken by the Hindus, Sikhs and the British to humiliate the Muslims in trying to deprive them of their legitimate rights to secure Pakistan

The firmament may look cloudy for the time being but the silver lining will manifest itself if we will put our shoulders to the wheel with patience, courage, unity, discipline and fortitude, for with these traits, come what may, we will, *Insha' Allah,* be bound to succeed

Before closing we would like to point out that Doctor Dadoo, the President of the present Transvaal Indian Congress and Doctor Naiker, the President of the Natal Indian Congress, both Communists, are on their way to India to attend the [Inter-]Asian [Relations]Conference As it is possible that Dr Dadoo might approach you on the South African question, we submit with deference that you will be very guarded in your dealings with him It is also possible that you might have received a cable from Mr M A Dinath, the present President of the Transvaal Muslim League, asking you to recognise Dr Dadoo, but please note that Mr Dinath, who is also a Vice-President of the Transvaal Indian Congress and as inseparable bird of the same feather as the anti-Muslim Communist Dr Dadoo, is trying to exploit the Muslim League to glorify his comrades, Drs Dadoo and Naiker, also of the same ilk It is this very Dinath who, during his Chairmanship of the Congress meetings, eulogised the anti-Muslim Sorabjee Rustamjee and bowed his head on the singing of *Bande Matram* and the shouting of the Hindu slogan *Jai Hind*

It appears that the said Dinath, now and then, forwards cablegrams to you and to Gandhi, Nehru, etc , in the name of the Transvaal Muslim League, without the knowledge of the Committee Members, who have, on hearing of the same, protested at his arbitrary attitude

We also enclose herewith a cutting from the *Star*[2] showing that the boycott of Indian traders is fast spreading Already Muslim traders are receiving notices to quit premises whereon their business is situated The situation that is developing affects the Muslims principally The Hindu and Tamil sections are not affected seriously and are not worried

This situation is a result of the irresponsible leadership of the Indian community The Communists are led by persons who are not concerned with vested rights The Indian Communists have openly declared that the Indian people are one with the Bantu in demanding equal rights for all This has added fuel to the fire of discontent and agitation against Indian traders and is intensifying the boycott

We deemed it fit to advise you because 99 per cent of the Muslims of this province are affected

We hope and trust that under your illustrious leadership and with the assistance of the eminent leaders of the All India Muslim League, you will be successful in achieving the objects aimed at in this present life-and-death struggle of the Musalmans of India

May the Almighty give you long life, strength and health to lead us to success

We are,
Yours obediently,
M A MUNSHI
MBBS, MRCP, LRCP
President,
and
EBRAHIM DADABHOY
Secretary,
Servants of All India Muslim League

[1&2]Not available in QAP

116

M A K Tareen to M A Jinnah

F 769/431

177 COLLEGE STREET, TORONTO, CANADA,
11 March 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Herewith I am sending you the latest issue of our *News Bulletin* for the month of March This is the fifth issue of the bulletin that we have published since the start of the Association at the end of last year We are trying to improve upon the present condition as much as possible In this connection we are trying to get the support of all the people in this country You would see that at present there are Turkish, Egyptian and Iranian members on our staff, besides Indian Muslims

The members of the A M S A have asked me to request you to send a message I need not add that a message from you would be real encouragement for the members of our Association I would be very much obliged if you send us your message for the Association and we would be very glad to incorporate it in our next issue for April

I may add that I am trying to get permission from the Government here to let us publish a full-fledged magazine which I hope, when permission is obtained, would be very useful for us

The recent riotings [*sic*] in the Punjab have been really alarming The Muslim students here are very much concerned over it [these.]

With all the best wishes and sincere prayers for your long life,

I am,

Yours respectfully,

MOHAMMAD AMEEN KHAN TAREEN

General Secretary,

Association of Muslim Students in America

Enclosure to No 116

F 769/432-35

MUSLIM NEWS BULLETIN NO 5 (MARCH 1947)

Circulated by

ASSOCIATION OF MUSLIM STUDENTS IN AMERICA
177 COLLEGE STREET, TORONTO, CANADA

Editor Mohammad Ameen K Tareen, M A

Editorial Board

1 Miss Cenan Pamir (Turkey)
2 Mr Abdullah Faryar (Iran)
3 Mr Mohammad Fehmy (Egypt)
4 Mr Shamim A Mian (India)
5 Mr M C Dass

WHAT WE STAND FOR

The Association of Muslim Students in America is an organization of Muslim students from various parts of the world Realizing the urgency [of the need] for promotion of understanding between various nations of the world as a necessary step towards the achievement of peace and harmony among the warring elements of the earth, the Muslim students in this country felt the necessity of an organization which could authoritatively explain the Muslim viewpoint before other nations The A M S A is essentially a religious and social organization, keeping aloof from the controversial politics of the world. Its only object is to understand the non-Muslims and present the Muslim point of view on various world problems to facilitate a better understanding between the nations of the world

TRUMAN HELD RESPONSIBLE FOR PALESTINE IMPASSE

The British Foreign Secretary, Ernest Bevin, with his well-known bluntness, accused President Truman of torpedoing the chance of a

truce between the Arabs and the Zionists by issuing his unfortunate statement on October 4 last year, which demanded the immediate admission of 1,00,000 Jews in Palestine Pressed hard by an economic crisis at home as well as [by] the growing opposition within the Labour Party itself, Mr Bevin took the House into confidence and frankly exposed before them the unwise part that America had played in the Palestine negotiations "We might have been able to have done more for the Jews and increased the admission rate if the bitterness of feeling had not been increased by American pressure for immediate decision on 1,00,000", Mr Bevin said "I do not desire to create any ill- feeling with the United States and I have, as a matter of fact, done all I can to promote the best possible relations with America as with other countries, but I should have been happy if they had remembered that we were the mandatory power and we were carrying the responsibility " These words, which bear all the harshness and bluntness [born] of deep desperation, could not have been uttered unless Mr Bevin had been very highly disappointed and frustrated by the unwise and untimely action of the American Administration

As the Foreign Secretary informed the House of Commons, he received, while at the Paris Peace Conference, at midnight, a telephone call from Prime Minister Attlee who told him that Mr Truman was going to issue another statement on the admission of Jews in Palestine Mr Bevin, anticipating its poisonous and destructive effects on the Palestine negotiations—which according to him were till then proceeding successfully—next day "begged" the Secretary of State, James F Byrnes, that the statement should not be issued Mr Byrnes replied that if it was not issued by Mr Truman, a competitive statement would be issued by Mr Dewey

"I really must point out that in international affairs I cannot settle things if my problem is made the subject of local elections " Evidently these local politics did play a great and devastating part in the Palestine situation Mr Truman, who wanted to win the support of the Jewish electorate, issued this statement to appease them This was, however, an unfortunate incident that Truman's party faced, during the last Congressional elections, the worst defeat in its history

Mr. Bevin's candid confession of the bungling done by the Americans—as well as the British—has been received among the American Zionists as "a mendacious, misleading and insulting statement ever issued from the lips of a British Foreign Secretary" The White House also has termed it a "misleading" statement

Now when the issue is being brought before the United Nations, it

would be interesting to watch the course of events The Zionists are making all efforts to get admission into Palestine and they are being backed in these efforts by all the financial forces of [the] American Jewry and the Press, most of which is directly or indirectly controlled by Jewish capital The plea apparently put forth by the Jews is that the displaced persons from Europe must be given a national home in the Holy Land But the real motives behind it are much more sinister than they appear on the surface Zionism is in fact making an all-out and "unto-the-last" effort to import as many people in Palestine as they can and thus to reduce the Arab population to a desperate minority, ultimately leading to their political domination by the Jews If it would have been a matter of human sympathies towards the displaced Jews they would have readily secured the willing sympathies of all right-thinking and peace-loving people But the uncompromisable [*sic*] position is that they, on the basis of their economic position, want to establish a Jewish State which could be an indication and symbol of their political power To quote Mr Bevin again, "If it was only a question of alleviating Europe of 1,00,000 Jews, a settlement could be found I believe a settlement could be found if it is a purely human thing I have got to solve Unfortunately that is not the position from the Zionist point of view, 1,00,000 is only a beginning The Jewish Agency talks in terms of millions " And why should there arise a necessity of displacing millions from their existing homes and families with an intention of dumping them over unwilling Arabs who are not prepared to accept them? The U N shall have [*sic*] within the next few months—and much earlier if the British proposal to the U N Secretary General for a special session is accepted—be faced with the problem of deciding whether to consider the Arab demands of restricted immigration as justified or putting the whole of the Middle East aflame by forcing Jewish admission in Palestine, which, according to a spokesman of the Arab League, "would be resisted with blood and sword" The U N has thus very evidently to choose between forging peace, without being influenced by powerful vested interests,or forcing "blood and sword" Palestine certainly constitutes a test case for this international peace organisation

THE SPIRIT OF ISLAM

"There is no God but Allah and Muhammad is His Prophet" In these words, first uttered 1,300 years ago, lies the secret of the feeling of oneness that exists today among the 400 million Muslims of the world A Muslim in the streets of Calcutta or on the farms of Arizona considers any other Muslim in any other part of the world as one of his own The feeling today inspires the heart of an Egyptian Muslim

when he feels great personal pride on hearing the news of Indonesian independence The same feeling made Mustafa Kemal a hero of Muslim India

The question naturally arises that why is it that when the so-called civilized nations are warring against each other, when one country is determined to deprive its neighbour of all [that] it possesses, there exists a family of peoples living in different parts of the world that recognises no geographical barriers and that does not take into account any distinction of race, class or colour? Why is it that the Muslim Education has failed to produce any nationalistic prejudices among the Muslims? The answer is a simple one A Muslim, wherever he may be, has only one allegiance And that is to his God—Who is the same for everyone And in Whose Eyes all human beings are equal irrespective of their worldly status No one is better than the others He has created all that a man can see or conceive No one country is better than the other The God of a Muslim is the ultimate spiritual basis of all life that ever existed or shall ever exist Loyalty to such a God virtually amounts to Man's loyalty to his own ideal nature Belief in the greatness of Man and faith in the goodness that Allah inspires in a human being place a Muslim above all material ultimacy of [*sic*] things When a Muslim decides to do a thing, he says *Insha' Allah* (God Willing), when he begins it, he says *Bismillah* (Begin in the name of God), when he has finished it, he thanks God for the success by saying *Alhamdolillah* (Praise be to God), when he says good-bye to any one, he says *Allah (Khuda) Hafiz* (God is the Protector), and when he sees something beautiful, he says *Subhan Allah* (Praise be to God) Thus a Muslim works for God, thinks for God, and lives for God In other words every activity of his life is dedicated to Allah He believes that whatever the produce and natural wealth of any land, it belongs to Allah, and hence to all mankind, irrespective of the geographical location

Tauheed forms the basis of complete equality—moral, social and economical [*sic*] The Holy *Qur an* says, "And We have created you all from one breath of life" In Islam this principle of equality is actually seen at work One *Azan* (call to prayer) brings everyone out of the home All Muslims go to the same mosque Wherever they may be in the world, they all face towards the *Ka'ba* Each individual, whatever his worldly status may be, draws inspiration from his Creator independently and on equal footing There are no privileged classes, even spiritually

A Muslim is expected to perform *hajj* at least once in his lifetime For this purpose, Muslims from all over the world gather every year at

Mecca *Hajj* is the greatest example of a truly democratic institution King and slave, rich and poor, Chinese and Moors, [all] meet at the same place, don the same garb, eat the same food, observe the same rituals and pray to Allah for [His] Mercy and Guidance

The second part of the *Kalima* goes as, "And Muhammad is [Allah's] Prophet" Muslims all over the world are obliged to follow the traditions of the Prophet—the way Muhammad did things Here we have a man who actually lived with us, to show to the mankind how the Laws of Allah are to be interpreted and implemented Muslims all over the world try to attain the ideal set by the Prophet They all tread the same path to achieve the same goal

What greater bond could there be between men and women of divergent races, of different colours, and residing in different parts of the world than the culture that grew out of the impact of these ideals on the civilization of the world[1] No wonder these peoples, having identical sets of moral and social values, possess a strong feeling of kinship It is not unnatural that they think, act and react the same way

It first grew and spread with the rise of Islam when Muslims crossed many lands and waters and reached the remotest corners of the earth It remained unaffected when such intercourse almost ceased Now, with the development of means of communication, it is being diverted into channels where it can be usefully employed for the benefit of all Let us, who think and feel alike, stand together Let us contribute as much as we can for a better, happy and prosperous world

JUNE 1948 IS THE DEADLINE

The British Government, through its spokesman, Premier Attlee, has once again betrayed the usual lack of understanding and the unwise judgment of the situation Mr Attlee's latest statement[1] setting a deadline for the transfer of power to Indian hands has been hailed as a momentous step by the incorrigible optimists in this country and abroad Evidently these people have been carried away by the sentimental tone of the statement which has been accepted as the "last wish" of a departing master

But a careful study of the vital points in the statement, against a background of incidents during the last one year, reveals the farcical character of this "momentous decision" Even as early as 1946 when that unfortunate "farce", notoriously termed the "Cabinet Plan", was presented, India had been promised a speedy evacuation of the "masters" who had been ruling this sub-continent for the last two hundred years The promise, accepted on its face value, was attractive enough,

but it is because of the events that followed that promise that the British "dishonesty" stands most naked The bloodshed and communal riots that have become the normal occurrence since July last are the legitimate heritage of the British policy adopted after the presentation of the Cabinet Plan One cannot attribute motives other than a hidden desire to stay in India as long as they could when the British thought it fit to go back on their declared promises and to back the party which had openly supported the Japanese Fascists in 1942 When Japanese forces were knocking at India's door and the Allied power was at its lowest ebb, the Hindu Congress leader Mr Gandhi—who declared that General Tojo was his brother—considered it an opportune moment to start his notorious rebellion which resulted in India-wide sabotage of means of communication and transport and supply bases vital and important to the Allied forces in South East Asia [in their] fight [against] the Japanese against heavy odds This part of the world is not very much aware of the fact that this was the party backed by the British Government at the expense of 100 million Muslims who had actively supported the Allies during hard times At the time of the Cabinet Plan, Mr Jinnah, who leads the destiny of 100 million Muslims of India, was literally "cheated" and a government was installed in India representative only of Hindus, who had not accepted the Cabinet Plan which was the basis for such an arrangement

The Indian Constituent Assembly, which is also the outcome of the now-doomed Cabinet Plan, is, as we pointed out in one of the earlier issues, the biggest farce in history ever played on the constitutional stage of the world It consists of a bunch of high-caste Hindus, representatives of Oriental Fascism, who are running a body which is constitutionally *ultra vires*

Mr Attlee's statement, so far as it takes up an attitude of deliberate and ill-intentioned silence on the Constituent Assembly problem, is most unfortunate It overlooks the vital "bone of conflict" which at present stands between the Muslims and the Hindus The position of Mr Jinnah and the Muslims is crystal clear on that point No party has accepted the fundamentals of the Cabinet Plan Why then this farce of a Constituent Assembly? It would have been a far better expression of good intention on the part of the British Government if they had drawn a curtain on the Constituent Assembly melodrama The Constituent Assembly without the Muslims is just like playing Hamlet with[out] the King of Denmark

Again, the part of the statement dealing with the transfer of power into Indian hands, when it is finally put into effect, is deplorably

vague. The statement tacitly implies that the British Government have lost faith in the efficacy of the method and policy of appeasing the Congress, which they had been adopting until now This virtually amounts to a vindication of the stand taken by Mr. Jinnah and his Muslim League But it would have been more proper if they had declared that the power would ultimately be transferred to Muslims in those areas where they demand Pakistan, i e separate national homelands, and to Hindus where they command a majority In the light of their past history, which we are constrained to say is extremely dark, this vagueness leads to various misgivings It is time that the intricacy of the situation "must"—and we lay a big emphasis on "must"—be realized The British—if at last they have made up their mind to do so—must leave India in good grace They should not leave India to chaos and disorder, which would be the inevitable outcome of leaving it to one party only Each must be given its just right Pakistan to the Muslims and Hindustan to the Hindus The time calls for an honest gesture on the part of the British people as well as the Government

BIHAR MUSLIM RELIEF FUND

We are glad to announce that a sum of $ 201 22 has been collected for the above fund and sent to Mr M A Jinnah on the 20th of February 1947 We must congratulate all who have contributed towards this fund, and our special congratulations go to Mr S A Hussain of the University of Wisconsin in this connection This was a humble contribution from the Muslim students from India in this country, as a token of deep sympathy for those of our brothers and sisters who have suffered grievously in the cause of the nation A second instalment shall soon be sent to India and those friends who haven't contributed their share are appealed to send their donations now This is a time when a little sacrifice can bring you greater rewards We realize that we are not in a position to do much but we should make whatever little sacrifice we can to express our sympathies and gratitude to the orphans and families of those who gave their precious lives for our sake, for yours and mine All donations may be sent either to this office or to Mr Hussain, whose address is 923 Clymer Place, Madison, Wisconsin

THE UNTOUCHABLES WIN BRITISH GOVERNMENT'S SUPPORT
(FROM OUR INDIAN CORRESPONDENT)

Dr Ambedkar, the Untouchables' leader, who spent a month of patient labour in Great Britain, returned to India recently with great achievement He met the leaders of various sections of the British Parliament, including Mr Attlee and Mr Churchill, and spoke confi-

dently that when the matter comes to be examined by the British Parliament at the time of passing the Act transferring sovereignty, some definite steps are sure to be taken to ascertain the real wishes of the minorities as to the safeguards they need It appears that the stand of the Scheduled Castes Federation has been vindicated despite the mischievous propaganda of the Hindu Congress which wants to establish a Caste-Hindu domination in Indian politics

[*Para omitted*]

THE CASE OF MUSLIM INDIA

Limited copies of the above pamphlet,[2] which is an excellent and brief exposition of the Muslim case, are available in this office free of charge Those desirous of having copies should please write to us To cover the postage, packing, mailing, etc, 20 cents worth of postal stamps may be sent

[*Last two paras omitted*]

[1]No 1
[2]M A Hassan Ispahani was the author

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Riffat Husain Usmani to M A Jinnah

F 1056/23
[*Original in Urdu*]

20 ADDISCOMBE GROVE,
EAST CROYDON, ENGLAND,
11 March 1947

Sir,

The Society formed by the students sent by the Indian and Provincial Governments, to guide and assist intellectually and financially the incoming Indian students, is holding a conference of all such students as are residents in England, on 29 March 1947

The purpose of the conference is to bring the students together to enable them to exchange views on the economic well-being of the country, the ways in which science and industry can best be used to serve the needs of the country, and the role that the students can play after completing their studies in the new India

It is to address these problems and to establish contacts between students that the conference is being organized

On this important occasion a few encouraging words from you will be a great source of strength as well as inspiration

We so earnestly wish that this conference be inaugurated with your message which, we believe, would ensure the success of the meet

Yours obediently,
RIFFAT HUSAIN USMANI
Secretary,
The Indian State Scholars' Association

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Statement of All India Muslim League Central Fund

F 57/13-14

[CALCUTTA],
12 March 1947

LIST OF PERSONS ON WHOM CHEQUES WERE ISSUED[1]

Cheque Nos	S No	Name and Address	Amount given [Rs as ps]	A/C submitted [Rs as ps]	A/C not submitted[2] [Rs as ps]
52076	1	Md Gani Khan	2,000	-	2,000
52077	2	Abdul Hamid Khan	5,000	5,000	-
52078	3	S A Mohsin	5,000	-	5,000
52079	4	Sayeed Zakaria	13,460	13,460	-
52080	5	Mirza Abdul Hafiz	2,000	2,000	-
52081	6	Abdul Gani	3,000	3,000	-
52082	7	N Alam, Rajshahi	7,500	-	7,500
52083	8	Nurul Alam	2,000	2,000	-
52084	9	Abdul Latif Baqi	2,000	2,000	-
52085	10	A F Shamsher Rahman	2,000	2,000	-
52086	11	A H Md Fakhruddin A/C K B Nurul Ameen	2,000	-	2,000
52087	12	A H Md Fakhruddin for A Karim	1,200	-	1,200
52088	13	A H Md Fakhruddin for Maulvi Akbar Ali	1,500	-	1,500
52089	14	A H Md Fakhruddin for Mir Ahmed Ali	1,000	-	1,000
52090	15	A H Md Fakhruddin	1,000	-	1,000
52091	16	A H Md Fakhruddin for K B Fazlur Rehman	1,500	-	1,500
52092	17	A H Md Fakhruddin			

		for Md Ismail	1,500	-	1,500
52093	18	A H Md Fakhruddin for K B Giasuddin Pathan	4,000	-	4,000
52094	19	Abdul Gofran, S W Ahmed, Mujibar Rahman	8,000	-	8,000
52095	20	Md Habibullah	3,000	-	3,000
52096	21	Nawab Ali, Tippera	2,000	2,000	-
52097	22	Paramount Press & Publicity Syndicate	2,860	2,860	-
52098	23	New Half Tone Co	340/11/-	340/11/-	-
52099	24	*Morning News*	21	21	-
52100	25	*Star of India*	25/08/-	25/08/-	-
56401	26	The Eastern Pakistan Printing Press	250	250	-
56402	27	The Eastern Pakistan Printing Press	250	250	-
56403	28	Hashaby & Co	3,080	3,080	-
56404	29	Abdul Hamid Shah, President, Assam Provincial [Muslim] League	9,900	-	9,900
56405	30	President, Dacca Muslim League	2,000	-	2,000
56406	31	Mozammil Hossain	5,000	-	5,000
56407	32	Lutfor Rahman	2,500	-	2,500
56408	33	H S Suhrawardy	2,300	-	2,300
56409	34	H S Suhrawardy	2,000	-	2,000
56410	35	Maniruddin Ahmed	1,000	1,000	-
56411	36	Nazir Hussain Khundakar	2,000	2,000	-
56412	37	Haji Md Hussain	3,500	-	3,500
56413	38	Hasanali, Dinajpur	2,000	2,000	-
56414	39	K B Mohammad Ali	5,000	-	5,000
56415	40	K B Fazlur Rahman, Jamalpur, Mymensingh	2,000	-	2,000
56416	41	Moulana Abdur Rashid	3,000	3,000	-
56417	42	M A Ispahani for expenses for his staff	646	646	-
56418	43	M A Ispahani for expenses for his staff	496/10/3	496/10/3	-
56419	44	M A Ispahani for expenses for his staff	143/13/	143/13/-	-
56420	45	M A Ispahani for expenses for his staff	199/06/-	199/06/-	-
56421	46	Md Abdul Awal	4,000	-	4,000
56422	47	M A Ispahani	55/05/-	55/05/-	-
56423	48	Moulana Akram Khan	1,000	1,000	-
56424	49	A/C of Ali Ahmed Khan	2,000	-	2,000
56425	50	K S Mofizuddin Ahmed	1,000	-	1,000
55476	51	K S Mofizuddin Ahmed	800	-	800
55477	52	K S Mofizuddin Ahmed	4,000	-	4,000
55478	53	Nawab Ali (S No 21)	1,000	-	1,000
55479	54	Sirajuddin Ahmed	6,200	-	6,200
55480	55	The Mohammadi Press	1,465/10/-	1,465/10/-	-
55481	56	M A Ispahani	1,981/07/-	1,981/07/-	-

55482	57	M A Ispahanı	300	300	-
55483	58	The Azad Press	356/04/-	356/04/-	-
55484	59	A Mannan	1,084	1,084	-
55485	60	Standard Art Press	1,344	1,344	-
55486	61	Calcutta Art Prıntıng Press	1,560	1,560	-
55487	62	Calcutta Art Prıntıng Press	1,170	1,170	-
55488	63	Calcutta Art Prıntıng Press	762/08/-	762/08/-	-
55489	64	Calcutta Art Prıntıng Press	780	780	-
55490	65	The Mohammadı Press	400	400	-
55491	66	The Allıance Press	856	856	-
55492	67	M A Ispahanı	20,000	20,000	-
55493	68	K B Fazlur Rahman	1,000	-	1,000
55494	69	M A Ispahanı	70/13/-	70/13/-	-
55495	70	Kazı Abdul Masud, Natur	1,000	-	1,000
55496	71	H S Suhrawardy	8,000	-	8,000
55497	72	M A Ispahanı for H S Suhrawardy	31,000	-	31,000
55498	73	H S Surhrawardy	7,930	-	7,930
55499	74	M A Ispahanı	52/01/6	52/01/6	-
55500	75	Abdur Rashıd (Tark)	1,000	1,000	-
104976	76	Mozammal Hussaın	5,000	-	5,000
104978	77	M A Ispahanı	18,700	18,700	-
104979	78	A W Baakza, amount of account books and postage	51/11/9	51/11/9	-
104980	79	Prıma Prınters and Statıoners	16/08/-	16/08/-	-

[1]Orıgınal copy of the ledger statement of Habıb Bank Ltd , Calcutta, contaınıng these names ıs avaılable ın F 57/17-21, n d ,*QAP* Not reproduced
[2]Separate lısts of persons who dıd not submıt theır accounts are avaılable ın F 57/22, 13 March 1947 and F 57/25-29, 14 March 1947, *QAP*

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M A Jınnah to Mohammad Aslam Alızaı

F 886/101

12 March 1947

Dear Sır,

I am ın receıpt of your letter of 1st March[1] and am very thankful to you for your kınd thought to get a cap made of *karakul* for me, but I don't know what wıll be ıts shape, because you know, I only wear a partıcular kınd of shape and sınce you have expressed your kınd wısh, I may suggest that you can send me the skın and I wıll have a cap made

according to my liking I don't think, therefore, I need send you the measurement as requested by you

Thanking you,

Yours sincerely,
M A JINNAH

Mohammad Aslam Alizai,
British Legation, Kabul,
c/o Postmaster,
Peshawar, N W F P

[1]No 67

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Khan of Kalat to M A Jinnah

Telegram, F 560/24

NEW DELHI,
12 March 1947

Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Bombay

Yours February 26th [1] [S]till be awaiting Could you kindly give any indication your arrival here

KHAN OF KALAT

[1]Not available in *QAP*

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Khan of Kalat to M A Jinnah

Telegram, F 560/28

NEW DELHI,
12 March 1947

Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Bombay

Arriving 17th by Tatas

KHAN OF KALAT

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S J Rahimtoola to M A Jinnah

F 757/117

H M 'S HIGH COURT, BOMBAY,
12 March 1947

Sir,

I am directed by the Honourable the Chief Justice to state that you are at present the tenant of room No 11 on the ground floor of the High Court Building For the last several years you have not been practising in the High Court and the room was occupied, with your consent, first by Sir Noshirwan P Engineer and then by Mr M C Setalvad The rent of the said chamber is being paid by Mr Setalvad As you are now not practising, His Lordship would like the position to be regularised by transferring the tenancy to Mr Setalvad

I am, therefore, directed to request you to be so good as to release the tenancy of the said chamber from the 1st April 1947

An early reply would be appreciated

Your obedient servant,
S J RAHIMTOOLA
B A , LL B , Bar-at-Law
Prothonotary & Senior Master

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Mirza Ahmad Ispahani to M A Jinnah

F 310/55

51 EZRA STREET, CALCUTTA,
13 March 1947

My dear Mr Jinnah,

I have intentionally refrained from approaching you or anyone in the matter of the Budget proposals of the Central Government as I felt that I should give full support to the Central Budget and should not say anything either in public or in private which would in any way conflict with this view I have given anxious thought to the proposals, especially the ones regarding new and additional taxation, and I feel

constrained to mention to you that in my judgement some of these proposals,[1] unless suitably modified, would hit industry too hard and would make it very difficult for private enterprise to prosper and for savings to be diverted to industry Industry could have faced one blow, but so many blows have been administered all at one time that I am afraid, unless something is done to ease the position, it will adversely affect the financial and industrial fabric of the country

I do hope that the Select Committee will tone down the proposals I am especially anxious that the business profit is related to capital employed and it follows lines of the E P T[2] The capital gains tax should be graduated and not apply to profits realised, say, after four or five years The model of the United States may be a good one to copy, and that is the only country where such a tax is levied

I am not unconscious of the many-sided effects of the Budget proposals, some of which are very desirable, but, on the other hand, my submission is that we should not be a party to smothering industry altogether

In these circumstances, and after careful consideration, I have thought it proper to communicate to you my views as briefly as possible for what they are worth and for such action as you may in the circumstances desire to take

Yours sincerely,
MIRZA AHMAD

[1]Liaquat Ali Khan's budget proposals imposed a 25% tax on business profits, a graduated tax on capital gains, increased super tax on earned and unearned incomes and investigations into large accumulations of wealth See *Civil & Military Gazette*, 2 March 1947

[2]Excess Profits Tax

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Liaquat Ali Khan to M A Jinnah

F 335/280-283

GUL-I-RAANA, HARDINGE AVENUE, NEW DELHI,
13 March 1947

My dear Mr Jinnah,

I am sorry I have not written to you for some time Mumtaz[1] will tell you something of the troubles that I have been facing here, inside the Government But it is alright [*sic*] I have got the Congress fellows in a

tight corner and I am going to fight to the last ditch Don't worry about it It means a great strain but the cause is too great to think of these little matters One comes to this world only once and one must do his [*sic*] duty irrespective of what it costs him I have sent you the keys which you wanted I hope you have received them When are you coming to Delhi? I think you should come here as soon as the new Viceroy arrives It is necessary in my view that you should be available in Delhi as soon as the new Viceroy arrives on the 22nd of this month Lord Wavell is going away on the 23rd I think we should call a meeting of the Working Committee early in April In view of the recent serious developments, I think, a meeting of the Working Committee at an early date is called for Things are happening all over and the Working Committee should, I think, meet Your presence here is also necessary because as soon as the new Viceroy arrives, I am sure there will be a number of matters in which your advice and guidance will be necessary

I got a letter from the Secretary of the Congress sending me the copies of the resolution[2] passed by the Congress Working Committee, and requesting that the Muslim League should appoint a Committee to confer with the Committee that may be appointed by the Congress as resolved by the Congress Working Committee I have replied saying that the letter will be placed before the meeting of the Working Committee of the Muslim League when it meets next

You must have read in the papers about the movement in the N W F P[3] They will need some financial help I just want to know if Pir Sahib of Manki Sharif can help them financially He wants to know You know what I mean You can send me a message saying just yes or no

There are difficult times ahead May God help us and may He give you health and strength to guide us I hope you are feeling fit

With our kindest regards to both of you and love from children

Yours sincerely,
LIAQUAT

[1]Mumtaz Hasan
[2]See Annex Also see Enclosure to Appendix I 12
[3]The Civil Disobedience Movement in the NWFP was launched by the Provincial ML around the third week of February 1947, following a period of intense tension caused by the imposition of restrictive laws by the Frontier Government banning public meetings and demonstrations There were other contributary causes as well, i e shortage of food and cloth With the arrest of League leaders, the Movement spread to the whole of the Province with demands for the dismissal of Dr Khan Sahib's Ministry For details see Appendix VIII

Annex to No 124
Resolutions passed by the Congress Working Committee on 8 March, 1947 at New Delhi[1]

[Resolution 1 omitted]

2 INVITATION TO MUSLIM LEAGUE TO MEET REPRESENTATIVES OF CONGRESS

In view of new developments which are leading to a swift transfer of power in India, it has become incumbent on the people of India to prepare themselves jointly and co-operatively for this change so that this may be effected peacefully and to the advantage of all The Working Committee, therefore, invite the All India Muslim League to nominate representatives to meet representatives of the Congress in order to devise means to meet it

The Working Committee will keep in close touch with the representatives of the Sikhs and other groups concerned, with a view to co-operating with them in the steps that may have to be taken and in safeguarding their interests

3 PUNJAB[2]

During the past seven months India has witnessed many horrors and tragedies which have been enacted in the attempt to gain political ends by brutal violence, murder and coercion These attempts have failed, as all such attempts must fail, and have only led to greater violence and carnage

The Punjab, which had thus far escaped this contagion, became six weeks ago the scene of an agitation, supported by some people in high authority, to coerce and break a popular Ministry which could not be attacked by constitutional methods A measure of success attended this, and an attempt was made to form a Ministry dominated by the group that led the agitation This was bitterly resented and has resulted in increased and widespread violence There has been an orgy of murder and arson and Amritsar and Multan have been scenes of horror and devastation

These tragic events have demonstrated that there can be no settlement of the problem in the Punjab by violence and coercion, and that no arrangement based on coercion can last Therefore it is necessary to find a way out which involves the least amount of compulsion This would necessitate a division of the Punjab into two Provinces, so that the predominantly Muslim part may be separated from the predominantly non-Muslim part

The Working Committee commend this resolution, which should

work to the advantage of all the communities concerned, and lessen friction and fear and suspicion of each other The Committee earnestly appeal to the people of the Punjab to put an end to the killing and brutality that are going on and to face the tragic situation, determined to find a solution which does not involve compulsion of any major group and which will effectively remove the causes of friction

[1]*TP*, IX, Enclosure to No 511, pp 900-901

[2]On 9 March 1947, Jawaharlal Nehru forwarded to Wavell copies of three resolutions passed on 8 March by the Congress Working Committee In his forwarding letter Nehru urged partition of Bengal in addition to that of the Punjab as demanded in Resolution No 3 The demand for the partition of Bengal had been raised earlier through a printed bulletin by some Congress members at its Meerut Session See *Civil & Military Gazette*, 30 November 1946

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Zafarali Qureshi to M A Jinnah

F 886/102-108

RAILWAY BOARD, NEW DELHI,
13 March 1947

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,
Assalaamo 'Alaikum

It is rather presumptuous on my part to address you regarding the mighty problem of the fate of a hundred million Musalmans of India or to tender you any advice in the matter However, I have been thinking over the problem for quite a long time and I cannot help addressing you in the matter I beg to be excused for having encroached upon your most valuable and precious time

It needs no reiteration that under your splendid leadership the motley crowd of a hundred million souls who were lying scattered like particles of dust over the surface of this great sub-continent have been transformed into a mighty nation of a hundred million strong, who are going from strength to strength and are today a power to be reckoned with! You are its saviour But for you, they would surely have been obliterated off the face of this country History would record that you have risen in stature high above the mighty conquerors who laid the foundations of Muslim rule in India and held sway over it for centuries They never dreamt of uniting the Musalmans under one banner as you have done They were too preoccupied with their dynastic feuds or their personal aggrandisement to think of that

Without the help of any hordes of doughty warriors or any treasure whatsoever, you have embarked upon a noble mission of carving out a sovereign State of Free Islam in India—a very miracle in this age of the Twentieth Century! All glory to you, Sir! May God give you long life to render this nascent Muslim State into a powerful one!

But, Sir, there is still the rocky road to Pakistan to traverse We have still to go through the baptism of fire and sword Aye, we are going through it in the Punjab at present, and who knows what is still in store for us We are not disheartened The vested interests of the rabid communalists of the Congress and Sikhs are going to make their last-ditch stand in the Punjab and Bengal before they fall like a house of cards beneath the surging tide of Muslim nationalism

The Congress has advocated partition of the Punjab[1] and most probably they would sponsor a similar move in Bengal, too They would lay claim upon [*sic*] the Eastern and Central Punjab and Western Bengal To counteract their moves, I suggest, Sir, that in both the provinces, areas where the Musalmans are not in clear majority should be converted into majority areas by the influx of Musalmans from the neighbouring minority provinces or native States where the Musalmans are in hopeless minority and can never hope to lead a happy life

I am aware [that] you have yourself on previous occasions advocated exchange of population I am afraid, the Hindus would never agree to that unless there is no way out for them I suggest, Sir, that without waiting for them to make up their minds one way or the other, we should *immediately*[2] start peopling these areas with Musalmans as we have still 14 months to go before the final transfer of power takes place *We have no time to lose* We have to race against time Wherever there may be a Muslim city or a big village in the districts in dispute where enough space may be available, we should chalk out a plan for starting a factory there with its attendant scheme of housing the labour to be employed there And only those Musalmans who come from the minority provinces or states should be offered employment in those factories Like the Jews of Palestine, we should concentrate on purely Muslim cities and places and thus swell our population ratio, and when the figures have reached the target, we should clamour for a plebiscite in case any party wishes to try conclusion [*sic*] for the partition of these two provinces on population basis

It may be argued that the Hindus, too, might resort to these tactics and try to thwart our attempts, but the odds are that the Hindus of U P and other contiguous areas near the Punjab and Bengal dare not cross over to the Muslim-majority provinces They would be

committing a Himalayan blunder if they launched upon this adventure in the hope of browbeating Muslims out of sheer fright They realize too well that they would be going over from a majority area of their own to a place where their destiny would be in the hands of others, and though the majority community in these zones (i e Muslims) may go to the farthest limit in protecting their religion, culture and other interests in keeping with the noble traditions of Islam, which enjoins perfect justice between man and man and which asks its adherents never to lose sight of this cardinal principle on any account, the minority would still feel discontented, disgruntled and agitated because of some supposed wrongs, unless the Musalmans submit to their dictates in all respects and thus barter away their very souls in the futile hope of appeasing them

The case of Muslims would be different They would be moving towards a haven of peace from the inferno of communal domination and tyrannical persecution, terrorization and victimisation of the worst type known in history which is being perpetrated in the Congress-governed provinces The Musalmans may have to sell their property and all they possess of material things of the world very cheaply and thus may have to suffer privations and lead a life of penury in spite of the magnanimous help of their co-religionists in the zones where they would now settle, but the life of peace and penury would be far better, a thousand times better, than the veritable hell in which they are living at present on account of the constant dread of their lives and property in the regions inhabited by them

To carry out the scheme outlined above, I suggest, Sir, that we should establish a company called the Pakistan Co , Ltd , with an estimated capital of Rs 50 crore to start with, for the ostensible purpose of industrialising the Pakistan zones You should be its Chairman and the Muslim League Members of the Interim Government and others of the League High Command whom you consider suitable should constitute the Board of Directors The wealthy Bohras of Bombay and other business magnates, like the Ispahanis of Calcutta, should be asked to contribute liberally towards the assets of the company Ordinary shares of the value of Rs 5, Rs 10, Rs 100, Rs 1,000 and so on and so forth, should be allotted to the general mass of the people who would contribute splendidly Your name works like magic with the masses They have unbounded faith in your selflessness, honesty of purpose and integrity of character You alone should be the Chairman I am confident that the sum of Rs 50 crore would be over subscribed in a very short time and then we can

proceed with our task

I know difficulties might be placed by the interested folks in our way; attempts might be made to dissuade people from doing their duty But as our ideal is based on righteousness and justice, our cause is bound to prevail in spite of all the machinations and trickery of our enemies and all the treachery of the quislings—the arch-enemies of Islam—who are out to grind their own axe at the expense of the community and who would leave no stone unturned to cut at the root of Islamic solidarity in India

Apart from this, practical difficulties may also be encountered in carrying out the above scheme, but, God willing, we can surmount them There is no dearth of the requisite machinery in the United States of America or the United Kingdom, and both these countries would be only too willing to give us a helping hand in our efforts for industrialization of our zones As regards accommodation for the sites of the mills and labour colonies, the Musalmans can be depended upon to rise to the heights of the occasion, realising the gravity of the stakes, and are bound to make utmost sacrifices following the noble traditions of early pioneers of Islam in the days of the *Hijra* History may well repeat itself even at this distant period The stories of *Ansars* and *Muhajireen* may re-echo in the length and breadth of this country and be copied and followed with enthusiasm, both by the humblest peasant and the petty tradesman, who would not lag behind their richer co-religionists and may even surpass them in zeal, and the frenzy of their sacrifices and large-heartedness

One thing more before I finish If we show any weak-kneed policy at this decisive moment in the history of Islam in India and stoop before the storm clouds of the Congress propaganda, which are thickening on the horizon of the country, in the hope of propitiating the demon of *Ram Rajya* by the adoption of constitutional and peaceful methods alone for the attainment of our goal, the coming generations may perhaps curse us for showing spiness [*sic*] and chicken-heartedness in the hour of our trial I am not advocating the use of force or coercive methods, which is the sole prerogative of the chauvinistic tin-gods of the Congress I mean nothing of that kind What I want to stress with all the force at my command is this that *in no circumstance should we barter away the larger interests of Islam because of the immense sacrifices we may have to make in men and material* and the consequent untold miseries and sufferings through which our people may have to pass for the attainment of our goal. We should never be aggressors, but if other parties should resort to the arbitrament of the sword, we should be prepared to

pay the price of freedom of a hundred million children of Islam whose history is replete with instances that they have, with courage and fortitude, withstood unheard of persecutions and tyrannies but have not flinched an inch from proclaiming the truth under the very blade of the sword and have thus kept the flag of Islam flying They have never humbled the flag of Islam or tarnished the fair name of the Holiest of the Holy Prophets (May peace be upon him) whose followers they are

You, too, Sir, have withstood many an attack from various quarters in the past and have stood like a rock in those trials and tribulations Your undaunted and invincible spirit has weathered many a storm and won praise from friends and foes alike The nation is confident that in future, too, you will be able to withstand further onslaughts from any quarter and thus triumph over the enemies of Islam who cherish dreams of enslaving a hundred million strong for all time to come

May Allah give you long life and the necessary strength to crown your efforts with success Amen I finish with the famous verse of Iqbal who sang

We cannot be cowed down by the forces of falsehood,
O Heavens,
You have put us to test a hundred times, [and You
Know it well]

A line of reply would greatly oblige

I remain, Sir,
Yours obediently,
ZAFARALI QURESHI

[1]See Annex to No 124, Resolution No 3
[2]Emphasis here and hereafter in the original

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A D Shroff to M A Jinnah

F 799/8

BOMBAY HOUSE, FORT, BOMBAY,
13 March 1947

My dear Mr Jinnah,

Mr. Farouki, the bearer of this letter, is my trusted representative authorised to pick up from your house the envelope you promised to keep ready by lunch time

Thanking you,

Yours sincerely,
A D SHROFF

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Muhammad Mahdi Ali to Nawab Muhammad Ismail Khan
(Copy to M A Jinnah)

F 832/99-102

378 ESPLANADE, MADRAS,
14 March 1947

Sir,

It is with profound regret that at this distant date we are constrained to write the following few lines in the fond hope that at least now you will give that care and attention which a person of your status and importance in the League organisation today should do for [*sic*] the many wrongs remaining unremedied No compliment [is due] either to the custodians of the interest of the minority community in this province, or to the high ideal of the League sought to be sustained through all the vicissitudes of a number of years, particularly now when the fate of the Indian Muslims in India is to be made or marred as an entity and that too within a brief period of 14 months

The office-bearers of the League in this Presidency have so manipulated their conduct [*sic*] for the past 6 years to concentrate all positions from the bottom to the top, working as members of one family, with a set of select few lost [*sic*] in the college of mutual admiration

Real merit and qualifications have been made an entirely unwanted commodity Conferences supposed to be an annual feature for the Provincial League organisation have always been held [*sic*] by them as a red rag to the bull Some who dared to (probe through) the vicious circle did bring about the momentous conference of 1943 in Madras when these people, placed in power only at a late stage, walked in through the back door to save their face and share the spoils, not to mention the bad blood created thereafter by their conduct The burning zeal and blind devotion to the League and its ideals alone kept the rift from widening to dismember the whole structure of this great organisation in this Presidency. Clothed with power and with documents in their hands these people, who cannot lay much claim to conscience, morality and integrity, have gone on from blunder to blunder, only set on achieving their ultimate aim [of securing] seats in the elections to the various legislative bodies None with a critical eye and a frankness for calling what is white as white and black as black would hesitate to say that the rights of the people with real merit and qualifications have been neglected and bypassed with a vengeance The voice of a band of selfless, zealous and staunch Leaguers styling themselves as the Muslim League workers was raised and a conference was contemplated to be made an accomplished fact very much before this date But the office-bearers of the Provincial and District Leagues, finding dangers for themselves in the realisation of the desires of the said workers of the conference, sought through many methods to stifle the [workers'] zeal and enthusiasm Deputation after deputation [went] to you and other All India leaders bringing no concrete results The workers went on with their work in the membership campaign This, to all intents and purposes, appeared to have closed in 1946 itself as per [*sic*] the Provincial League's announcement The elections, constitutionally intended to follow on the heels of the closure of the membership campaign, were held and most of the important Primary Leagues were captured with thumping success by the workers The official bloc possibly had their way in getting the All India [Muslim] League to postpone elections to the District and Provincial Leagues, there being no upheaval or confusion in this province to warrant such postponement Even for this postponement an end [*sic* for a limit] has been fixed by the All India [Muslim] League, but at the hands of the Provincial League office-bearers there seems to be no end [*sic* for limit] yet, they have gone on extending time perhaps for filling up forms in their old way and founding [*sic*] Primary Leagues even up to a date in March, 1947 (tentatively 10th) with the possibility

of a further extension, to work up a weightage in their favour with the inclusion of names of the existing or non-existing persons alone for their stunt [*sic*]

We were told by your good self last year at the Western Court, New Delhi, that we were to leave our complaints in writing with Mr Ansari[1] and he would see his way to move you and others in the Committee of Action to send a "commission of enquiry" within a fortnight's time That was in June last The "enquiry commission", is yet to come The incompetent, usurping lot are now on their usual campaign of taking away the membership forms from the Primary Leagues already formed, with a sinister motive of depriving such Primary Leagues of the possibility of increasing their membership and more [*sic*] representatives for them in the District League The forms are always with the District and Provincial League office-bearers, these are supplied to their henchmen, paid propagandists and emissaries alone in order that they may go on observing the mere sanctity of filling up the forms with names of fictitious, dead, or unborn people and, on such mock representations, to augment a majority for themselves in the show of [*sic*] elections for the District and Provincial League offices Thus places now in their hold remain unassailed for another uncertain prolonged period to continue their usurpation and self-aggrandisement, already a fine art with them

We grant we are miles away from you (at Delhi) and beyond, and our voice so far has remained unheard and lost in the wilderness We have not slackened our zeal and effort for making the contemplated conferences in December 1945 [*sic*] itself, God willing The delay has not entirely (been our own) but due mostly to the anxious suspense and confusion brought about by the tense and uncertain political atmosphere around, with events which we had the good sense to realise were keeping all your attention and time fully occupied elsewhere away from us.

Should you still feel that we are a section not to be reckoned with, with no substance in us to make our importance felt, so you might have been told so far by the official clique from this side, you will be sadly mistaken We have so far cringed and fawned for your favours in vain, we have borne a tyrannic oppression from the official bloc on this side and our patience at present is at the end of the tether It would not be out of place here to mention that "a [cornered] cat is a lion at bay" Be it remembered that the Punjab surrendered to the League after 48 hours on and after 24th February 1947—the "Punjab Day" at Delhi [*sic*][2] We finally request you to kindly pay heed to all

that is set out here and take such immediate steps as to give us the redress we are entitled to at your hands after a long and patient waiting indeed We would very much like to avoid "Madras Day" if that were possible.

National Guards as an institution on constitutional lines do not exist and the so-called *Salar-i-Suba* has not made it a secret to express openly to responsible persons that he feels no necessity for such an institution in this province In keeping with such professions of his laudable and autocratic views, he has withheld application forms and pledges entirely We know he is not competent to be *Salar-i-Suba* for we differ from his views. None knows where such a high-handed and autocratic conduct of these irresponsible people will land us It may incidentally be a matter for the *Salar-i-A'la* to go into and take up for investigation There could be no objection to the information with regard to this also to you for [*sic*] such action as may be necessary by you in this direction

We hope and trust that you would not shelve this [letter] also, for God's sake

Thanking you in the meanwhile,

I remain, Sir,
MAHDI ALI
President,
Triplicane Primary Muslim League Reception Committee

Nawab Ismail Khan Sahib,
Chairman, Committee of Action,
All India Muslim League,
Darya Ganj, Delhi
Copy to
1. Quaid-i-Azam M A. Jinnah
2 Mr Liaquat Ali Khan, Member, Interim Government, New Delhi

[1]Zafar Ahmed Ansari, Secretary, Committee of Action, AIML

[2]On 24 February 1947, a demonstration of over two lakh people was organised by the Punjab Muslim League against the Tiwana Ministry as part of the Civil Disobedience Movement The Tiwana Ministry was forced to resign on 2 March followed by "Victory Day" celebrations by the League See Appendix VII

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Mir Abdul Aziz to K H Khurshid

F 784/191-202

SRINAGAR,
14 March 1947

My dear Khurshid,

Many thanks for your letter of 1st March,[1] which I received a few days ago

In your long letter you have raised a point about the "forged" letters of Abbass [2] My dear friend, the letters are not forgeries No fool on earth would do such a thing as to publish forged letters Don't we know that today or tomorrow Abbass is coming out of the prison and to declare whether the letters are his or not? Furthermore, as you have pointed out, I don't know why the letters are not written in pencil, they are written in ink

I fully agree with you that the Muslim Conference leaders do not work according to their Constitution Personal opinion of a man in high position will matter more than the decision of a body of the party

You have said that in my article in the *Jauhar*, [which] I sent to you, there was only a vague reference as to why M Amin and Mr Dallal were expelled from the Muslim Conference for three years I would like to tell you the whole story

A few months before October 1946, the National Conference had launched its campaign of Quit Kashmir[3] and naturally a large section of the people was impressed by the stunt and they became National Conference-minded At this time, according to my thinking, it was the duty of the Muslim Conference leaders either to jump into the Quit Kashmir Movement headlong and get themselves finished or to denounce the Quit Kashmir Movement as the Congress patronised it and, of course, with the help of the local Government, get a foothold in the political field of Kashmir The Muslim Conference did neither of the two things In fact the Muslim Conference leaders, including Abbass, were subconsciously won over by the Quit Kashmir Movement Abbass thought that the Quit Kashmir Movement gave a stimulus to Mr Abdullah and he (Abbass) had lost the chance Of course a cool-headed leader like Mr Jinnah acted differently when the Congress went behind the bars in 1942 [4] But every Muslim is not a Jinnah

The National Conference, with the great Indian National Congress at its back, is still a great force in Kashmir politics At a time when the National Conference and the Government are at war with each other, it is not proper for the Muslim Conference to start an agitation against the Government An agitation at this time started by the Muslim Conference will not help the Muslim Conference but the National Conference I personally still believe that the time is far off when the All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference should start Direct Action or agitation of any sort against the Government

Public meetings were banned in Srinagar because there were disturbances there The Muslim Conference declared that their session was to be held in Srinagar Mr Abbass gave a statement in the *Dawn* that Direct Action of the Muslim Conference was to start at the time of the annual session When he came to Srinagar on 23rd of October, he directly went to Mir Waiz Manzil, had a talk with the Moulvi Sahib and decided with him that he, the Moulvi, Mr Shaukat Ali, and Moulvi Nurud Din should court arrest On 24th of October, a meeting of the Working Committee, in which were present Mr Dallal, M Amin, M[oulvi] Nurud Din, Saghar of Jammu, Major Ali Ahmad Shah, Mr Shaukat and Mr Abbass, the decision was adopted Mr Dallal, I and M Amin were exempted from jail-going and were directed to save ourselves from being arrested On 24th, i e the same day, a meeting of the City Muslim Conference workers, about two hundred in number, was addressed by Abbass, Saghar of Jammu and myself The people were directed to take a procession to Gulab Bhawan when the leaders had got themselves arrested the day after [i e on 25 October][5]

After the meeting all of us sat together to ruminate upon tomorrow's programme M Amin said that Mubarak Shah, Special Secretary to Premier Kak, had called him on phone He asked those present whether he should go to see him or not Mr Abbass first told him to go and see what he wanted, but then he was told not to go there It was 9 p m

Mr Abbass, Mr Shaukat and I returned to Amirakadal Abbass stayed at the Majestic Hotel for the night Early in the morning I came to Abbass He asked me whether I was in the know of the "new situation" I said that I knew nothing because [I was] for the whole night at Rambagh He told me that late in the night Amin and Dallal had gone to Mubarak Shah and the District Magistrate and [he] had given an undertaking to the latter. He also told me that those people had stabbed the Muslim Conference in the back He also said that in his opinion even the Mir Waiz was included in this conspiracy Let me explain the conspiracy

Mr Dallal, as the Secretary of the Reception Committee, had given an application to the District Magistrate for permission to hold the annual session He had stated therein that no communal hatred was to be spread in the session, the session was to be held for one day Mr Abbass called this an "undertaking"

The day before, Mr Abbass told us that he would avoid the clash were there a *via media* He was prepared to postpone jail-going had he any sort of permission to hold the session These people, I mean Jammu leaders, also had been trying to get the permission Unfortunately they failed to get it through Hamid's brother, Niaz Ahmed

Mr. Abbass looked confused for the last few months I spied marks of desperation and confusion on his face It seemed to him that his organisation was going to be a failure

A meeting of the "Working Committee" was held Mr Abbass, Mr Shaukat, [Mr] Durrani of Jammu and Mr Hamid were all those present

In this very "meeting" Mr Abbass decided to appoint Hamid as his successor Explanation was called from M Amin and Dallal But, I assure you, dear Khurshid, that it was Mr Abbass who came down from his room to Mr Dallal and [Mr] Amin and told them that in reply to the explanation [that] he had called, they should write that [what] they had done [was] in the interest of the Muslim Conference

Permission was granted by the District Magistrate to hold the session for one day Of course it was conditional but the conditions were only formal

Had Mr Abbass any political foresight he would have welcomed the conspiracy and the Muslim Conference would have held its session, be it only for one day A clash would have been avoided When the Unionist Government banned the procession of Mr Jinnah in Lahore, the Muslim League did not even hold its session because it did not want an immature clash

In the evening [there] happened what happened The National Conference-minded Muslim Conferencees [Conferencites], after the arrest of Abbass, used Mr Hamid as a tool to create disruption in the Muslim Conference Mr Abbass was in Srinagar Central Jail Everything was communicated to him and in reply he sent them letters written in ink, which you call forged

There are many like you who honestly believe or pretend to believe that the letters are forged They believe that we people, (Mir Waiz, I and others) are the agents of Kak But I assure you that we do not care at all for what they say I consider it foolish on the part of the Muslim

Conference to come to a clash with the Government at this stage There is no harm even in making friendship with the Government to get the great enemy, the National Conference, killed If the Jammu people (who at this time are licking the shoes of Kak to get themselves released) do not side with us, we can pull on [*sic*] without them

We might lose sympathies of many but we believe that we are right and are not becoming tools of anybody. We hope we will succeed in our mission

You ask about the rupees ten thousand story published by the *Nawa-i-Waqt* It pained me to hear such a thing from you Don't you find such stories about Mr Jinnah being published in unsympathetic quarters? Where can you expect a radical democrat whose party exists mainly upon the farthings of poor labourers to get rupees ten thousand from? It is a pity that you believed that story to be true

Mr Jinnah and the *Dawn*, let me be bold enough to say, adopted a very undemocratic [attitude] and an irresponsible attitude in this connection Their part in spoiling the Muslim Conference was not small Of course they could do no more

Mr Abbass has committed himself differently with different men I very much doubt he will take any part in politics after his release

The recent statement of Attlee in the Commons[6] has changed the trend of politics in Indian States The League and the Congress have nothing to do in the States We in the States know our game better than those in British India do know about it

What I write may seem to you exactly what other *ghaddars* of the nation like Khizar [and] G M Sayyid say about Mr Jinnah, but I assure you that we are not fighting for our personal ends nor are we playing in the hands of the Government Our aim is revolution—revolution to relieve our people from the yoke of political, economic and social subjugation

You say that we are not doing anything to get our leaders released We, I mean the Kashmir Muslim Conference, have passed resolutions, [and] have sent our man (Amin) to see Mr Kak in this connection What more could we do? And let me know what has Hamidullah done in this connection

I have written a long letter this time Most of it might seem to you nonsense and mere braggings But this is how I think about the Muslim Conference and Kashmir politics

I think we should close this chapter now I hope I have written enough to you regarding the disruption of the Muslim Conference I do not want to write anything more in this connection If the differences

are summed up, well and good, if not, even then I assure you we have got no fear. We can carry on without interference of the Jammu leaders who have never helped but have always spoiled our Muslim Conference

With best wishes,

Yours very sincerely,
MIR ABDUL AZIZ

[1]Not available in *QAP*
[2]Ch Ghulam Abbass
[3]The "Quit Kashmir Movement" was launched by Sheikh Abdullah on 15 May 1946 against the Dogra regime, challenging their acquisition of the State Earlier in April 1946, he had submitted a Memorandum to the Cabinet Mission to this effect when it visited Kashmir The Movement was followed by a succession of public demonstrations which were repressed by the State authorities and Sheikh Abdullah was arrested along with the other leaders of the Movement For the extracts of Sheikh Abdullah's Memorandum see Annex
[4]Refers to the Quit India Movement of the Congress
[5]On 25 October 1946, Ch Ghulam Abbass, Agha Shaukat Ali, Moulvi Nurud Din and Allah Rakha Saghar were arrested by the State police for holding the Annual Session of the Muslim Conference at Srinagar in defiance of the ban imposed by the State Government *Civil & Military Gazette*, 29 October 1946
[6]No 1

Annex to No 128
Sheikh Abdullah's Memorandum to the Cabinet Mission [1]

To-day the national demand of the people of Kashmir is not merely the establishment of a system of responsible Government, but their right to absolute freedom from the autocratic rule of the Dogra House Nearly a hundred years ago the people of Kashmir became the victims of a commercial deal by the covetous agents of the East India Company For the paltry consideration of 75 lacs of Sikh currency rupees (less than half a million pounds sterling) the people of Kashmir, the land and its potential wealth, were sold away to Maharaja Gulab Singh, the Dogra vassal of the Sikh Kingdom We challenge the moral and political validity of this sale deed, to which the people of Kashmir were never a party, and which has since 1846 been the document of their bondage

At this moment, the future of the inhabitants of India is on the anvil, and the constitutional pattern of the future is being hammered out by the British Cabinet Mission The question of the Treaty Rights of the Princes has become a moot point between the peoples of the States, the Princely order, and the Paramount Power For us in Kashmir the re-examination of this relationship in its historical context is a vital matter

The crux of our contention is this that the sale deed which brought Kashmir under the rule of the Dogra House confers no privileges equivalent to those claimed by States governed by the so-called Treaty Rights As such, the case of Kashmir itself stands on a unique footing and the people of Kashmir draw the attention of the Cabinet Mission to their just claims to freedom on the withdrawal of British Power The sale deed of 1846, misnamed the Treaty of Amritsar, makes the matter quite clear

No sale deed, however sacrosanct, can condemn more than four million men and women to the servitude of an autocrat when the will to live under his rule is no longer there We, the people of Kashmir, are determined to mould our own destiny and we appeal to the members of the Cabinet Mission to recognise the justice and the strength of our Cause

Kashmir is not merely a geographical expression, in the north-west of the vast sub-continent of India, famed for its beauty and natural wealth, but it is a land strategically situated, the meeting point of India, China and Russia, and as such has an international significance Our homeland is the cradle of the Kashmiri nation which by virtue of the homogeneity of its language, culture and tradition and its common history of suffering, is today one of the rare places in India where all communities are backing up a united national demand

[1]Muhammad Yusuf Saraf, *Kashmiris Fight for Freedom*, I, Lahore, 1977, pp 669-670

129

Statement by the Executive Committee, Jinnah Club, Aligarh

F 908/39

ALIGARH,
14 March 1947

The Executive Committee of the Jinnah Club, Aligarh, views with contempt and resentment the resolution[1] of the Congress Working Committee advocating the prohibition [*sic* for partition] of the Punjab and strongly endeavours [*sic*] the proposal as it is only calculated to deprive the Muslim majority of its legitimate rights, to deal a deadly blow to Pakistan and to worsen the condition of the Province.

The Congress Working Committee will be well advised to withdraw its

resolution immediately, otherwise the Muslims will be forced to adopt measures to combat it whose consequences will not be favoured [sic] to the Congress

The Executive Committee wishes to make it clear that if the Congress really desires to come to a mutual agreement with the Muslim League, there is no alternative for the Congress but to accept the principle of Pakistan and make a compromise with the Muslim League for the purpose of co-operation between Hindustan and Pakistan on a footing of equality

S IBNAI HASAN
Propaganda Secretary,
Jinnah Club, Aligarh, U P

[1]See Annex to No 124, Resolution No 3

130

Godfrey Hoare alias M Anwar Khan to M A Jinnah

F 886/110-111

MILITARY SECRETARY'S BRANCH, M S 1 (A),
GENERAL HEADQUARTERS (I), NEW DELHI,
14 March 1947

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

I am writing this letter to you to offer you my services to the cause of *Pakistan*[1] I am a British Army Officer and an Englishman

I embraced Islam a year ago while serving in Bihar The reasons for my change of faith are too complicated to be fully conveyed in a brief letter My conversion was primarily due to re-reading the *Qur'an Sharif* for the first time in my life in a translation that to a large extent must convey the message and beauty of the Divine Original It was due secondly to the example that I had seen and the conversations that I had had with the many Muslim officers and civilians with whom I had associated In short I looked upon Islam as being the logical development of the religion of the ONE GOD, absorbing the truth and the morality of the two more ancient monotheistic religions whilst at the same time denying the heresies that had crept into both

It was simultaneous with my change of faith that I saw *Pakistan* in the true force of its perspective I had become disillusioned in the futility

of the slaughter in the War and of the lack of religion and of moral standards amongst the majority of my own countrymen It is now that I have come to realize that, if life is to have any meaning at all, it must be in the service to others and not in the selfish pursuit of a man's material aims It was with that object in view that I decided to offer my services to *Pakistan*, a cause that must be every Muslim's, regardless of his nationality

I saw Mr Liaquat Ali Khan about six weeks ago to offer him my full time and voluntary services to the Muslim League after my impending release from the Army He requested time to consider my offer and promised to write to me I have not as yet heard from him further and so I am writing to you

I should like to offer my services in a personal capacity to you as I look upon you as my *leader* under whom it would be the greatest honour to serve I should like to think that with my education and training I am capable of performing such a service If this offer cannot be accepted, I should be happy to perform any other role that you may nominate I should like to emphasise that my services would be unpaid as I have enough money to keep myself [going]

There are two things that I would ask in return. One, that I should be employed in a whole-time job where I should be useful Two, that someone could be nominated to be *in loco parentis* for me to whom I could go to for advice and who could be responsible for my religious instruction

I am attaching some of my particulars to this letter

This letter reads in a rather smug way Please forgive me for this as it is not easy to escape such complacency in this kind of letter

Pakistan *Zindabad*

Yours most sincerely,
MOHAMMAD ANWAR KHAN

PS Please use my official name (Godfrey Hoare) in addressing your reply

[1]Emphasis here and hereafter in the original

Enclosure to No 130

F 886/112

GENERAL

Name	Godfrey Hoare (Former name that I shall not change for *official purposes* until after my *release* from the *Army*)
Islamic Name	Mohammad Anwar Khan
Present Address	Sher Shah Mess, Sher Shah Road, New Delhi
Regiment	Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire Light Infantry
Present Rank	Captain
Age	23
Married/single	Single
Bankers (in India)	Lloyds Bank, Hornby Road, Bombay
Country of domicile	England

EDUCATION

Preparatory School	Abinger Hill, Surrey
Public School	Stowe
University	Christ Church, Oxford
Degree	Wartime Pass Degree in History, Economics, Social History and Political Theory

RECREATION

Games and sports	Rugger, Riding and Swimming
Other interests	Literature, Politics and Painting

KNOWLEDGE OF FOREIGN COUNTRIES

Know well	France, Belgium, Italy and Switzerland
Visited	Spain, Holland, Germany, Austria, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Egypt
	Army
1943	Service in Ranks and at O C T U[1]
1944-45	Platoon Commander, Officiating Company Commander and Administrative Officer

1946	Staff Captain A & Q at the HQ of a British Brigade Group
1947	Staff Captain, Military Secretary's Branch, GHQ (I) for duties with the Nationalization Committee of the Indian Armed Forces
Active Service	Arakan, Burma 1944-1945

[1]Officer Cadets Training Unit

131

Ahmed E H Jaffer to K H Khurshid

F 618/1

4 WINDSOR PLACE, NEW DELHI,
14 March 1947

Dear Khurshid,

I shall be arriving by air on Sunday evening in Bombay where I shall stay for two days, Monday and Tuesday, the 17th and 18th I wish to have an interview with the Quaid-i-Azam on one of these dates at any time convenient to the Quaid-i-Azam I am returning to Delhi by the first plane on Wednesday morning Kindly drop me a line at Room No 408, Green's Hotel, Apollo Bunder, Bombay In the meantime I request you kindly to convey my respects to the Quaid-i-Azam

Looking forward to the pleasure of meeting you,

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
AHMED E H JAFFER

132

M O Kokil to M A Jinnah

F 886/109

SHAHRU CASTLE, MOHAMMEDALI ROAD,
BOMBAY,
14 March 1947

Dear Sir,

I have pleasure in informing you that, at its meeting held on the 9th March 1947, the Council of the Bombay City Muslim League has elected you as a delegate to the Bombay Provincial Muslim League Council

Yours faithfully,
M O KOKIL
Honorary General Secretary,
Bombay City Muslim League

133

Rameshwar Prasad to M A Jinnah

F 185/55-58

94A CANAL RANGE, CANTONMENT, CAWNPORE,
14 March 1947

My dear Jinnah Sahib,

I beg to be excused for any impertinent words used in the letter I have all the respect for you as an elder man though I differ on political issues I confess to be a man of scientific thinking and have equal respect for all knowledge imparted to us by great persons like Krishna, [Prophets] Muhammad and Christ, Buddha and others

I see no difference between two persons who are distinguished as Musalman or Hindu It is simply a matter of choice to choose one form of culture or the other according to habits Perhaps this view of mine may be against the view of Islam but so far as I know, Islamic culture is not limited and there is scope for further thinking and development

Under all such circumstances I beg to think you [*sic*] how much you are going to contribute to the human society in general and to India in

particular I believe in Marxian economic theory and wish you to think on that How much can we gain and prosper on sentimental thinking? Was it not the sentimental move of Hitler that brought miseries to Germans? What fate will we Indians face in such historical following [*sic*]? I wish you to be a partner in making the human society sweeter Please see humanity as a whole rather than as the Musalmans who are not separate human beings, we all are made up of the same material in the same environment I shall be [only] too glad to learn anything from you I wish you could convince me of your facts and move and make me your follower, or else you be generous to mankind as a whole The sentimental move of ours is bound to take [us] nowhere but to utter destruction on all sides May you think over it and turn to be Quaid-i-Azam by quitting politics for greater humanity [*sic*] Else we live and die in darkness

With regards,

Yours obediently,
RAMESHWAR PRASAD

134

Anonym to M A Jinnah

F 831/45-47

15 March 1947

I am really telling you [that] you are an agent of the British Government who is going from India up to "1948" end of "June" [*sic*]

But you wanted more blood for "Pakishthan",[1] isn't it? What happened for [*sic*] "Pakisthan" in Bengal in August 1946? Who is responsible for that? Now, three or four days ago what happened in the whole of the Punjab? Only God knows!

But [one] little thing everybody knows very well Mr Churchill and Jinna[h][are] really in alliance to bring the League back to power The same alliance for "Pakisthan" [caused] great killings in Calcutta

All that responsible [*sic*] to the Bengal Government, Johan Burrow,[2] Nizamudin,[3] Chief Minister H S Suhrawardy, and you

Now in the Punjab, secret British game [is going on] behand [*sic* for behind] of alliance [*sic*], Wavell, Jenkins, Noon, all [are] responsible for that bloodsead [*sic* for bloodshed]

Sir, this is my final appeal with [*sic*] you and all the Muslim Leaguers You must be accept [*sic*] the Congress President's and Nehruji's appeal

and invitation,[4] to go to save [sic] the present Indian deadlock and preparation [sic] to take over power with [sic] British Government, but I regret to say, till now, why not go [sic] your Muslim League representative participation [sic] one Constituent Assembly [sic]?

Now, this is the final opportunaty [sic for opportunity] for you, and the final chance for the All India Muslim League, [which is] invited to nominate members for joint discussion

This is the final ultimatum for the All India Muslim League If you did not go [sic] to a setlement [sic for settlement] with the Congress, not good result on your part [sic], and ten coreres [sic for crore] Musalmans

By use of the sword you cannot get "Pakisthan" I have got a sword if you wanted [sic] real fight We have also prepared real India freedom [sic]

"Jai Hind"

Yours trully [*sic* for truly],
[SIGNATURE ILLEGIBLE]

[1]Means Pakistan
[2]Sir Frederick John Burrows
[3]Khwaja Nazimuddin
[4]See Annex to No 124, Resolution No 2

135

Imperial Bank of India, Bombay, to M A Jinnah

F 757/120

BOMBAY,
15 March 1947

Dear Mr Jinnah,

I refer to your call on me the other day and as arranged I now enclose a note on the question of income tax

Yours sincerely,
J H HERD

Enclosure to No 135

F 757/121

IMPERIAL BANK OF INDIA, BOMBAY,
14 March 1947

The Chief Accountant

MUSLIM LEAGUE

Under Section 4 (3) (i) of the Indian Income Tax Act, any income derived from property held under trust or other legal obligation wholly for charitable or religious purposes, and in the case of property held in part only for such purposes, the income applied or finally set apart for application thereto will not be liable to income tax

Whether the income of the Muslim League or the income derived from property held for religious or charitable purposes is liable to income tax or not is a matter for the Income Tax authorities to decide after satisfying that the religious or charitable purposes are of the nature as defined by sub-section (3) of Section 4 As we are not aware of the Constitution of the League, we are unable to advise with any certainty regarding its liability to income tax

[SIGNATURE ILLEGIBLE]
p Registrar of Securities

136

Sher Badshah Khan to the Secretaries, Provincial Muslim League Committees (Copy to M A Jinnah)

F 886/114

TANK, DISTRICT D I KHAN, WAZIRISTAN AGENCY,
N W F P,
15 March 1947

Dear Sirs,

We are having a big *jirga* of the Waziristan Agency on the 20th of March 1947 with an object to prepare the Agency Pathans for the coming struggle for Pakistan

We have been unfortunate so far in not having a duly organised body of our own

Preparation of the Tribal Pathans for the national war would be based on an organization, i e the opening of an Agency Muslim League office similar to other Provincial League offices

You will be informed of the doings of the *jirga* after the 20th instant

To end with [*sic*], we the Tribal Pathans assure you that we would fight to the last man and the last round for our cherished goal of Pakistan

Yours faithfully,
SHER BADSHAH KHAN
Lieut
c/o Captain Mir Badshah Khan

Copies to

1. Quaid-i-Azam Mr Mohammad Ali Jinnah
2. Mr Liaquat Ali Khan, Finance Minister [Member], Interim Government
3. Mr Abdur Rab Khan Nishtar, Minister [Member, Communications], Interim Government

137

Rawail Singh to M A Jinnah (& Others)

Telegram, F 560/27

PARACHINAR,
15 March 1947

Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, New Delhi

Members of minority community are at one with the Turi community in accepting principle of Pakistan

Copy H.E Viceroy, H E Governor, Peshawar, Political Agent, Kurram, Doctor Khan Sahib, Premier, Peshawar, and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru

RAWAIL SINGH
for Minority in the Kurram Valley

138

Achmed Soekarno[1] *to M A Jinnah*

F 479/3

PRIVATE AND PERSONAL | DJOKJAKARTA,
NO PRES/4 | *15 March 1947*

My dear Mr Jinnah,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum wa Rahmatullahi wa Barakatuhu

Your letter of 8 February,[2] which the Honourable Abdul Munem handed me to-day, gave me great and sincere pleasure and is highly appreciated by me, not only on account of the fact that it emanated from you but also as a token of friendship and fraternity from the one hundred million Muslims of India, who side with us in our struggle for liberty And the fact that your good wishes reached me by [*sic*] a representative of the Arab League, bringing us the coming recognition of our freedom, gave a special flavour to their significance

You know that Indonesia is inhabited by some 70 million [people] 60 [million] whereof embracing Islam [*sic*] Their force of will has been and still is the strongest defence of our liberty, and it will surely be understood by you that these sixty million good Muslims follow with eagerness and fervent hopes the liberatory evolution [*sic*] of other Muslim peoples and communities all over the world The moral help I was given by you in the past and now, is cherished and highly appreciated, and I send you my sincere thanks for the same

Indeed the Dutch are again demonstrating the worthlessness of Dutch promises to *tourner cassacque,*[3] as the French have it But our whole nation stands together I am assured that you and your people join us in the feeling of happiness that we, to a man, have rejected the unilateral Dutch interpretation of Linggadjati[4] Our principle has found the slogan *Sekali merdeka, tetap merdeka,* i e Once free, for ever free!

How is the state of your health, dear Mr Jinnah? We heard with much regret that it was not so very good these days I fervently hope that we are misinformed thereabout I still remember our rejoicing on your 70th birthday, on the 25th of December last, and hope that *Allah subhanahu wa ta'ala* will soon render you to your people fit and healthy again

Please receive the sincere wishes from me as well as from Indonesia's Muslims

Faithfully yours,
SOEKARNO
President,
Republic of Indonesia

[1]Although sovereignty to Indonesia was formally handed over by the Dutch in December 1949, the people of Indonesia had proclaimed independence in August 1945, named their country the Republic of Indonesia and appointed Dr Soekarno their first President

[2]Jinnah, in his letter, had assured Soekarno of the fullest sympathy and support of Muslim India for the freedom and independence of Indonesia He was confident that leaders like him were quite capable of resolving the deadlock created by the Dutch by having gone back on their promises See F 482/4, 8 February 1947, *QAP*

[3]Means "to change sides"

[4]This refers to rejection of the unilateral interpretation put by the Dutch on the agreement reached between the Dutch and Indonesian representatives at Linggadjati near Cheribon in Java in November 1946 *Pakistan Times*, 18 March 1947

139

Saif F B Tyabji to M A Jinnah

F 669/4

CENTRAL BANK BUILDING,
55 MAHATMA GANDHI ROAD, FORT, BOMBAY,
15 March 1947

Dear Mr Jinnah,

I enclose a copy of an appeal on behalf of the Anjuman that I have issued [1]

It may be of interest to you as you have been taking interest in the work of the Anjuman and the appeal gives an account of its recent work

Yours sincerely,
SAIF F B TYABJI

[1]Anjuman-i-Islam, Bombay

Enclosure to No 139

F. 669/5-6

THE ANJUMAN-I-ISLAM, BOMBAY,
1 March 1947

In recent years great strides have been made by Muslims in their political organisation

Unfortunately the same cannot be said of their constructive activities, either educational or social Almost the only body working in the educational field in this Province is the Anjuman-i-Islam The activities of this body have been greatly handicapped by the lack both of funds and of workers Nevertheless it has multiplied its activities fourfold during the last 10 years, as the following table will show

1936 The Anjuman conducted one Boys High School and one Middle School (Agboatwalla School)
The Anjuman with a guarantee from the late Mrs Faiz B Tyabji, MLA, of [*sic*] any deficit in expenditure, started the first Girls School in the province with Urdu as the medium of instruction and the study of Islamic Culture compulsory and with three girls on its register

1941 The Girls School made into a full-fledged High School with 170 girls on its rolls Muslim girls from a Muslim-managed school appeared for the matriculation examination for the first time in the history of the Province
Mahim Girls School was started with a guarantee of [*sic*] deficit by Mr Faiz B Tyabji and with 28 girls on its register

1942 The Commercial High School started. Great credit is due to the Anjuman for this as, in doing so, the Anjuman was ahead even of other communities. For some years this school and a Government Commercial High School have been the only schools of this type in the Province All boys passing from this school get admission [as a matter] of course in the Sydenham College of Commerce where admission is very difficult to obtain Boys passing out and not desiring to go to college have secured jobs at high salaries The only boy who failed last year has found a job of Rs 175 per month

1943 Agboatwalla Middle School for boys made into a High School on guarantee of [*sic*] deficit by Mr Agboatwalla
The Primary Section added to the Girls High School.

1944 The Abdul Sattar Shuaib School started This is a Boys Middle

School at Memonwala Road and meets a great need
1945. The Girls High School building extended for more accommodation
1946. Kurla Boys School taken over from the Kurla Municipality
(a) Girls School at Kurla was started
(b) Girls School [started] at Kambekar Street (Memon Mohalla)
(c) Mahim Girls School accommodation extended so that it could become a High School
1947 Urdu Research Institute started

It is evident that all these institutions could not have been started without funds The Anjuman has had to purchase furniture and equipment alone of about Rs 1,00,000 for these activities Extensions to buildings and new buildings have cost about Rs 60,000 This expenditure has been met by carefully applying and utilising the Anjuman Trust funds, collecting donations and persuading other Trusts to help

For the recurring expenditure the Anjuman has obtained grants from Government and other Trusts

Nevertheless, the Anjuman is living a hand-to-mouth existence Its annual expenditure is now in the neighbourhood of Rs 1,50,000 The General Fund of the Anjuman from which above deficits of the different institutions can be met is only about Rs 20,000 invested in Government securities, and this is a ridiculous figure Frequently there is no cash in hand to pay the teachers their monthly salaries and one of the Joint Honorary Secretaries has had to pay the salaries from his own pocket

The Anjuman must have a substantial General Fund so that this unsatisfactory state of affairs is put an end to

Muslims must not forget that helping the Anjuman is not merely charity but is also an investment Times of great stress are ahead of us We must educate our youth not only to earn their livelihood but also to preserve our language and our culture for which we are fighting. for there is no doubt that if we are willing to forget that language and that culture, the Hindus would have no grudge against us

The Anjuman is an association of all the Musalmans of Bombay Shias, Sunnis, Konkanis, Memons, Khojas, Bohras and all the others It has a long tradition and great experience It has considerable weight with the Government because of its past achievements I think that the Anjuman should be supported [in terms] both of money and workers

SAIF F B TYABJI
Joint Honorary Secretary,
Anjuman-i-Islam

140

M A Hassan Ispahani to M A Jinnah

F 309/322-325

INDIAN TRADE DELEGATION TO THE MIDDLE EAST,
CAMP BAGHDAD,
16 March 1947

My dear Mr Jinnah,

Ever since our arrival in Basra, we are being overwhelmed by the hospitality and kindness of our Arab brethren We have been attending functions and meetings of Chambers At every function or meeting cordial speeches are made and suitable replies given In our spare time and even during hours of work, whenever opportunity offers itself, we Muslim members of the Delegation busy ourselves with the real work for which we have undertaken this journey

Today we were given a grand reception by the Indian Muslims of Baghdad Due to the enterprise of one Muslim merchant and selfless worker, who donated one lakh of rupees, a modern Hall and *Musafir Khana* have come into existence The name of the merchant is Hafiz Sharif Hussain The effort is magnificent, and if we had a hundred such selfless workers in India, the Muslim nation would have been fortunate In the Hall hangs a picture that is supposed to be yours It bears no resemblance whatsoever except for the fact that the figure carries a Jinnah cap I shall be most obliged if you will, on receipt of this letter, direct Khurshid to airmail one of your portraits, duly autographed, to the President, Indian Muslim Association, Baghdad, in order that he may substitute it for the one that is hanging in the Meeting Hall

We have been so impressed with the unity of our Indian Muslim brethren in this country that four of us have become life members of the Association It is not necessary for me to tell you how strongly our Indian Muslim brethren here feel for and advocate Pakistan They were most anxious to welcome you here on your way back to India from Egypt, but as you had not the time you could not oblige Had you come, you would have received a reception that even kings would have envied

We are the guests of the Baghdad Chamber of Commerce at dinner tonight and are giving a reception to all those who have entertained us and also to the notables and politicians of Iraq tomorrow evening We are leaving for Tehran by air on the 18th morning and

shall reach Tehran at 4 in the afternoon

Wherever we go the cry is "give us some literature so that we may be of use to you" Kindly direct the Muslim League Head-quarters to send a copy of all the publications, past, present and future, without fail, to the Indian Muslim Association No soldier can fight without ammunition.

Before I conclude, I wish to give you some information received from a very reliable source It is this Baldev Singh is forming purely Sikh and purely Hindu regiments, whereas all Muslim regiments are mixed This information requires immediate investigation because the dangers that attend such a move are too obvious to need emphasis Auchinleck is no friend of Muslim India, and he is quite capable of encouraging, or closing eyes on things that are not in the best interests of the Muslim nation Another piece of information that I wish to pass on to you is that Congress leaders are apparently thinking on the lines of a *coup d'etat* in order to capture actual power in all the Provinces a few months before the British are scheduled to quit India The probable course planned is to capture or kill Muslim leaders on whom the Hindus can lay their hands and in the ensuing disturbances to send the Central Government's army to restore law and order This will put the Congress in *de facto* possession of the Provinces General Auchinleck is supposed to harbour personal ambitions as a future Field Marshal and Commander-in- Chief of independent India

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,
HASSAN

141

Ghulam Ahmad Jeweller to K H Khurshid

F 366/11-14

SRINAGAR,
16 March 1947

My dear Khurshid,

Thanks for your letter of the 6th instant[1] which I received yesterday, and for the information therein

The present communal rioting in the Punjab and, prior to that, the Muslim League agitation against the [Tiwana] Ministry,[2] have been and

are still playing their part in the minds of the people here, especially on those who belong to the National Conference The recent Congress Resolution on the general political situation in India[3] as a whole and in the Punjab[4] [in particular] has also not spared [*sic* for allowed] them [to remain] unaffected They are seeking some way out of what is called the National Conference I mean the leaders of that party, whether inside or outside it, are saying that if Sh Abdullah wants to remain in the National Conference after seeing all that the Congress is doing for him, he may [do so,] but we can no longer remain in it Some say let Sh. Abdullah come out of the bars and then we shall [*sic*] compel him to join the League and start the Muslim Conference afresh The only difficulty which I can guess in bringing the Nationalist Musalmans into the Muslim Conference fold is [the absence] of a [good] leader in the Muslim Conference and, secondly, the detention of Muslim Conference and National Conference leaders at present But as soon as any of them comes out, you would hear a very encouraging news about Kashmir Only God knows what a miracle the Quaid-i-Azam has played [*sic* for performed] on the minds of Kashmiri Muslims and in the Punjab situation that at present there is not even a smallest child who does't know him and respect him The general trend of the people has changed to a great extent I pray to God to bring the time nearer when I shall see the Musalmans of Kashmir and those of India as a whole united And I still hope, that time is not far away

The present political tension in the Punjab and in the Frontier has perturbed the minds of Kashmiri Hindus to the extent that they are running here and there in order to form peace committees The one thing which I want to put here is that the Muslim Leaguers are not so much eager to start a communal strife as are the Nationalists I can't say whether it shall start or not here also What I am hearing of the Punjab and especially of Rawalpindi [is that the] situation is encouraging on the one hand and discouraging as well on the other But, somehow, I think it is proper at this time that the airs and pride which the Hindus had [assumed] on account of the Punjabi Hindus has vanished for ever What is your opinion about it?

Your letter was shown to Zahur and Ghulam Nabi. First, they thank you for the same and, secondly, they say that it is a matter of responsibility and however after due thinking over it they shall let you know as well However, they all convey to you their *salaams*

Kari is okay and is here He is busy with his own business His wife is at Jammu He says that he had written to you some time back but you had not replied or that you had not received that. Well, he is

writing to you again very soon

Whenever you intend to come to Srinagar, inform me telegraphically so that we may arrange a reception committee to receive you at the aerodrome [After] more than two and a half years, you are returning to your home for a few days

The whether [*sic*] is getting healthier and very pleasant day by day How is [it] at Bombay?

Salaams from all to you, Omar, brothers and friends

Yours sincerely,
GULLA

PS By the way, since when have you changed your name?

[1]Not available in *QAP*
[2]Refers to the Civil Disobedience Movement launched against the Punjab Ministry
[3]See Appendix I
[4]Ibid

142

Colin Reid to M A Jinnah

F 485/10

IMPERIAL HOTEL, NEW DELHI,
16 March 1947

Dear Mr Jinnah,

As desired, I am forwarding to you a copy (official version) of the Statement made by Mr Attlee in the House of Commons on 20th February 1947 [1] I am sorry the back of it is marked by my shorthand notes, but the only other copy I have is more marked

It was a great pleasure to have that off-the-record talk[2] with you at Bombay and, incidentally, a fund of enlightenment so far as I was concerned Many thanks

I hope to see you again either on or off the record when you come, as I expect you will, to New Delhi

At all times, I remain,
Yours sincerely,
COLIN REID

[1]No 1
[2]Reid later reported to Wavell that Jinnah did not intend responding to the Congress invitation until he was sent for by Mountbatten Reid, however, thought that Jinnah might accept the Cabinet Mission Plan if the Congress did the same unequivocally See *TP*, IX, No 551, pp 990-991

143

Abdul Rahman Taimoori to M A Jinnah

F 908/42

117 ORDNANCE FIELD PARK,
SOUTH EAST ASIA COMMAND,
16 March 1947

Sir,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

Respectfully I beg to state that I sent a letter to you on 24 11 46,[1] [an]other on 26 12 46[2] and [yet] another on 2 2 47,[3] and this is my fourth letter I requested you kindly to send me a copy of the English translation of the Holy *Qur'an*

I have not received any reply for that, at the same time I have the honour to request you once more that it is my hearty [*sic*] desire to study the Holy *Qur'an* in English If you please send me a copy of the Holy *Qur'an* in English, if possible with Arabic text, I will ever remain thankful to you

Jazakomullaho ahsan al-jaza

I beg to remain, Sir,
Your most obedient servant in Islam,
ABDUL RAHMAN TAIMOORI

[1,2&3] Not available in *QAP*

144

A Hamid to M A Ghafoor
(Copy to Jinnah)

F 1359/94-95
[Original in Urdu]

PAISA AKHBAR STREET, LAHORE,
17 March 1947

Respected brother,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

Received your letter with an article It has hurt me to know that

you suspect that someone of us has divulged your identity and that because of it your life has been made miserable by your superiors

Dear brother! The allegation that somebody in my Press has divulged your name is entirely false It could never have happened and I am not prepared to believe that it is true It may be that someone, like a lawyer, is trying to poison your mind against us

In my office, all the incoming mail is received only by me, and nobody else is authorised to open it Whenever a letter from you arrives, I myself take out its contents, read it, edit it and send it to the Press for publication To date, nobody in the Press knows about it, nor will he ever know it As to who writes the articles and from where they come, nobody can dare to ask me, and it is unthinkable that I myself should divulge your name So, it is absolutely wrong to say that somebody in the Press has leaked out your name

If there could be anyone here who could divulge your name, it could be only me, but I swear by the holy *Kalima* that there is no god but Allah and that Mohammad is His Messenger, that I am a Musalman and that I have not mentioned it to anyone except Iqbal Sahib that it was you who sent those articles Therefore, please do not blame the Press

I assure you that it is merely a trick of your adversaries who want to coerce you into confessing to having written the article It is unfortunate that pricked by your conscience, which is aware of the facts, you acknowledged the fact

Yours sincerely,
HAMID
Managing Editor,
The Eastern Times

PS I am writing this immediately after receipt of your letter, so that you may be comforted by the knowledge that nobody in my office knows that it was you who had been writing the articles Only I know it, and you must rest assured that I would not do any such thing

A H[AMID]

145

Aziz Ahmad to M A Jinnah

F 696/454

BELLA VISTA, HYDERABAD, DECCAN,

CONFIDENTIAL *17 March 1947*

Dear Mr Jinnah,

The White Paper[1] of 20th February seems to have brought our cherished goal of Pakistan very near actuality May God grant you health and a long life to be at the helm of the new Muslim State

Very humbly, as your life-long devotee, servant and follower, I herewith submit a few suggestions about the co-ordination of the defence of India as surely this would be one of the main topics of discussion between the parties during the coming months

I had the honour to pay my respects to you in Delhi in April 1946, where I had come as Secretary to the Princess of Berar I am also the Professor of English in the Osmania University

I shall be thankful to know if there is anything I can do in my own way to serve the Muslim nation

Yours sincerely,
AZIZ AHMAD

[1] No 1

Enclosure to No 145

F 696/455-456

CONFIDENTIAL

BLUEPRINT OF THE CO-ORDINATION OF DEFENCE IN THE SUB-CONTINENT OF INDIA

1 This scheme tries to meet the problems of the defence of the sub-continent of India after the creation of the sovereign States of Hindustan, Pakistan and a Union or Federation of Indian States, assuming that such a Union or Federation is formed

2 Thus the sovereign contracting parties of the Defence Co-ordination Plan would be, roughly speaking

(i) Hindustan

(ii) Pakistan

(iii) Union of Indian States

3 This plan envisages the common defence of India on two levels
(i) Peace conditions
(ii) Emergencies

PEACE CONDITIONS

(1) Everyone of the three contracting parties will have its own army and its own command
(2) The three contracting parties will contribute an equal number of units of army, navy and air force as a permanent united fighting force, on a war footing As Pakistan will bear the brunt of any external aggression from either side of India, it cannot consent to its numerical strength being in any way inferior to that of Hindustan
(3) A Defence Consultation Committee of three, consisting of the Defence Members (or other representatives) of the three contracting parties, will be set up to supervise and co-ordinate the fighting services of the three contracting parties
(4) An External Affairs Council will be set up to co-ordinate and harmonise the foreign policy of the three contracting parties
(5) Provision will be made for liaison between the Defence Consultation Committee and the External Affairs Council
(6) Training, equipment and expenditure will be the responsibility of each contracting party
(7) A highly technical permanent Military Commission will function in advisory capacity to co-ordinate
  (a) Training
  (b) Equipment and armaments
  (c) General standard
  (d) all other details
(8) The members of this Military Commission will be settled [*sic* for selected] from time to time from the armed forces of the three contracting parties
(9) The Military Commission will consist of three sections (1) land, (2) sea, and (3) air
(10) The Military Commission will work in an advisory capacity to the Defence Consultation Committee, but it will also have direct access to the supreme military authorities of the three contracting parties in all technical matters

EMERGENCIES

(1) A Defence Co-ordinating Committee will replace the Defence Consultation Committee in situations of emergency or of common danger

(2) The Defence Co-ordinating Committee will consist of equal number of representatives of the three contracting parties, namely Hindustan, Pakistan, and the Indian States.
(3) The Defence Co-ordinating Committee will have the power to set up a High Command in the conditions of actual war The High Command will be responsible to the Defence Co-ordinating Committee
(4) The Defence Co-ordinating Committee will not be sovereign except in so far as certain powers of immediate decision will be delegated to it for as long as the emergency lasts, by the three sovereign contracting parties.
(5) The question of the Supreme Command of the operating armies in case of external aggression will be settled by mutual consultation of the three contracting parties

146

M Abdul Ali to M A Jinnah

F 654/21

SAMAD BAGH, SAEEDABAD, HYDERABAD,
17 March 1947

Quaid-i-Azam,

I am taking the liberty of enclosing the latest publication[1] of mine In this booklet, I have attempted to portray the life of Prophet Muhammad from a new angle of vision, particularly for the foreign audience

I shall feel grateful if you can send your views to be printed on the cover

With regards,

Yours sincerely,
M ABDUL ALI

[1]Not available in *QAP*

147

M A Jinnah to A D Shroff

F 1058/22

17 March 1947

Dear Mr Shroff,

With reference to our conversation when we met last Wednesday, you were good enough to ask me to send you a list of the educational institutions which are in need of financial help Accordingly, I am sending you the names of some of them which are as follows

1 Anjuman-i-Islam High School, Bombay
2 Anjuman-i-Islam and Haji Janmohamed Kassam Commercial High School, Bombay
3 Anjuman-i-Islam Girls High School, Bombay
4 Anjuman-i-Islam Mahim Girls School, Mahim, Bombay
5 Hansot Mahal Muslim Education Society Anglo-Urdu High School, Hansot, Gujerat
6 Muslim Educational Services League, Bombay
7 Anjuman-i-Mufidul Yetama (Orphanage), Bombay, and
8 Anjuman-i-Khairul Islam Orphanage, Bombay

Further, besides [*sic*] there are some institutions outside Bombay Presidency [also] which require help very badly Some of them are given below

1 Sind Madressah Girls High School, Karachi
2 Anglo-Arabic Girls High School, Delhi
3 Islamia College, Lahore
4 Arabic College, Delhi
5 Islamia College, Peshawar, (N W F P)

You will observe that it is a fairly big list, besides, there are some in Bengal whose names I have not been able to get at present In short, there are many Muslim educational institutions that are in need of financial help very badly As the Tata Trust were good enough sometime back in May 1943 to give their support of Rs 50,000 which was distributed by me and I have sent the full report to the Chairman of the Trust with vouchers etc And I am glad that the Trustees are again considering whether they should not give some substantial help and I do hope that you will impress upon them that this time they should

give me a fairly substantial amount as you will see there are so many claimants that are in need of help

Thanking you,

Yours sincerely,
M A JINNAH

A. D Shroff, Esq,
c/o Tata Trust,
Bombay

148

Mahmood Hasan to M A Jinnah

F 773/53

P O BOX 103, DELHI,
17 March 1947

Dear Sir,

Enclosed please find herewith attached [*sic*] a bearing Press Inland Telegrams Authority for your use in sending Press telegrams to *Dawn* during 1947

An acknowledgement of this Authority will oblige

Yours faithfully,
for *Dawn*,
M HASAN
General Manager

Enclosure to No 148

F 773/54

INDIAN POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS DEPARTMENT,
OFFICE OF THE POSTMASTER-GENERAL,
PUNJAB & N W F CIRCLE, LAHORE,

MEMORANDUM NO TB/W 322/48 *13 December 1946*

NOT TRANSFERABLE

The correspondents noted below are authorised to send bearing Press Inland Telegrams if addressed to the *Dawn*, Delhi, from the telegraph offices noted against them during the year ending 31-12-1947

Name of Correspondent	Name of Government Telegraph offices from which the Telegrams are to be issued
1 Mr. M A Jinnah	All India
2 Mr Mahmood Hasan	All India
3 Mr. Altaf Hussain	All India
4 Mr. Khalid Ali	All India
5. Mr Mohammad Shafi	Lahore
6 Mr. Yusuf Haroon	Karachi
7 Mr. M Ashir	Lucknow
8 Mr M S Usmani	Patna
9 Mr U A Pasha	Agra
10 Mr Aga Shaukat Ali	Srinagar (Kashmir)
11 Mr Z A Suleri	London
12 Mr Syed Mohammad Hasan Jilani	Peshawar
13. Mr Mirza Ali Azhar	All India

Copy forwarded for information and guidance to
The Director-General of Posts & Telegraphs, New Delhi
All Postmasters-General and Director of P & T, Karachi
The Accounts Officer i/c T C O, Calcutta
The Officer i/c D T O, Delhi
The General Manager, the *Dawn*, Post Box 103, Delhi, with reference to his letter No 5683 dated 9 12 1946. Thirteen spare copies are enclosed for use of the correspondents

H F MICHAEL
for Postmaster-General

149

B N Rau to M A. Jinnah

F 1178/23

CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF INDIA, NEW DELHI,
17 March 1947

No CA/18/Cons/47

All Members of the
Central and Provincial Legislatures

Sir,

In order to facilitate the work of framing a new Constitution before

June, 1948, it is considered desirable to issue a questionnaire, bearing on the salient features of the Constitution, to all the members of the various Provincial Legislatures and of the Central Legislature and to invite their individual views thereon

2 Such a questionnaire is annexed to this letter [1] The questionnaire is divided into five parts, and in each part are set out a certain number of questions bearing on its subject-matter Brief explanatory notes have been inserted under each question.

3 The questionnaire, as will be noticed, deals only with the Constitution of the Centre But most of the questions will apply, *mutatis mutandis*, to the Provincial sphere also You are therefore requested to give your answers both in regard to the Union Constitution and in regard to the Provincial Constitutions

4 Your answers may kindly be sent so as to reach this office as early as possible and in any case before April 10, 1947, as the matter is very urgent

5 It is considered unnecessary to frame any questionnaire regarding Group Constitutions until the Sections have decided to set up such Constitutions

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
B N RAU
Constitutional Adviser

[1]Not available in *QAP*

150

C M Trivedi to M A Jinnah

F 1013/7

ROOM 57, HIGH COURT, BOMBAY,
17 March 1947

Sir,

I have the honour to inform you that the Bombay Bar Association have decided to hold a reception in your honour, on your attaining the distinction of having completed 50 years as a distinguished member of the Bar

I have therefore to request you to give any date suitable to you

before the 18th Apnl 1947, or after 15th June 1947, when the reception proposed to be held in your honour may be fixed
Hoping to be favoured with an early reply,

I beg to remain, Sir,
Yours faithfully,
C M TRIVEDI
B A , LL B , Barrister-at-Law
Honorary Secretary,
Bombay Bar Association

151

L Lobo to M A Jinnah

F 943/75-77

44 ISLAMPURA STREET, GOLPITA, BOMBAY,
[*18 March 1947*]

Dear Sir,

As I write this with great avidity and impatience, I cannot forbear discovering the same impatience in thanking you immensely for the trouble in reading my epistle

I am intensely happy to be in the knowledge [*sic*] that the League is open to members of the Minorities as well and it is the dearest wish of my heart to be a partner in such a worthy organisation. I therefore approach you with the pledge that henceforth I shall dedicate my services to the cause of the Muslims and the Minorities

I had thought it futile to plunge into politics of our country but after much deliberations I am convinced that the Congress is on the wrong road to freedom and the only road to liberation is the one leading to Pakistan. On my way to this land of destiny I seek your aid and counsel which I do hope will be forthcoming from you with pleasure If you will afford me the full support of my plans to band together the Minorities for the great struggle to form the Pakistan State, I am confident to succeed in my Sacred Mission

I believe implicitly in Pakistan, the idea has possessed me and it is the only plan bearing practical operating value What is preached by the Congress as the great road to freedom is for us indeed the high road to servitude. We shall not consent to remain serfs of Hindu

Dictators for they stand for the indefinite promotion of Hindus alone with utter disregard to our welfare Pakistan is the only defence against any designs of the Congress aimed at the destruction of the Muslims and Minorities

The Congress is predominantly a Hindu organisation having primarily a different racial attitude towards us and all the love in the world cannot wholly take away that knowledge from us We shall not et them transform our country into a *Bania* Rule but shall stand united o crush Congress piracy Our cause must prevail and is beyond moral hallenge Pakistan is our destiny and without it hope would vanish rom a restless and awakened India We shall not let ourselves be dragged as captives by *Banias* but fight their idea of liberation Our ndomitable spirit and willing sacrifices shall prove to the world that ve are worthy to hold the citadel against all aggressors

If the Congress is an organisation dedicated to the uplift of India nere is no shorter cut to an understanding of their machinery than the ragic example of the Untouchables How then can such an rganisation perpetuate the status of Muslims and Minorities? Let 'ongress understand that we know the time of day in the world we nhabit and we will not be fooled—no systematic propaganda can nislead us Their grandiose plan to seize power and to overthrow us nust be toned down They are unfit to trust in action as in word, ney have no virtues as partners in the difficult adventure of freedom nd can never deal constructively with the affairs of our country heir expedition is a tragedy of errors for they have met each crisis nith an improvisation while patching the immediate breach has generated into new misunderstanding, thus bringing a useful cause into isrepute If the Congress was so benevolent, so unselfish and so evoted to the public good we would tolerate their usurpation out of ratitude But they have placed their own interests above national dvancement and it is an impossible piece of Idealism We have nerefore no choice but to fight to keep the flag of Pakistan flying over ne Citadel My mission is to unite the Minority elements to collaborate with you and I await with much interest your immediate reply to nable me to contact you and discuss at length the progressive plan I ave in view May Providence grant you unbroken health to witness ne birth and functioning of Pakistan is my prayer

Yours faithfully,
L LOBO

152

Mohamedali Habib to Messrs Kazura & Co , Singapore
(Copy to M A Jinnah)

F 908/37-38

MAHOMEDALI ROAD, BOMBAY,
18 March 1947

Dear Sir,

Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah Sahib has been pleased to forward to us your letter to him dated the 24th February 1947[1] on the question of opening a branch or branches of a Muslim-controlled Bank in Singapore and other cities of Malaya

Referring to your said letter, we may inform you that our Bank has about 22 branches all over India and, by the Grace of God, we are doing well We have got Agents in London and New York also

The policy of our Bank has all throughout been to cater for the needs of the Muslim mercantile community, and, in pursuance of that policy, we intend to open several more branches in India and abroad For the said purpose, we require well-trained staff, thoroughly conversant with technicalities of the line

As you may be aware, an infinitesimally small number of Muslims had the opportunity to serve as officers in scheduled banks in India In view of that, there is a dearth of well-qualified Muslims possessing necessary banking experience Our Bank has, therefore, framed a scheme for training up [*sic*] young Muslims possessing high academic qualifications We have been able to recruit a good number of such educated young men who are being trained up [*sic*] for responsible posts in our branches

It is likely to take some time before these officers acquire the necessary technical knowledge and efficiency We have, therefore, had to postpone our programme of opening upcountry branches to such time as these officers become fully qualified to shoulder the responsibilities of their assignments

We may assure you that we shall give first consideration to Singapore at the time of opening upcountry branches *Insha' Allah*, in the very near future, we shall have a branch there to cater to the needs of the mercantile community of your place

In the meantime, if you have in view any educated Muslims with sound banking experience, you may ask them to apply to our Bank for

ɔpointment as officers for our Singapore Branch We are sending to ɔu separately a few copies of our said Selective Service Scheme as so application forms which may be filled in and returned to us by ıch candidates For your information, we are also sending to you a w copies of our latest balance sheet and Directors' Report for the ɛar ending 31st December 1946

If you require any further information about our Bank, we shall be ad to furnish the same to you on hearing from you in the matter

Yours faithfully,
MOHAMEDALI HABIB
Managing Director,
Habib Bank Ltd

ɔpy of this letter is not available in *QAP* but Jinnah acknowledged Messrs Kazura & Co 's ᐧtter on 4 March 1947 See No 88

153

H M Mohidin to M A Jinnah

F 676/19

HAMEEDIA SCHOOL, NEW MOOR STREET, COLOMBO,
18 March 1947

ʸ dear Sir,

Mubasmillen Muhamdillen Musalliyen Musallimah ı

With due deference and profound submission I beg most humbly place the following facts before you and request you to favour me th an early reply for the reasons set out therein

1 The Jemiyathul-'Ulama, Colombo (Ceylon), was inaugurated some ırs back with the chief object of gathering together the *'ulama* in an ,anised body and solely to inculcate in the minds of the Muslims the ɔortance of the religious principles, as it was apparent that with the ıd speed [with which] the world is moving the sacred laws laid ʌn in the Holy *Qur'an* and the high traditions of the Holy Prophet slam should be jealously guarded as much as possible.

2 With this object in view this body of *'ulama* carried through its rk and its voice is to a great extent recognised by the Government Ceylon

3 Among its various activities, this body started publishing a ver-ular paper named *Al'Ilm* in the year 1946 chiefly for the purpose of

ventilating religious views among the Muslims with instructive religious articles by eminent *'ulama* and the paper is well read and highly appreciated throughout the length and breadth of the Island

4. *Al Hamdu Lillah*, having had a successful year of publication the Managing Committee of this paper has now arranged to begin the second year with an Annual Number in the nearest future with additional pages and in a larger size

5 Under the above circumstances, although realising the strenuous time you are having at the moment working in another capacity, also for safeguarding the Muslim interests, I am directed by the Managing Committee to approach you for a letter of appreciation to grace the Annual Number

Waiting to receive an early reply and thanking you,

I beg to remain, Sir,

Yours-in-Islam,

H M MOHIDIN

Honorary Secretary,

Jemiyathul-'Ulama

[1]Translation Beginning in the Name of Allah, thanking Allah [for His Mercies], praying for Allah's Favours [on the Holy Prophet], and wishing peace [to you]

154

Abdul Rahman Azzam to M A Jinnah

F 478/15

LEAGUE OF ARAB STATES SECRETARIAT, CAIRO,
19 March 1947[1]

My dear brother,

Thank you very much for your kind letter of February 8th [2] I am now much better and hope you are also in the best of health I assure you that since we met in Cairo, I hold the best of memories of that occasion

With regard to the decision to send a delegation of observers to the Inter-Asian Peoples Conference to be held at Delhi, which we have been assured has no political character, this is prompted purely by a desire to be abreast with all important events and developments in Asia and should in no way be understood to mean participation in or support for any given policy, nor taking sides with any particular

party in India against the other

You are fully aware of Arab sympathies towards their Indian Muslim brethren, and their support of the Islamic culture in India, the promotion and encouragement of which they so much take to heart, and I should like to make it clear that such a step in no way reflects on the feeling of eternal brotherhood existing between Muslims in the Near East and their brothers in Asia

With kind regards and best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
ABDUL RAHMAN AZZAM

[1]A duplicate of this letter, dated 10 March 1947, is available in F 676/20, *QAP*

[2]Jinnah had informed Azzam that the Inter-Asian Relations Conference was entirely "a Hindu Congress show" and suggested that the Arab League should have nothing to do with that Conference See F 478/13, 8 February 1947, *QAP*

155

Khan of Kalat to M A Jinnah

F 34/19

AMBASSADOR HOTEL, BOMBAY,
19 March 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

In connection with my yesterday's conversation with you, I enclose for your information the following papers

(1) My *Wazir-i-Azam*'s demi-official letter of December 26th, 1946, to Mr Griffin, Political Secretary to the Government of India, based on the conversation that the *Wazir-i-Azam* had with His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal
(2) A note based on this letter, prepared by some legal adviser.
(3) A draft memorandum, prepared by Mr. Chundrigar, to be forwarded to the Government of India
(4) A printed copy of the relevant Treaties of Kalat

Yours very sincerely,
AHMAD YAR KHAN

Enclosure 1 to No 155
Muhamad Aslam to Lancelot Griffin

F 34/7-12

MAIDEN'S HOTEL, DELHI,
26 December 1946

My dear Mr Griffin,

I returned from Bhopal in the evening of the 22nd December and called at your office on the 23rd afternoon, but was told that you had gone out I, however, saw Mr Wakefield and gave him a brief account of my meeting with His Highness the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes at Bhopal I now write this letter to give you a more detailed account of my aforesaid meeting, and at the same time apologise for this encroachment on your time

2 I explained to His Highness the Chancellor that the Kalat State had three major problems before it, namely,

(a) the future place of the State in the world and its relations with India after the British Government has handed over the reins of the Government of India to the Indians,

(b) the return of the leased areas of Quetta, Nushki and Nasirabad to the Kalat State after the termination of His Highness'[s] Treaty with the British Government, and

(c) the future of other Baluch tribal areas, such as Kharan and Lasbela, the two feudatory States, Marri and Bugti territories, etc

3 Taking 2(a) first, what I submitted to His Highness the Chancellor is more or less as follows

(i) The Kalat State is not, and has never been, a part of India It is not an Indian State Before the advent of the British Government, Baluchistan, which name then only applied to the land inhabited by Baluch tribes (which term includes the Brahuis), led an independent existence under its own Ruler, the Khan of Kalat, who in those days was known as the Khan of Baluchistan There exists documentary evidence to show that the Khans of Baluchistan, the great ancestors of the present Ruler of the Kalat State, mostly ruled over their territories independently of any foreign interference and were held in high esteem and regard as such not only by the neighbouring Rulers of Afghanistan and Persia but by the Caliph of Islam himself, who was even pleased to bestow the title of *Beglar Begi*

(Turkish words, meaning the "Khan of Khans") on the Khan of Baluchistan

(ii) The first British contact with the Kalat State takes place in the year 1838, in connexion with an expeditionary force sent by the British Government to Afghanistan via Baluchistan, in support of the exiled Afghan King, Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk, who some time before had taken refuge in Kalat State The Khan of Kalat's co-operation was sought in the matter, which was freely given Subsequent history of British relations with the Kalat State and its Rulers has been one of friendly alliances and treaties of mutual friendship and amity throughout

(iii) These Treaties were concluded in 1841, 1854 and 1876, and they are based on mutual friendship and alliance as between two independent and sovereign States Besides these, several Electric Telegraph Agreements were also concluded with the Kalat State and the feudatory State of Lasbela, which throw further light on the nature of the relations maintained between the British Government and the Kalat State These relations are consistently described in the aforesaid Treaties and Telegraph Agreements as those of "friendship and amity between the two Governments" and the Khan of Kalat is held to be an ally—"a firm ally"—of the British Government, and "Ruler of the Sovereign State of Kalat"

(iv) A reference is invited to the Treaty of 1876, which is the Treaty in force at present time The Treaty begins with the following words "Whereas it has become expedient to renew the Treaty of 1854 and to supplement the same by certain additional provisions calculated to draw closer the bonds of friendship and amity between the two Governments "

Article 3 of this Treaty, while binding the Khan to faithfully observe his undertakings, binds the British Government "to respect the independence of Kalat"

Article 4 provides for the British Agents to be "accredited by the British Government to reside permanently at the Court of the Khan" and, "on the other hand", for His Highness "to accredit a suitable representative" to the Government of India The reason for this exchange of representatives is given in the first sentence of this Article, which is "For the further consolidation of the friendship herewith renewed and reaffirmed between the two Governments" (I also explained to His Highness the Chancellor that His Highness the Khan of Kalat had recently appointed me as his Representative

with His Excellency the Crown Representative, under this Article of the Treaty, and that I had already had the honour of presenting my credentials to His Excellency on the 18th of December 1946)

In Article 6, the British Government "in recognition of the intimate relations existing between the two countries" accords its assent to the request of His Highness for the presence in his country of a detachment of British troops

Article 7 provides for the construction by the British Government, "by previous arrangements between the British Government and the Government of His Highness", of such lines of Telegraph and Railway "as may be beneficial to the interests of the two Governments".

(v) Thus it will be seen that the relations between the British Government and the Kalat State have [all] along been based on mutual friendship and amity as between two independent countries, and have no other basis for their existence

(vi) It is true that the Government of India Act of 1935 holds the Kalat State as situated in India, but the State was never consulted in the drafting of this Act, nor was the State, in any way, a party to it, and, as such, in view of the clear treaty relations existing between the countries already explained, an Act passed by one Government for the administration of its own territories can have no legal effect, one way or another, in respect of the territories of the other Government Were it not so, then it would be equally "legal" for the British Government to include Persia and Afghanistan within the borders of India by introducing a clause to that effect in one of its Acts Nevertheless, the Khan of Kalat lodged a protest in proper quarters against what he considered to be an infringement of the Treaty of 1876 His Highness, however, got a reply in the form of a personal letter from His Excellency the Crown Representative, dated the 10th of June 1939, assuring His Highness that such reaffirmation was unnecessary and that His Excellency recognised the Treaty of 1876 as fully valid in every respect and that it would henceforth form the basis of relations between the British Government and the Kalat State

(vii) His Highness the Khan, therefore, maintains, and he is supported in this respect by the unanimous will of all his subjects (a) that the Kalat State is an independent sovereign State whose relations with the British Government are based on the Treaty of 1876, (b) that its Indian associations are merely due to its

connexions under the Treaty with the British Government and nothing else, (c) that the Kalat State being an independent State, His Highness can never agree to its being included in any form of an Indian Union, (d) that with the termination of the Treaty with the British Government, the Kalat State will revert to its original position and will be free to choose its own course for the future, and (e) that future relations between the Kalat State and India will depend entirely on the kind of treaty, if any, that may be entered into between the two countries

(viii) His Highness, however, is most anxious to continue his friendly and amicable relations with India and will always be glad to enter into a treaty of friendship with any Government that succeeds the British Government in India, so long as the position of the Kalat State as an independent and sovereign State is fully recognised and respected by the other party to the Treaty

4 As regards 2(b) above, the question of the Leased Territories, I refer to the Agreements under which these territories have been leased to the British Government

(i) Under these Agreements, the Kalat *Niabats* of Quetta, Nushki and Nasirabad are held by the British Government from H H the Khan on quit-rent In addition, the Khan has also transferred to the British Government his rights to levy dues or tolls on trade travelling through the Bolan, in return for which the British Government has agreed to pay to His Highness the sum of Rupees 30,000 per annum The salient features of these Agreements are as follows

(a) First, the Agreements are between the Khan of Kalat and the British Government and were entered into by "common consent" for the "advantage of both Governments"

(b) Secondly, while one party to these Agreements is "His Highness Mir Khudadad Khan on behalf of himself and his heirs and successors", the other party is *British Government alone* and not also its *successors*,[1] etc

(c) Thirdly, according to the terms of these Agreements, they hold good, and the British Government is liable to pay the stipulated quit-rent, only so long as the territories in question are administered by the British Government

(ii) In view of these clear stipulations in the Agreements, it requires no subtle argument to show that legally as well as

morally the British Government is bound to restore the territories in question to the State as soon as it finds itself unable any longer to carry out its own part of the Agreement

(iii) It may be repeated that the very first and foremost condition on which each Agreement is based is that the Leased Territory shall be held *by the British Government* and shall be administered *on behalf of the British Government* by an officer or officers appointed by the Governor-General-in-Council for the purpose

(iv) These Areas belong to His Highness the Khan. They are held by the British Government on lease from the Khan on certain conditions The Agreements in regard to the said Areas were made with the British Government and with that Government alone When, therefore, the British Government relinquishes charge of the Leased Areas, justice will demand that they are restored intact to the Khan of Kalat, their lawful and rightful owner The Khan also anxiously awaits a formal pronouncement by the British Government to this effect

5 Regarding 2(c), the future of other Baluch tribal areas, I explained to His Highness the Chancellor that

All these areas originally formed part of Kalat State, and were later on, by mutual agreement with the British Government, separated from the State on grounds of administrative expediency To the best of my belief the majority of the people of these areas desire to see some sort of Kalat State Union formed, which should include their territories Already, some of their leading *Sardars*, notably the *Sardars* of Marri and Bugti Tribes, and Sardar Mir Jamal Khan Laghari speaking for the Laghari tribal territory of Dera Ghazi Khan (Punjab), have approached His Highness the Khan with a formal request—the Marri and Bugti *Sardars* have even executed a [document in] writing to this effect—that His Highness should guide their destinies regarding the future and that their best interests lie in a union of all Baluch tribal territories under the hegemony of His Highness the Khan, who is already the recognised head of the Baluch Confederacy and is the suzerain of the Kharan and Lasbela States His Highness the Khan, while sympathetically disposed to the overtures of the tribal chiefs and others who have approached him in this matter, is looking to the British Government for friendly advice His Highness knows it for a fact that all Baluch tribes, whether living in or outside the Kalat State, are one in their desire to preserve their national existence and heritage and to keep

themselves out of any form of Indian Union, and he is deeply anxious to see that they get a treatment which accords with their just and natural aspirations

6 This was, more or less, the substance of my talk with His Highness the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes His Highness, whom I found to be one of the most charming persons I have ever come across, and who listened to everything I said with the closest attention, asked me first of all if I had discussed all these matters with Sir Conrad Corfield I replied that I had done so but not in so much detail His Highness then told me in most sympathetic and kind terms that he entirely appreciated the position of the Kalat State and was in full agreement with the views of His Highness the Khan as explained by me His Highness asked me to assure His Highness the Khan that he had the fullest sympathy of the Chancellor of the Princes' Chamber and would get every possible support from him His Highness further asked me to write to him an informal letter stating all that I had verbally explained to him His Highness appreciated the view of the Kalat State that it could not be a party to any formal negotiations conducted by the Negotiating Committee of the Chamber of Princes with the Constituent Assembly without compromising its position as an independent State as recognised and accepted by the Treaty of 1876, but advised that His Highness the Khan should keep in informal touch with him during the course of their negotiations with the Constituent Assembly I told His Highness that His Highness the Khan would be glad to do that

7 I returned from Bhopal with my heart full of gratitude for His Highness the Chancellor for the very kind, hospitable and courteous treatment which I received during my two days' stay in Bhopal

8 I will write the letter called for by His Highness the Chancellor on my return to the Kalat State

Yours sincerely,
MUHAMAD ASLAM

L C L Griffin, Esquire, CSI, CIE, ICS,
Secretary to the Government of India
in the Political Department, New Delhi

[1]Emphasis here and hereafter in the original

Enclosure 2 to No 155

F 34/13-15

[NOTE BY A LEGAL ADVISER]

I have carefully studied the relevant provisions of the various Agreements and Treaties bearing on the relations that have subsisted between the British Government on the one hand and the Kalat State on the other.

I have also gone through the contents of the letter addressed to Mr Griffin, Secretary to the Government of India in the Political Department, New Delhi This letter embodies, in a most lucid and appropriate language, all that was required to be stated on behalf of the Kalat State with respect to the three major problems, namely

(a) the future place of the State in the world, with special reference to its relations with India, as they have so far existed, and as the State is entitled to maintain them, after the British Government has handed over the reins of the Government of India to Indians,

(b) the return of the Leased Areas of Quetta, Nushki and Nasirabad to the Kalat State after the termination of His Highness's Treaty with the British Government, and

(c) the future of other Baluch tribal areas, such as Kharan and Lasbela, the two feudatory States, Marri and Bugti territories, etc

I have nothing very important or material to add to the points already embodied in the letter to Mr Griffin referred to above, except the following, some of which appear to be partly covered by that letter The points now being suggested may also be incorporated, wherever appropriate, in the final Despatch or Memorandum which may ultimately be decided upon by the authorities of the Kalat State These points are suggestive rather than exhaustive

Having regard to the clear terms of the provisions of the various Treaties and Agreements, and more particularly those of 1854 and 1876, which are mutually supplementary, and constitute the final basis of the relations between the British Government and the Kalat State, as being two independent and sovereign States, it could be established beyond any manner of doubt or ambiguity that

(i) Kalat has never been, and is no more, a part of Indian India than Afghanistan or Persia

(ii) Its geographical position near the N W F boundary of India could no more make it a part of Indian India than any other foreign country similarly situated

(iii) Its customs, social institutions, language, culture, modes of

thought and living, etc , have nothing in common with British India or Indian India

(iv) The various Treaties, Engagements and Agreements made and reaffirmed with the Kalat State from time to time ever since the year 1838, when the first British contact with the State began, were concluded not by the Government of India as constituted from time to time, but by the British Government, as represented by the Crown Representative for the time being in India

(v) The mere fact that the Political Department of the Government of India, and not the Foreign Department of the British Government, has been dealing with the Rulers of the Kalat State does not make it one of the Indian States The relations of the Indian States with the Paramount Power are determined and regulated by an entirely different set of treaties and mutual obligations

(vi) Even if some of the terms of the Treaties with the Kalat State happened to be, or were regarded as, similar to those contained in the Treaties of the Government with the Indian States, they should not be interpreted as detracting from the fundamentally different position guaranteed to the Kalat State by the Treaties of 1854 and 1874, which, between them, form the only basis of the relations of mutual friendship and alliance between the British Government and the Kalat State

(vii) If, as stated in para 14 of the British Cabinet Delegation's proposals of May 16, 1946,[1] "Paramountcy can neither be retained by the British Crown nor transferred to the new Government" after the relationship hitherto existing between the Rulers of the States and the British Crown is terminated, the stronger would be the claim of the Kalat State to revert to its original position of an absolutely independent sovereign State unfettered by any of the commitments which formed part of its Treaties with the British Government as made from time to time

(viii) When the Indian States, each separately governed and possessing individual relationship with the British Crown, are left free to decide their future course of action in regard to their relations with the Government of India by mutual negotiations, Kalat, being essentially a separate sovereign entity, cannot, by any accepted canon of justice or equity, be asked to forego [sic] its inherent and inalienable right of complete

independent existence

(ix) Having regard to the declaration of the British Government as contained in the British Government Delegation's Memorandum on States Treaties and Paramountcy of May 22,1946,[2] that the "British Government could not and will not in any circumstance transfer paramountcy to an Indian Government", and the apprehensions expressed by the Delegation in para 5 of their Memorandum that "H M G's influence with a new self-governing Indian Government or Governments coming into being in British India will not be such as to enable them to carry out the obligations of paramountcy, the rights surrendered by the States to the Paramount Power will return to the States, thereby bringing to an end the political arrangements between the States on one side and the British Crown and the British India on the other", the position claimed by the Kalat State can at once be appreciated as eminently just and reasonable

[1]See Appendix III
[2]See Appendix X

Enclosure 3 to No 155

F 34/16-17(a)

DRAFT MEMORANDUM PREPARED BY [I I] CHUNDRIGAR[1] BAR-AT-LAW

I India is on the eve of great constitutional changes The Cabinet Mission and His Excellency the Viceroy have issued a statement on the 16th of May 1946[2] recommending the basic form of the Constitution for British India In para 14 of this statement, they say that "Before putting forward our recommendation, we turn to deal with the relationship of the Indian States to British India" and then they proceed to state that "Paramountcy can neither be retained by the British Crown nor transferred to the new Government" It is clear first, that the Cabinet Mission and His Excellency the Viceroy dealt with the Indian States in their statement and Kalat is not an Indian State and will not, therefore, be bound to join a "Union of India" and, secondly, that they clearly decided that paramountcy will neither be retained by the British Crown nor transferred to the new Government

I may further mention that Kalat, which is not an Indian State and which was brought in relation with the British Government on account of its geographical position on the borders of India,

is just like Afghanistan and Persia Now that the British Government intends to transfer power and help India to attain her freedom, the Kalat State must become independent According to Article 3 of the Treaty concluded between the British Government and the Kalat State in 1876, the British Government has engaged to respect the independence of Kalat and after it surrenders its sovereignty over British India, the Kalat State automatically becomes fully independent

The British Cabinet Mission have further declared in their statement of the 23rd May 1946[3] that "When a new fully self-governing or independent Government or Governments come into being in British India, His Majesty's Government's influence with these Governments will not be such as to enable them to carry on the obligations of paramountcy Moreover, they contemplate that British troops would not be retained in India for this purpose Thus as a logical sequence and in view of the desires expressed to them on behalf of the Indian States, His Majesty's Government will cease to exercise the powers of paramountcy This means that the rights of the States which flow from their relationship with the Crown will no longer exist and that the rights surrendered by the States to the paramount power will return to the States The void will have to be filled either by the States entering into a federal relationship with the successive Government or Governments in British India or, failing this, entering into particular political arrangements with it or with them"

My State has no intention of entering into a federal relationship with the successive Government or Governments in British India and I have, therefore, to request Your Excellency to declare the independence of the Kalat State

II My ancestor, His Highness Meer Khudadad Khan of Kalat, by an agreement dated the 8th June 1883,[4] made over and entrusted the entire management of the Quetta District and *Niabat* to the British Government with effect from the 1st April 1883 on the terms and conditions set out therein My ancestor, His Highness Meer Mahmud Khan of Kalat, by an agreement dated the 1st July 1899, made over and entrusted the entire management of the Nushki District and *Niabat* with effect from the 1st July 1899[5] on the terms and conditions set out therein and by an agreement dated 14th May 1903[6] made over and entrusted the entire management of the *Niabat* of Nasirabad with effect from the 1st April 1903 on the terms and conditions set out therein These agreements were entered into by my ancestors with the British Government and they had entrusted the management of these districts and *Niabats* to the British Government having implicit faith in their

honesty and powers of management These rights of management which were made over by my ancestors to the British Government, which was then paramount power in India, must return to my State, as rightly declared by the Cabinet Mission I have, therefore, to request Your Excellency to hand over the management of these districts and *Niabats* to me at the time of handing over the charge to the new Government or Governments, which may be established in British India

III My ancestor Meer Khudadad Khan, Khan of Kalat, had further, by agreement dated the 8th June 1883, transferred to the British Government with effect from 1st of April 1883 all his rights to levy dues or tolls on the trade travelling through the Bolan Pass to and from British India and Afghanistan, as well as to and from Kachhi and Khorasan, as provided by the Treaty of 1854 or on the trade travelling to and from British India and the Districts of Sibi, Quetta and Pishin on the terms and conditions set out therein In order to facilitate the arrangements of the British Government for the collection of tolls on its own behalf in the Bolan Pass, my ancestor Meer Khudadad Khan further ceded to the British Government full civil and criminal jurisdiction and all other powers of administration within the limits of the said Pass and within the land purchased by the Government at Rindali for a railway station and other buildings These rights surrendered by my ancestor to the British Government as the paramount power in India must also return to my State, as declared by the Cabinet Mission I have, therefore, to request Your Excellency to make a declaration to that effect and hand over their charge to the officer, who will be appointed by me, at the time of handing over the charge to the new Government or Governments which may be established in British India

IV The *Sardars* of Lasbela and Kharan were under me and they will be under me hereafter

V The Marri-Bugti tribal area will be similarly under me

VI As to the agreements about the telegraph lines, the new Government or Governments can negotiate with me and enter into fresh agreements on terms acceptable to both parties

[1]I I Chundrigar was engaged as a lawyer by the ruler of Kalat
[2]See Appendix III
[3]See Appendix X
[4]Enclosure 4, Item 4
[5]Ibid, Item 5
[6]Ibid, Item 6

Enclosure 4 to No 155

F 34/31-45

TREATIES AND ENGAGEMENTS RELATING TO KALAT AND ITS LEASED AREAS

1 TREATY OF 1854

TREATY BETWEEN THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT AND NUSSEER KHAN, CHIEF OF KHELAT,[1] CONCLUDED ON THE PART OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT BY MAJOR JOHN JACOB, C B, IN VIRTUE OF FULL POWERS GRANTED BY THE MOST NOBLE THE MARQUIS OF DALHOUSIE, KT, ETC, GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA, AND BY MEER NUSSEER KHAN, CHIEF OF KHELAT, 1854

Whereas the course of events has made it expedient that a new agreement should be concluded between the British Government and Meer Nusseer Khan, Chief of Khelat, the following Articles have been agreed on between the said Government and His Highness

ARTICLE 1

The Treaty concluded by Major Outram between the British Government and Meer Nusseer Khan, Chief of Khelat, on the 6th October 1841, is hereby annulled

ARTICLE 2

There shall be perpetual friendship between the British Government and Meer Nusseer Khan, Chief of Khelat, his heirs and successors

ARTICLE 3

Meer Nusseer Khan binds himself, his heirs and successors to oppose to the utmost all the enemies of the British Government, in all cases to act in subordinate co-operation with that Government, and to enter into no negotiation with other States without its consent, the usual friendly correspondence with neighbours being continued as before

ARTICLE 4

Should it be deemed necessary to station British troops in any part of the territory of Khelat, they shall occupy such positions as may be thought advisable by the British authorities

ARTICLE 5

Meer Nusseer Khan binds himself, his heirs and successors to prevent all plundering or other outrage by his subjects within or near British territory, to protect the passage of merchants to and fro between the British dominions and Afghanistan, whether by way of

Sindh or by the seaport of Soumeeanee, or other seaports of Mekran, and to permit no exactions to be made beyond an equitable duty to be fixed by the British Government and Meer Nusseer Khan, and the amount to be shown in the Schedule annexed to this Treaty

ARTICLE 6

To aid Meer Nusseer Khan, his heirs and successors in the fulfilment of these obligations, and on condition of a faithful performance of them year by year, the British Government binds itself to pay to Meer Nusseer Khan, his heirs and successors an annual subsidy of fifty thousand (50,000) Company's Rupees

ARTICLE 7

If during any year the conditions above-mentioned shall not be faithfully performed by the said Meer Nusseer Khan, his heirs and successors, then the annual subsidy of fifty thousand (50,000) Company's Rupees will not be paid by the British Government

Done at Mustoong, this fourteenth day of May one thousand eight hundred and fifty-four

JOHN JACOB
Major,
Political Superintendent and Commandant
on the Frontier of Upper Sindh

MUSTOONG
14th May 1854

Schedule showing amount of duty to be levied on merchandise passing through the dominions of the Khan of Khelat referred to in Article 5 of this Treaty

On each camel-load, without respect to value, from the northern frontier to the sea, either to Kurrachee or other port, Company's Rupees 6

On each camel, as above, from the northern frontier to Shikarpore, Company's Rupees 5

The same duties to be levied on merchandise passing in the contrary direction from the sea, or from Sindh to the Khelat territory

JOHN JACOB
Major,
Political Superintendent and Commandant on
the Frontier of Upper Sindh

The foregoing Articles of Treaty having been concluded between the British Government and the Khan of Khelat, and signed and sealed

by Major John Jacob, C B, on the one part, and Meer Nusseer Khan on the other at Mustoong on the 14th May A D 1854, corresponding with 16th *Shaban* A H 1270, a copy of the same will be delivered to His Highness, duly ratified by the Governor-General in Council, within two months from this date

DALHOUSIE
J DORIN
J LOW
J P GRANT
B PEACOCK

Ratified by the Most Noble the Governor-General in Council, Fort William, this 2nd day of June 1854

G F EDMONSTONE
Secretary to the Government of India

[1]The spelling of the names of places given here and hereafter are as in the original

2 AGREEMENT OF AUGUST 1862

TRANSLATION OF AN AGREEMENT MADE BY HIS HIGHNESS THE KHAN OF KHELAT, DATED 24TH *SUFFER* 1279, CORRESPONDING WITH A D 21ST AUGUST 1862

I, Meer Khodadad Khan, the Khan of Khelat, do hereby voluntarily state that a Surveying Officer, on the part of the British Government, and Shahbaz Khan, Agent on the part of the Government of Beloochistan, were appointed to define the boundary between my territory and that of the British

They thoroughly examined the boundary according to the detail of *durees* or pillars numbered 1 to 8 and 14 to 30 the settlement of this portion was accepted and approved by my late brother, Meer Nusseer Khan, and I also accept and approve of the same

The following is the detail of boundaries defined subsequent to the demise of my brother between pillars Nos 8 and 14 and approved by the Governments both of British India and of Beloochistan This definition I also accept and approve

Details

1	Koh Siah Ali	7	Mungur	13	Shukloo
2	Rungoo	8	Jehluk	14	Dang Chungo
3	Mogro	9	Chung	15	Gogird Dana
4	Kukro	10	Hara	16	Loandee
5	Hahoo	11	Kuchruk	17	Guro
6	Khubar Gulo	12	Koh Kulan		

3 TREATY BETWEEN THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT AND THE KHELAT STATE, 1876

Whereas it has become expedient to renew the Treaty of 1854, between the British Government and Naseer Khan, Khan of Khelat, and to supplement the same by certain additional provisions calculated to draw closer the bonds of friendship and amity between the two Governments, the following additional Articles are herewith agreed upon between the Right Honourable Edward Robert Bulwer Lytton, Baron Lytton of Knebworth, in the County of Hertford, and a Baronet of the United Kingdom, Viceroy and Governor-General of India, and Grand Master of the Most Exalted Order of the Star of India, on behalf of the British Government on the one hand, and His Highness Meer Khodadad Khan, Khan of Khelat, on the other

ARTICLE 1

The Treaty concluded between the British Government and Meer Naseer Khan, Khan of Khelat, on the 14th of May 1854, is hereby renewed and re-affirmed

ARTICLE 2

There shall be perpetual friendship between the British Government and Meer Khodadad Khan, Khan of Khelat, his heirs and successors

ARTICLE 3

Whilst on his part, Meer Khodadad Khan, Khan of Khelat, binds himself, his heirs, successors and Sirdars to observe faithfully the provisions of Article 3 of the Treaty of 1854, the British Government on its part engages to respect the independence of Khelat, and to aid the Khan, in case of need, in the maintenance of a just authority and the protection of his territories from external attack, by such means as the British Government may at the moment deem expedient

ARTICLE 4

For the further consolidation of the friendship herewith renewed and re-affirmed between the two Governments, it is agreed on the one hand that British Agents with suitable escorts shall be duly accredited by the British Government to reside permanently at the Court of the Khan and elsewhere in His Highness's dominions, and on the other hand, that a suitable representative shall be duly accredited by His Highness to the Government of India

ARTICLE 5

It is hereby agreed that should any dispute, calculated to disturb the peace of the country, arise hereafter between the Khan and the Sirdars of Khelat, the British Agent at the Court of His Highness shall in the first place use his good offices with both parties to effect by friendly advice an amicable arrangement between them, failing which the Khan will, with the consent of the British Government, submit such dispute to its arbitration, and accept and faithfully execute its award

ARTICLE 6

Whereas the Khan of Khelat has expressed a desire on the part of himself and his Sirdars for the presence in his country of a detachment of British troops, the British Government, in accordance with the provisions of Article 4 of the Treaty of 1854, and in recognition of the intimate relations existing between the two countries, hereby assents to the request of His Highness, on condition that the troops shall be stationed in such positions as the British Government may deem expedient, and be withdrawn at the pleasure of that Government

ARTICLE 7

It is also agreed that such lines of telegraph or railway as may be beneficial to the interests of the two Governments shall be from time to time constructed by the British Government in the territories of the Khan, provided that the conditions of such construction be a matter of previous arrangement between that Government and the Government of His Highness

ARTICLE 8

There shall be entire freedom of trade between the State of Khelat and the territories of the British Government, subject to such conditions as the British Government may, at any time, in concert with the Khan of Khelat, deem necessary for the protection of fiscal interests

ARTICLE 9

To aid Meer Khodadad Khan, his heirs and successors in the efficient fulfilment of the obligations contracted by them under the Treaty of 1854, and the present supplementary engagement, the British Government hereby undertakes to pay to the said Khan, his heirs and successors an annual sum of one lakh of rupees, so long as they shall faithfully adhere to the engagements heretofore and hereby contracted

ARTICLE 10

The British Government further undertakes to contribute Rupees twenty thousand five hundred annually towards the establishment of

posts and development of traffic along the trade routes in His Highness's territories provided such money is expended by the Khan in the manner approved of by the British Government

Executed at Jacobabad, this eighth day of December one thousand eight hundred and seventy-six *Anno Domini*

LYTTON
Viceroy and Governor-General of India

Seal of Khan of Khelat

4 AGREEMENT OF JUNE 1883

AGREEMENT ENTERED INTO
BY
HIS HIGHNESS THE KHAN OF KHELAT
MIR KHUDADAD KHAN ON THE ONE PART
AND BY
SIR ROBERT SANDEMAN, K C S I,
AGENT TO THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL IN BALUCHISTAN, ON THE OTHER PART,
SUBJECT TO THE CONFIRMATION OF
HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY IN COUNCIL

Executed at the Dasht Plain on the 8th day of June 1883

Whereas in the year 1879 an arrangement was finally agreed to between the British Government and His Highness Mir Khudadad Khan of Kelat by which the district and *Niabat* of Quetta were placed under the administration of the British Government on certain conditions and for a certain period, and whereas the period fixed by the said arrangement is almost expired, and whereas it has been found by experience to be to the advantage of both Governments that the district and *Niabat* of Quetta should be exclusively managed by the officers of the British Government, and whereas it appears desirable to His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India and to His Highness the Khan of Khelat, that a similar arrangement should be made regarding the levy of dues and other matters connected therewith in the Bolan Pass in consideration of the losses suffered by His Highness the Khan of Kelat owing to the opening of Hurnai route by the British Government, it is hereby declared and agreed as follows

1 Mir Khudadad Khan of Kelat on behalf of himself and his heirs and successors hereby makes over and entrusts the entire management of the Quetta District and *Niabat* absolutely and with all the rights and privileges as well as full revenue, civil and criminal jurisdiction, and all other powers of administration, to the British Government with effect from 1st April 1883 on the following conditions

(i) That the said District and *Niabat* shall be administered on behalf of the British Government by such officer or officers as the Governor-General in Council may appoint for the purpose

(ii) That in lieu of the annual surplus of revenue hitherto paid to His Highness the Khan under the arrangement of 1879 above cited, the British Government shall pay to His Highness on the 31st March in every year, beginning from the 31st March 1884, a fixed annual rent of Rupees 25,000 (twenty-five thousand) which has been settled as a fair average equivalent of His Highness the Khan's right to the annual net surplus of the revenues of the said District and *Niabat*

(iii) The aforesaid sum of Rupees 25,000 (twenty-five thousand) shall be paid to His Highness without any deductions for cost of administration, so long as the said District and *Niabat* are administered by the British Government

2 His Highness the Khan hereby transfers to the British Government absolutely, with effect from the 1st day of April 1883, all his rights to levy dues or tolls on the trade travelling through the Bolan to and from British India and Afghanistan, as well as to and from Kachhi and Khorasan, as provided by the Treaty of 1854, or on the trade travelling to and from British India and the districts of Sibi, Quetta and Pishin

3 In return for the concession last mentioned the British Government agree to pay to His Highness the Khan the sum of Rupees 30,000 (thirty thousand) per annum free of all deductions, in two half-yearly instalments, on the 1st April of each year beginning from the 1st October 1883 In addition the Viceroy and Governor-General agrees to pay to the Sarawan and Kurd Sirdars a fixed sum yearly for certain service in the Pass representing their shares respectively of the transit and escort fees

4 In order to facilitate the arrangements of the British Government for the collection of tolls on its own behalf in the Bolan Pass, His Highness the Khan hereby cedes to the British Government full civil and criminal jurisdiction and all other powers of administration within the limits of the said Pass and within the land purchased by the British Government at Rindali for a railway station and other buildings

SEAL OF MIR KHUDADAD KHAN

R G SANDEMAN
Agent, Governor-General, Baluchistan

QUETTA RESIDENCY
8th June 1883

RIPON
Viceroy and Governor-General of India

This agreement was ratified by His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India at Simla on Wednesday, this 12th day of September 1883

C GRANT
Secretary to the Government of India,
Foreign Department

5 AGREEMENT OF JULY 1899

AGREEMENT ENTERED INTO
BY
HIS HIGHNESS THE KHAN OF KALAT, MIR MAHMUD KHAN,
G C I E , ON THE ONE PART,
AND BY
COLONEL HENRY WYLIE, C S I , OFFICIATING AGENT TO THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL IN BALUCHISTAN, ON THE OTHER PART, SUBJECT TO THE CONFIRMATION OF HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY IN COUNCIL, 1899

Executed at Kalat on the first day of July 1899

Whereas it has been found by experience to be to the advantage of both the British Government and His Highness Mir Mahmud Khan, Khan of Kalat, that the District and *Niabat* of Nushki should be exclusively managed by the officers of the British Government, it is hereby declared and agreed as follows

Mir Mahmud, Khan of Kalat, on behalf of himself and his heirs and successors, hereby makes over and entrusts, in perpetuity, the entire management of the Nushki District and *Niabat* absolutely and with all the rights and privileges, State or personal, as well as full and exclusive revenue, civil and criminal jurisdiction, and all other powers of administration, including all rights to levy dues and tolls, to the British Government with effect from the 1st July 1899 on the following conditions

(1) that the said District and *Niabat* shall be administered on behalf of the British Government by or through such officer or officers as the Governor-General in Council may appoint for the purpose,

(2) that the British Government shall pay to His Highness, on the 1st September 1899, and thereafter annually on the 1st September, a fixed annual rent of Rs 9,000 (nine thousand only), which has been settled as a fair average equivalent of His Highness the Khan's right to the annual revenues of the said District and *Niabat*; and

(3) that the aforesaid sum of Rs 9,000 (nine thousand only) shall be

paid to His Highness without any deduction for cost of administration

SEAL OF MIR MAHMUD KHAN
Khan of Kalat

H WYLIE
Colonel,
Officiating Agent to the
Governor-General in Baluchistan
CURZON OF KEDLESTON
Viceroy and Governor-General of India

This agreement was ratified by His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India at Simla on Tuesday, this 18th day of July 1899

H S BARNES
Officiating Secretary to the Government of India,
Foreign Department

6 AGREEMENT OF MAY 1903

AGREEMENT ENTERED INTO
BY
HIS HIGHNESS THE KHAN OF KALAT,MIR MAHMUD KHAN,G C I E ,
ON THE ONE PART,
AND BY THE HON'BLE COLONEL C E YATE, C S I , C M G , AGENT
TO THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL IN BALUCHISTAN,
ON THE OTHER PART,
SUBJECT TO THE CONFIRMATION OF HIS EXCELLENCY THE
VICEROY AND GOVERNOR-GENERAL IN COUNCIL,1903

Executed at Sibi on the seventeenth day of February one thousand nine hundred and three

I Whereas it has been found by experience to be to the advantage of both the British Government and His Highness *Beglar Begi* Mir Mahmud Khan, G C I E , Khan of Kalat, that the *Niabat* of Nasirabad should be exclusively managed by the officers of the British Government, it is hereby declared and agreed as follows

His Highness Mir Mahmud Khan, Khan of Kalat, on behalf of himself and his heirs and successors, hereby makes over and cedes in perpetuity to the British Government the entire management of the Nasirabad *Niabat* absolutely and with all the rights and privileges, State or personal, as well as full and exclusive revenue, civil and criminal jurisdiction and all other powers of administration, including all rights to levy dues and tolls, on the following conditions.

(1) That the said *Niabat* shall be administered on behalf of the British

Government by or through such officer or officers as the Governor-General in Council may appoint for the purpose, with effect from the first day of April one thousand nine hundred and three, or such subsequent date as the Government of India may take it over

(2) That the British Government shall pay to His Highness on the first day of April one thousand nine hundred and four and thereafter annually on the first day of April each year, a fixed annual rent of Rs 1,15,000 (one hundred and fifteen thousand)

(3) That the aforesaid sum of Rs 1,15,000(one hundred and fifteen thousand) shall be paid to His Highness without any deduction for cost of administration

II The boundary of the Nasirabad *Niabat* as described by His Highness the Khan of Kalat's *Naib*, Ghaus Bakhsh, in July 1902, is as follows

On the south the Sind border, on the north commencing eastwards at the Leni Burj it runs north-eastwards along the Mazari border to the Bugti hills It follows the foot of these hills running in a westerly direction to their nearest point to the Shahpur Road near the Manak Garhi Nullah It then follows this nullah as far as the Shahpur Road, then follows the Shahpur Road south as far as the Deh Chatten lands [generally known as Dodaika] and then turns west following the boundary of Dodaika to the Nurwah Channel above the point to where the water reaches It then follows the Nurwah as far as the junction of the latter with the Dur Muhammad Wah, which is shown on most maps as the Shahiwah, a continuation of the main desert canal From this point it follows the Dur Muhammad Wah right along its course to the west and south-west, crossing the railway at mile 368, five miles north of Jhatpat station, until it meets the line of pillars erected about four years ago by the Magsis and Jamalis as their mutual boundary It then follows this line of pillars southwards to the Sind border, passing about 500 yards to the west of the point where the Sonwah has been closed

III Whereas it is possible that the lower portion of the Manjuti lands enclosed by a straight line drawn from the place where the Dur Muhammad Wah crosses the railway near mile 368, to a point on the Jacobabad-Shahpur Road, 8 miles to the north of where the Dur Muhammad Wah crossed that road, may hereafter be brought under irrigation, His Highness the Khan of Kalat hereby agrees on behalf of himself, his heirs and successors to make over and cede to the British Government in perpetuity that portion of the Manjuti land in the same manner as the Nasirabad *Niabat* above referred to, and it is hereby agreed that the British Government shall pay to His Highness

annually an additional rent of Rupees two thousand five hundred making a total quit-rent of Rs 1,17,500 to be paid on the first day of April one thousand nine hundred and four and subsequent years

IV And whereas it is advisable that any further Kalat State lands outside the present boundary of the Nasirabad *Niabat* which may hereafter possibly be brought under irrigation by branches and extensions from existing British canal should also come under British administration in the same manner as the Nasirabad *Niabat* above referred to, His Highness the Khan agrees to make over on lease in perpetuity any lands in the Lehri Bhag and Gandawa *Niabat* that may hereafter be found to be irrigable from existing British canals at a fair quit rent which can be determined when the surveys have been completed

MIR MAHMUD KHAN
Khan of Kalat
CHA[RLE]S E YATE
Colonel,
Agent to the Governor-General in Baluchistan
CURZON
Viceroy and Governor-General in India

This agreement was ratified by His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India at Simla on Thursday, this 14th day of May 1903

LOUIS W DANE
Secretary to the Government of India,
Foreign Department

156

Manzar-i-Alam to M A Jinnah

F 227/22-23

ALL INDIA STATES MUSLIM LEAGUE,
LIAISON OFFICE, DELHI,
19 March 1947

My dear Mr Jinnah,

I had apprised you of my reactions in two previous letters[1] regarding matters that were important in my humble opinion You could not acknowledge the letters owing to your busy time and heavy work. The problem of organising the Muslims in States by strengthening the All

India States Muslim League is my main concern at this hour for which I had solicited your message

With the consent and approval of the Council of the All India States Muslim League, I have established an office for this organisation at 10-B, Faiz Bazar, Daryaganj, Delhi Mr Liaquat Ali Khan had favoured us with his message and Mr Chundrigar inaugurated the office on 15 3 1947 Mr. Hossain Imam and a number of workers from the States were present. Without being sure of your goodwill I do not wish to proceed an inch in any matter of broad policy It is the earnest desire of almost every worker of the States Muslim League that you may kindly pay a visit for a few minutes only to this office so that all of us may be sure of your goodwill in the task that is before us now

I had also solicited, in my previous letters, an opportunity to discuss with you the problem of Indian States so that I may get your guidance and advice in framing the broader policy that may be pursued for effectively safeguarding and advancing the legitimate rights and interests of the Musalmans in Indian States

I shall be obliged if you kindly inform me of your programme and the date when I may call upon you at your residence at Delhi

Anticipating an early reply and with best wishes for your good health,

Yours sincerely,
MANZAR-I-ALAM

[1]See No 107 The other letter is not available in *QAP*

157

Malik Muhammad to M A Jinnah

F 908/43
[Original in Urdu]

HISSAR,
19 March 1947

Respected Jinnah Sahib,

The current Congress movement for division of the Punjab into two parts[1] is dangerous for us Muslims It is essential that a good number of respectable Musalmans should settle down in East Punjab districts to save Muslims there from the Hindus All this land is agricultural

and inhabited by farmers If some *zamindars* purchase agricultural land here, the Muslim population would increase and the local Musalmans will also become safe Of course, you know better as to what should be done

We Muslims are ready to sacrifice our lives at your call

[Your] servant,
MALIK MUHAMMAD

[1]See Annex to No 124, Resolution No 3

158

Mohammad Ishaq Qureshi to K H Khurshid

F 927/170-173

THE ORIENT PRINTING PRESS,
RESIDENCY ROAD, JAMMU,
19 March 1947

My dear Khurshid,

Thanks for your letter of the 14th[1] delivered to me yesterday I sent you a detailed one at Malir It appears you did not get it Here is the situation at this end

1 We have sent a delegation to the Kashmir Valley consisting of Ch Bhalli and Sardar Ibrahim of Poonch to establish new contacts there I must say that ever since the dereliction of Mir Waiz our position in the valley is confused Things would clarify soon The Assembly meets on the 27th March and by that time we shall know exactly where we stand Out of nine Jammu seats we have secured seven as you know

2. Our deputation met Kak about a month back asking him to release the *detenus* He almost promised it but has evidently gone back upon his word The reason alleged is the disturbances in the Punjab

3 A week back Ch Hamidullah wrote a letter to Kak again asking him to redeem his promise (it was not exactly a promise) about the *detenus* He also asked him to reveal the Government plans about the impending changes in the Indian situation and proposed the immediate setting up of two representative bodies one to devise a fully responsible Constitution under the Maharaja and the other to forge new ties with the rest of India Ch Hamidullah offered full co-operation of his party on

these lines and asked Kak to arrange for an early meeting to discuss the scheme further *No reply* [2] [, however, was received] The *Javed* has also echoed the same points

4 The Annual Provincial Session of the Muslim Conference of Jammu was to be held at Kotli tomorrow The Government has banned it

Thus you will see we are at loggershead [sic] with Kak's Government at the moment and it is hardly the time to switch over to the plan adumbrated by you The matter calls for some cool thinking and consultation with the *detenus* By the time you invite Ch Hamidullah we shall be in a position to give a definite reply

My immediate reactions are

1 Kak is too shrewd to be taken in by our professions He will at once conclude that the new policy is dictated by the present predicament of the League in All India matters The Maharaja, too, will be highly suspicious of the move unless you prepare him for the change through Bhopal, etc

2 The people will not stand any "His Majesty" stuff

My suggestions are that you arrange an early interview for Ch Hamidullah and meanwhile we shall consider the pros and cons of the matter

Secondly, be sure of the reactions of Quaid-i-Azam about the proposals

Thirdly, consider the following alternative

Since you release us from All India affiliation why should we not try to patch up with Abdullah's party if they, too, agree to give up theirs? Combined, we might be in a position to dictate to Kak and his boss by moral or physical pressure

Meanwhile we shall try to prepare ground for switch-over

Yours sincerely,
MOHD ISHAQ QURESHI

[1] Not available in *QAP*
[2] Emphasis in the original

159

Colin Reid to K H Khurshid

F 366/16

ROOM 30, IMPERIAL HOTEL, NEW DELHI,
19 March 1947

Dear Khurshid,

Just received your note of the 17th March[1] asking me to forward a copy of the British White Paper[2] to Mr Jinnah

Actually, I sent a copy[3] by post addressed to M A Jinnah, Esq, Malabar Hill, Bombay, immediately I reached New Delhi I trust it has now arrived If not, wire me and I will send another

Does he subscribe to "Hansard"—the complete and official record of statements and speeches in debate in the House of Commons and the House of Lords? If not, you would be well advised to put him on the subscription list The cost is trifling, the service daily or every second day and the booklet could well be sent by air mail A letter to "Hansard (Publications) c/o Hansard, House of Commons, Westminster, London" in the first place would put you on the track Or, I have no doubt any leading firm of booksellers and stationers in Bombay could fix it for you

With best regards to Mr. Jinnah—and please let me know when he is going to say anything I can publish both abroad and in India

Ma'essalaam,

COLIN REID

[1]Not available in *QAP*
[2]No 1
[3]See No 142

160

Mian Abdul Haye to M A. Jinnah

F 659/9-10

KAMALPUR, HOSHIARPUR,
20 March 1947

My dear Mr Jinnah,

You will remember that I have had the occasion, last year, to discuss

with you certain important problems for the amelioration of our nation politically, economically, and educationally Thereafter I exchanged correspondence with you and you assured me that you would very kindly let me know how best you would be able to utilize the sincere offer of my service for the cause of our nation Personally I have also given further thought to this problem and have arrived at the conclusion that for the time being I should earnestly offer to work as the General Secretary of the All India Muslim League (in place of Mr Liaquat Ali Khan who has joined the Interim Government), till such time as you would kindly let me know any other service

I propose in this connection to come and see you at Bombay in the first week of April 1947 I request you kindly to let me know your views adumbrating your programme for the next fortnight or so with a view to enabling me to come and see you accordingly As for myself, I shall be leaving for Lahore towards the last week of this month and shall fly from there to Bombay if you would be there I shall, therefore, be grateful for your telegraphic advice My address at Lahore would be 5 Yazdani Street, Faizbagh, Lahore, and my telegraphic address at Lahore is Abdulhaye, Faizbagh, Lahore

With the deepest regards,

I am,

Yours affectionately,

ABDUL HAYE

161

M Abdul Waheed Ansari to M A Jinnah

F 886/132-133

[*Original in Urdu*]

MADHUBANI, DISTRICT DARBHANGA, BIHAR,
20 March 1947

Respected President of the All India Muslim League,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum wa Rahmatullahi wa Barakatuhu

I hope that, by the Grace of Allah, you are keeping quite fit As you have very rightly pointed out, Indian Muslims are passing through a very critical phase. Not only I but all Musalmans of India fully realise that they are, indeed, faced with a very critical situation, but it is most

unfortunate that they have not yet united on one platform

The Jam'iyyat al-'Ulama, the Ahrars and the Khaksars exist only in name, as they have no followers but only a few workers. But the All India Momin Conference is the biggest party, whose followers number not in lacs but in crores It is, therefore, absolutely essential that it should, at all cost, be made either to merge with the Muslim League or to work in concert with the Muslim League

Since Momins are there in great numbers, other parties try to derive their strength from the Momin Conference The union between the Momin Conference, whose demands are completely in accord with those of Islam and the Muslim League, will automatically sound the death knell of all other parties

It is, therefore, only desirable that the demands of the Momin Conference be accepted so that ten crores of Musalmans, acting on your orders, may come together on one platform

The stand of the Momin Conference is different from that of the Congressite Muslims who are few enough to be counted on one's fingers Momins are not Congressites but they co-operate with other parties only for the sake of their own advancement If the same demands for their advancement are met by the Muslim League, there is no reason why the Momin Conference should not merge with the Muslim League Then also their demands are not difficult to meet, as they are completely in consonance with the stand of Islam and the Muslim League There can be no harm in accepting such an ordinary demand By doing so, you will be accepting only the just demands of your own brethren

I am fully confident that by accepting the just demands of poor Musalmans, whose number runs not to lacs but to crores, you will promote Muslim egalitarianism and thus enable the poor Musalmans to join Muslim League and put their heart and soul in it, and to shed their last drop of blood for Pakistan I very much hope that you will accept my proposal and send this very paper or, if you so desire, another paper back to me by registered post bearing your acceptance

The following are the demands

(1) Equality in educational development and facilities
(2) Equality in Government employment and
(3) Equality in the number of Members of the Muslim League Working Committee

These are the demands of the Momin Conference, and, in my opinion, they are not at all unacceptable This is the way to utilize the left wing of the Muslims and to achieve the great goal of Pakistan. As such, the

demands should be acceded to at the earliest opportunity

I am greatly hurt when I see one brother standing silently aloof while the other is shouting the slogan of Pakistan Why should we not adopt ways to make both brothers go hand in hand? With Allah as my witness, I undertake to willingly do this once you send to me your acceptance of my proposal May Allah let this noble objective be achieved at the hands of this humble self!

I earnestly appeal to you in the name of Allah and His Prophet to listen to the voice of the poor Musalmans and to let Islamic equality shine forth

Yours etc,
M ABDUL WAHEED ANSARI
General Secretary,
Sub-Divisional Jam'iyyat al-Momineen

PS I must receive an answer whatever it may be, whether acceptance or rejection of my proposal

162

Mrs Roquia Anwar to M A Jinnah

F 1108/22

1 MARINA GARDEN COURT,
191 PARK STREET, CALCUTTA 17,
20 March 1947

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

I, on behalf of the Ladies Section of the Muslim National Guards, Bengal, invite you to the opening ceremony of the Training Centre to be held on the 23rd March 1947 in Calcutta

If your previous engagements stand in the way to grace [sic] the occasion with your august presence, please inspire us by your message

With deepest regards,

Yours faithfully,
MRS ROQUIA ANWAR
Chief Lady Organizer, Bengal Provincial Headquarters of the Ladies Section,
All India Muslim National Guards

163

S Shaiq Husain to M A Jinnah
F 1108/20

QAZI WARA, AMBALA CITY,
20 March 1947

May it please you Quaid-i-Azam,

Respectfully I beg to enclose herewith the true copy of the letter I received four months ago [1]

I request the Quaid-i-Azam for a three minutes' interview I cannot wait any longer, for it is very harmful to me I shall be very grateful if I get telegraphic commands The day I receive the telegram I shall leave for Bombay

Once again, I beg for telegraphic and immediate commands Praying for the Quaid-i-Azam's long life and prosperity,

Most loyal and devoted servant,
S SHAIQ HUSAIN
S/O S QAIM HUSAIN

[1] Not available in *QAP*

164

H F al-Hamdani to M A Jinnah

F 908/44-45

SEA GLIMPSE, OLD KANTWADI, BANDRA,
BOMBAY 20,
20 March 1947

Dear Sir,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum wa Rahmatullah

I have the honour to inform you that the Indo-Arab Cultural Association, Bombay, which aims at developing friendly relations and promoting cultural understanding between the Arabs and the Indians and encouraging the study of Arabic in India, has decided to publish the first number of its official organ, *al-'Urwa* in June 1947 The Journal will contain articles mainly in English on subjects relating to the progress of the Arab culture and it is proposed to include an Arabic Section, if proper printing arrangements could be made It will also try

to acquaint the Arab World with the services rendered by Indian Muslims to the Arabic and Islamic scholarship

We have invited a number of distinguished scholars, authors and leading personalities of Muslim India and the Arabic-speaking World to send us their learned contributions for *al-'Urwa*. The Association has approached the Consulates of the Arab countries in Bombay to secure for *al-'Urwa* messages of goodwill from the Heads of their respective Governments I am writing this letter, Sir, to request you to send me your message of goodwill and blessings for our new venture I shall be grateful if you would kindly send at your early convenience your message at the above address I need not say that a good deal of our success will depend upon your co-operation and encouragement, and we count upon your whole-hearted support

I am sending you herewith a copy of the Association's Constitution and a booklet explaining the aims and programme of the Association

If you would be good enough to give me an appointment, I shall be glad to explain to you the policy and work of the Association

Yours truly,
H F al-HAMDANI
Honorary General Secretary

Enclosure 1 to No 164

F 908/46-55

CONSTITUTION OF THE INDO-ARAB CULTURAL ASSOCIATION, BOMBAY 1946

The Indo-Arab Cultural Association, Bombay
(Founded the 2nd December 1945)

I NAME AND OBJECTS

1 This Association shall be called The Indo-Arab Cultural Association, Bombay

2 The objects of the Association shall be

(a) to develop friendly relations and promote cultural understanding between the Arabs and the Indians,

(b) to promote the study of Arabic among the Indians, inasmuch as it is a language of international importance and inasmuch as it is essential for the understanding of the Holy *Qur'an*, the fountainhead of Islamic civilization,

(c) to create in the Indian public an interest in the progress of

Arab culture, and

(d) to place before the Arab World the services rendered to Arabic by Indian scholars and savants

3 For the achievement of its aims and objects, the Association shall adopt the following measures

(a) The Association shall arrange lectures and discourses dealing with the cultural, literary and social activities of the Arabs and the Indians, and arrange receptions, conversations, exhibitions, conferences, etc

(b) It shall publish a periodical which shall be the organ of the Association

(c) The Association shall support Arabic schools by various means and suggest to them modern methods of teaching Arabic, pursued in the academies of the Arab World

(d) The Association shall endeavour to give moral and material help to students of the Arabic language in and outside India

(e) The Association shall maintain a reading room where Arabic books, important newspapers and standard magazines in Arabic shall be kept for the perusal of its members

(f) The Association shall establish contacts with Arabic associations and academies all over the world It shall also keep in touch with scholars and authors engaged in Arabic studies in particular and Islamic studies in general

(g) The Association shall undertake publication of treatises and pamphlets dealing with the Arabic language and literature

4 The Association shall abstain from participating in political and religious controversies

II MEMBERS

5 (a) Any person having sympathy with the aims and objects of the Association is eligible for membership subject to the approval of the Executive Committee

(b) Applications for membership shall be made on the prescribed form and addressed to the General Secretary after such form has been duly filled in by the applicant and introduced by any two members of the Association

(c) Applications so received shall be placed by the General Secretary immediately before the following meeting of the Executive Committee for consideration and disposal

6 Members shall be classified into (i) Founder Members (ii) Life Members (iii) Ordinary Members (iv) Associate Members and (v) Honorary Fellows

(i) *Founder Members* are those who have participated in the formation of the Association and have worked for it from its inception They shall pay the same admission fee and annual subscription as Ordinary Members The Executive Committee shall, however, be entitled to exempt them at its discretion from the payment of the admission fee

(ii) *Life Members* shall be those who pay Rs 500 or more Life Members shall not be expected to pay annual subscription

(iii) *Ordinary Members* are those whose applications for admission are accepted by the Executive Committee They shall pay admission fee, which shall not be less than Rs 50 The subscription of Ordinary Members is Rs 20 per year, payable before the 31st of January of every year The Executive Committee may, at its own discretion, waive the payment of admission fee

(iv) *Associate Members* are those who do not stay in the city of Bombay or its suburban districts They shall only pay admission fee, which shall not be less than Rs 50 Associate Members shall not be expected to pay the annual subscription

(v) *Honorary Fellows* shall be invited by the Executive Committee to join the Association They shall be selected from amongst scholars, authors, litterateurs and those who have rendered or are still rendering distinguished services to the cause of the Arabic language and Arab culture They shall also be selected from those Members who have given to the Association valuable material or moral help in furthering the aims and objects of the Association Honorary Fellows shall not be expected to pay any subscription or fee

7 Founder Members, Life Members and Ordinary Members only shall have the right to vote

8 Every newly elected Ordinary Member shall be informed of his election by the General Secretary The admission shall not be complete unless the Member shall have paid his admission fee and annual subscription for the current year

9. The working year of the Association shall begin from the first of January every year Members on the rolls are expected to pay their fees before the 31st January of the current year Members failing to clear their dues within three months from the date mentioned above [shall] cease to be members after they have been informed of the same

10 The Executive Committee shall select Honorary Fellows To

every newly selected Honorary Fellow there shall be sent a letter, signed by the President, with a copy of these Rules, informing him of his selection and requesting his acceptance of it

11. Any member may resign his membership by sending to the General Secretary intimation in writing to that effect

III THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

12 During the first six years, Founder Members shall elect a President from among themselves The election of the President shall take place every two years

13 At the end of the first six years, Founder Members, Life Members and Ordinary Members shall elect every two years a President in the Annual General Meeting

14 (i) The President shall, during the first six years, appoint, from amongst the Founder Members, Executive Committee comprising a Vice-President, a General Secretary, a Treasurer and seven other Members, provided that

(a) the office of Vice-President may be left unfilled, and

(b) the office of General Secretary may be combined with that of Treasurer

(ii) The President thereafter may appoint the Executive Committee, including the office-bearers, from the general body

15 The President shall have the right to dissolve the Executive Committee or remove any Member thereof and appoint another, if, in his discretion, he deems it necessary in the interest of the Association

16 The Executive Committee shall conduct the general business of the Association It shall ordinarily meet once a month, or, if required, more than once

17 At all meetings of the Executive Committee four Members shall form a quorum No quorum will be required at an adjourned meeting

18 The President may, by special invitation, request non-Members to attend the meetings of the Executive Committee as well as the General Meetings

19 The Executive Committee shall appoint permanent or temporary sub-committees from amongst the Members of the Association to assist the Executive Committee in furthering the cause of the Association These Committees shall be subject to the control and supervision of the Executive Committee. In all cases the decisions and directions of the Executive Committee shall be final and binding on all sub-committees

20 In case the office of a Member of the Executive Committee or of

any sub-committee falls vacant, the President shall nominate another Member for the remaining period

21. In case the office of the President falls vacant, it shall be filled by the Vice-President, if there be one, who will remain the President for the remaining period of the term, or otherwise any member elected by the Executive Committee from amongst themselves for the remaining period of the term

22 The resolutions of the Executive Committee shall be adopted by a majority of votes In case of a tie, the President shall decide the matter by his casting vote

23 *President.* The President shall exercise the general supervision of the affairs of the Association and will do all that is incidental to the office of the President

24 *Vice-President* The Vice-President shall have all the powers of the President in his absence

25 *General Secretary* The General Secretary shall assist the President in directing the executive details of the Association's business and shall, in consultation with the President, do everything that is incidental to his office

26 The General Secretary shall convene, at the direction of the President, meetings of the Executive Committee, giving at least three days' notice, he shall give for General Meetings two weeks' clear notice Notices will be despatched by post to the addresses of Members, provided that the accidental omission to serve any Member with a notice shall not invalidate the proceedings of the meeting

27 The General Secretary shall prepare the Annual General Report of the Association, which shall first be approved by the Executive Committee and then placed for adoption at the Annual General Meeting

28 *Treasurer*

(a) The Treasurer shall be in charge of the funds of the Association, and shall see that every amount received is duly paid to the Association's bankers and entered in the Association's register

(b) The Treasurer shall see that no bill exceeding the sum of Rupees one hundred is paid without the previous sanction of the Executive Committee.

(c) The Treasurer shall sign with the President all cheques and drafts, and sign with the President and the General Secretary contracts and financial undertakings or obligations

(d) The Treasurer shall keep the accounts of the Association in the manner directed by the Executive Committee.

(e) The Treasurer shall prepare for presentation at the Annual General Meeting a report which shall show the general financial position of the Association for the preceding year, with receipts, disbursements and balances at hand, previously audited by the Association's Auditor or Auditors, and approved by the Executive Committee

IV MEETINGS OF THE ASSOCIATION

29 The meetings of the Association shall be either (a) Annual General Meeting or (b) Special General Meeting or (c) Public Meeting

30 Members alone shall attend Annual or Special General Meetings The General Secretary shall see that a register is kept wherein Members will enter their names and addresses

31 Annual General Meetings After the President's opening remarks, the General Secretary shall read the minutes of the last General Meeting and shall present a report of the activities of the Association during the last year. The Treasurer shall then submit the Annual Statement of Accounts of the Association Once in every two years the meeting shall elect the President for the next term The meeting shall dispose of any business on the agenda

32 Members may send to the General Secretary proposals to be considered at the General Meeting and the same should reach the General Secretary one week before the date of the meeting The President shall allow only such proposals to be moved in the meeting as conform to the Rules of the Association

33 The Annual General Meeting shall have power to amend the Constitution of the Association if in the first six years two-thirds of the Founder Members personally present vote for such amendment, and in subsequent years if two-thirds of the Members present vote for such amendment

34 *Special General Meetings* The President or any ten of the Founder Members during the first six years and any ten Members in subsequent years, on a written requisition to the General Secretary signed by them, may at any time convene a Special General Meeting to consider amendment of the Constitution or to discuss any urgent business

35 *Public Meetings* Public Meetings of the Association shall be open to Members as well as non-Members Under Rule 2 of the Constitution, papers or communications shall be read, or lectures shall

be delivered Notice of Public Meetings may ordinarily be given in local newspapers

V FUNDS

36. The Funds of the Association shall be classified as
    (i) General (ii) Reserve and (iii) Special

37 *General Funds* All subscriptions, general donations and payments to the Association under Rule 6 shall form part of the General Funds of the Association The expenses of the Association shall be paid out of these funds

38 *Reserve Funds* The Reserve Funds of the Association shall consist of surplus income and donations given to the Association for the furtherance of its objects

39. *Special Funds.*
    (a) Donations contributed to the Association for some special purpose shall form part of the Special Funds of the Association These funds shall only be utilised for the purpose for which they have been given by the donor
    (b) If the special purpose for which the donation has been made cannot for any reason be carried out, the donor shall be asked to give his alternative proposals In case the donor does not give alternative proposals, or such alternative proposals cannot be obtained for any reason whatsoever, the donation shall form part of the General Funds of the Association

40 All Funds shall be managed, disbursed, utilised or otherwise allocated by the Executive Committee

Enclosure 2 to No 164

F 908/56-63

THE INDO-ARAB CULTURAL ASSOCIATION, BOMBAY

The Inaugural Meeting, Saturday, 14th December, 1946,
Sunderbai Hall, Bombay

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

President
Mr Tarek G. al-Yaffi, Consul General of Lebanon, Bombay

General Secretary
Dr H F. al-Hamdani, M A, Ph D (London), Prof of Arabic, Ismail Yusuf College, Bombay

Treasurer.

Professor B M Tirmidhi, M.A.

Members

Dr M B Rehman, M A, Ph D. (Cantab)
Shaykh Ibrahim Yusuf Zainal Ali Reza
Mr. Abdur-Rahman al-Bassam
Mr Subhi el-Ejel
Mr M H Sayyid

INDO-ARAB CULTURAL RELATIONS

From very ancient times there existed commercial relations between South-West India and Arabia Felix The Arabs carried on considerable trade between the Orient and the Occident They appeared during the pre-Christian days on the eastern coast of India and during the first centuries of the Christian era they founded their own settlements in Ceylon and Southern India Arab merchants passed along the Coromandal Coast on their way to China, where the monuments of the pre-Islamic Arabs are still found at Canton. In the time of Agatharides there was a large colony of Arabs on the Malabar Coast and the Sabian religion was probably adopted by certain sections of the people of Malabar The *Gazetteer* of the Government of Bombay mentions a colony of pre-Muslim Arabs at Chaul, Kalyan and Sopara near Bombay Ibn Battuta (14th century A C) in his itinerary from Cambay along the western coast touched at all ports and found his compatriots everywhere in a flourishing condition

About the close of the 18th [*sic* for 8th] century A C, literary and cultural intercourse between India and Arabia became increasingly brisk During the reign of al-Mansur, the second Abbasid Caliph, an Indian Pandit from Sind arrived in his court with *Siddhanta*, which was, with the help of an Arab mathematician, Ibrahim al-Fazari, translated from Sanskrit into Arabic This was the beginning of the influx of the Indian ideas into the Arabic literature Under the patronage of the Barmecide *vazirs*, a number of Indian works on Medicine, Mathematics, Astronomy, Wisdom and Ethics were translated from Sanskrit into Arabic While discussing Arab indebtedness to the Hellenic learning, it is often overlooked that the Arabs are in no small measure influenced by Indian arts and science This literary contact with India finds expression in the works of the great authors of the 3rd century A H, viz Jahiz, al-Yaqubi and as-Sarrafi It is a well-known fact that the so-called "Arabic" numerals are really speaking "Indian"; the Arabs learned them from India and passed [them] on to Europe It was in the days of al-Mamun that his court mathematician al-Khwarazmi

perfected his system of algorithm [*sic*], which is a branch of Indian mathematics. Ibn al-Nadim describes numerals as "Sindi", which indicates that the Arabs came to learn them through their contact with Sind. There was not a single branch of knowledge in which the Arabs and Muslims of those times took interest [which] was not in some way influenced by Indian learning Ibn al-Muqaffa's *Kalila wa Dimna* (the Arabic version of *Panchtantra*) and al-Biruni's monumental work on India are only two most outstanding works in Arabic in this long and unbroken process of the exchange of cultural goods [*sic*] between India and Arabia

With the advent of the Arabs in Sind, the foundation of Arabic learning was permanently laid in India. Later, Delhi became a centre of Arabic scholarship as important as Baghdad and Cairo The continuity of Arabic scholarship in India was never broken, for even today India has a number of academies and colleges which impart the knowledge of the Arabic traditional sciences and Indian scholars have contributed to every branch of Arabic scholarship To the Muslims of India, Arabic is not merely a language of the residents of a particular country but is the language of the Holy *Qur'an* and the *Hadith*

"The Arabic language today", says Prof Philip Hitti, "is the medium of daily expression for some forty-five million people For many centuries it was the language of learning, culture and progressive thought throughout the civilised world " Its alphabet, next to Latin, is the most widely used system in the world It is the one employed by Persian, Urdu, Pushtu, Sindhi, Panjabi and a number of Turkish and Indonesian languages After a period of decline, the Arabic literature is retrieving its lost ground and, thanks to the pioneer work of Muhammad Ali Pasha the Great, of Egypt and of the Arab Christian scholars of Syria, modern Arabic literature compares favourably with any civilised and advanced literature in the world The Arab World is taking tremendous strides in cultural advancement and the Arabian [*sic*] are building up the edifice of their national life on the solid foundations of their cultural traditions and glorious history Egypt, Syria and Iraq are today the three main centres of the Arab cultural awakening and the entire Arabic-speaking World looks to these countries for guidance and leadership "The Babylonians, the Chaldeans, the Hittites, the Phoenicians", says Prof Hitti, "were, but are no more The Arabians [*sic*] and the Arabic-speaking peoples were and remain The phoenix, a bird of Araby, is rising again "

AIMS AND OBJECTS

The Indo-Arab Cultural Association aims at developing friendly relations and promoting cultural understanding between the Arabs and the

Indians. It will try to foster the growth and spread of Arabic in India With the world progressing fast in the direction of cultural and even political unity it is but fair that there should exist in Bombay, the premier city of India having a large cosmopolitan population, an institution to promote cultural relations between the peoples of Arabia and India. In order, therefore, to fulfil the need of an organisation to foster the good objects in view, some enthusiastic friends, both Indians and Arab residents in India, met recently together and formed an Association, which has appropriately been named the Indo-Arab Cultural Association

The Association intends to arrange lectures, conversational meetings, etc , for the attainment of its aims and objects The Association shall establish contact with Arabic associations and academies all over the world It shall also keep in touch with scholars and authors engaged in Arabic studies

The Association realises that an official journal of its own is an effective means of propagating the aims and objects which the Association has set for itself The journal is named *al-'Urwa* and arrangements for its early publication are being made The Association also intends opening very shortly a reading room where standard books and current Arabic magazines, newspapers and other useful literature will be kept for the benefit of its Members

MEMBERSHIP

Membership of the Association is divided into the following categories

Ordinary Members The annual fee is Rs 20 only and the new entrants have to pay Rs 50 as admission fee

Life Members Those who pay Rs 500 or more are entitled to become Members for life They shall not be expected to pay annual subscription

Associate Members As there are quite a number of people staying outside Bombay who cannot take advantage of the amenities provided by the Association, it has been decided to enrol them as Associate Members They have to pay Rs 50 only once

Those who join the Association before the 31st December 1946 shall be called *Founder Members* and shall have all the privileges given to Founder Members by the Association's Constitution

The powers of the management of the Association are vested in the President and the Executive Committee

The extent to which the Association succeeds in realising its aims will depend, amongst other things, on the finances at its disposal. We are aware that in India and outside there are a large number of persons who

sympathise with the work which the Association has set out to do We appeal to these friends to translate their sympathies into action by donating as generously as they can

You will find attached an application form[1] for membership and if you are interested in our work, please fill it in We shall certainly be glad to welcome you as a Member Thank you

H F al-HAMDANI
Honorary General Secretary,
The Indo-Arab Cultural Association

[1]Not available in QAP

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Aziz Hindi to M A Jinnah

F 1108/21

SHAHJAHAN HOTEL, BOMBAY,
20 March 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

In an interview which you had kindly granted me on the 8th instant I had offered you my services to be utilized in a way you might think best Pending that, I suggest that, if it is possible, kindly have me on the Committee of Action[1] as its member I hope that I will prove my usefulness there

After due consideration I expect an early reply from your honour

Yours sincerely,
AZIZ HINDI
Permanent Address Nayapara, Raipur, C P

[1]See Annexure II to Enclosure to No 13, note 2

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H S Abdul Aziz to M A Jinnah

F 886/124

P O B 1582, HAIFA, PALESTINE,
20 March 1947

Honourable and respected Sir,

There is a tedious barrenness about the reports and huge propaganda from the rivals specially in the Arab Countries This part of world accept [*sic* for except] the places you had been to, is still in the dark in reference to the original demands and conditions of the Muslims being put up by the Muslim League to the present Interim Government or in second [*sic* for other] words to the Congress

The deliberation of the foreign news [media] appears still to keep the form and tone of the majority already in power

The question of principal [*sic*] and conditions and constructive measures affecting the future of the Muslim League are held in careful and anxious abeyance Most of the time so far has been taken, and will be taken up, with procedural matters and interpretations And assuming genioun [*sic*] intention to reach an agreement on how India should develop politically under the present circumstances, there [*sic*] sacrifices may not prove a waste of time [This] I strongly believe will not be, but still it is difficult to assume any such intention One gets the impression that the Britons' tactics are to keep the stew at the simmer as long as possible and not to commit themselves irrevocably

No doubt you have already revealed with [*sic*] a cut and dried policy for Indian Muslims I strongly hope that the same will be honoured and met by all the Islamic world and, if not, at least the Muslims of India [will undergo] sacrifices to reach their destiny This is a last chance

May God it prove successful and you may be crowned with success I consider [that] these plans and their ratifications [*sic*]—understandings called upon by you in inviting [the attention of] the past and present selfish Governments—require your fast [*sic* for immediate] attention for an issue that there should be propaganda pamphlets and these [should] be sent out to all foreign countries to be made known the facts and the circumstances through which we are going through [*sic*] in this question of our life and death

Dear Sir, the present Islamic world has changed through [*sic*] the hands of the world and on account of their poor circumstances God can only protect them, just as Maulana Hali *marhoom* said

Khuda ne aaj tak us qaum ki halat nahin badli,
Na ho jisko khiyal aap apni halat
ke badalne ka
[God has never ameliorated the condition of a people
that has not thought of improving its own destiny]

May I have the honour of requesting you to advise the propaganda members to forward on the following addresses any kind of news or books and papers connected with the news of the Muslim League, in English or in Urdu (English preferred), enabling certain people out here to propagate the life of the Muslims in India and their present handling [in order] to enlighten [them about] the life of the poor Muslims suffering at the hands of the majority, called the Government

1 Sheikh Abdul Sattar and Sons (Indian Tailors and Outfitters), No 84, Jaffa Road, Haifa, Palestine
2 H I Deen Bros (Indian Tailors and Merchants) Mammellah Road, Jerusalem
3 Haji S A Aziz P O B 1582, Haifa, Palestine

Thanking you for all the troubles thus given,

A well-wisher of Islam in India,
H S ABDUL AZIZ

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M A Jinnah to S J Rahimtoola

F 757/118

20 March 1947

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of 12th March[1] and beg to inform you that I quite appreciate the point of view of the Chief Justice You can inform His Lordship that there is no chance of my coming to practise at the High Court and hence, I think, in fairness I must release Room No 11 of which I was a tenant for many years

Please convey my thanks to the Chief Justice for his courtesy in allowing me to keep my lien on the room for so long a period, but there is no

likelihood of my returning to the Bar and I willingly release the room

Yours faithfully,
M A JINNAH

S. J Rahimtoola, Esq , Bar-at-Law,
Prothonotary & Senior Master,
H M 's High Court,
Bombay

[1]No 122

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H Mohamed Mauritiuswalla to M A Jinnah

F 680/94

NO 17, 28TH STREET, RANGOON,
20 March 1947

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am enclosing herewith a Draft, No B 279494 dated the 18 March 1947, for Rs 3,150/4/- (Rupees three thousand one hundred and fifty and annas four only) on the Central Bank of India Ltd , Delhi, as my part of contribution towards the Bihar Muslims Relief Fund which please acknowledge

Yours obediently,
H M MAURITIUSWALLA

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S M Akhtar Mir to M A Jinnah

F 832/23

43/2 THE MALL, SIMLA,
20 March 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am enclosing a copy of my report. Important portions have been sidelined for favour of consideration and necessary action

Yours obediently,
S M AKHTAR MIR
Counsel, Simla Muslim League

Enclosure 1 to No 169

F 773/51

[? SIMLA]

15 March 1947

Presided over the second sitting of joint conference of
Armed Forces Headquarters Muslim Employees Association
Armed Forces Headquarters Temporary Employees Association, and
Armed Forces Headquarters Ladies Union
regarding their Departments' grievances, its report will follow

ROHTAK

16 and 17 March 1947

There is quiet at present but mischief is expected any moment as in other districts

Had meetings with the President, City, the General Secretary, District and City, and the Office Secretary of local Leagues They promised support in reorganization of Ambala Division [Muslim League]

DELHI AND NEW DELHI

17 March 1947

Syed Hassan Riaz, Editor *Manshoor*, informed of some Muslim abducted girls still with a Rohtak Jat Left instructions for Divisional Organizer Jahan Ara to pursue the matter along with local League office-bearers during her expected visit to Rohtak I shall take up this case personally, if necessary

Some editors of Muslim newspapers consider immediate re-organization of Ambala Division Muslim [League] essential

SIMLA

18 March 1947

Local League's organization and Muslim public's grievances are as painful as during the Civil Disobedience Movement For instance, among other types, the present General Secretary deserted and left Simla from 27th January onwards and in the midst of the movement visited Lahore and was interviewed by Khizar Hayat's Selection Board for a two-year temporary post in the Punjab Civil Service

I suggest immediate introduction of two local organizations

i City Muslim League
ii. District Muslim League
The latter should include
(i) Dugshai (ii) Subathu (iii) Jutogh (iv) Summer Hill (v) Boiliauganj (vi) Chota Simla (vii) Sanjauli etc , etc ,

and it should look after Muslims in adjoining Hill States, particularly Keonthal, Koti, Nalagarh and Kalsia States, where they are in large members [sic for numbers] I would give them further guidance in view of my experiences as Judicial Assistant to Political Agent, Punjab Hill States, and of my official tours of these States and the Tibetan territory

S M AKHTAR MIR
Pleader and Counsel, Simla Muslim League

Enclosure 2 to No 169

F 773/52

LETTER TO THE EDITOR[1]

AMBALA FIRING

Sir,

During my recent visit to Ambala I was told by local Muslim leaders and public that their repeated representations to the Punjab Government through Press and also Assembly questions about local officials' discrimination against the Muslims had gone unheeded Their grievances *inter alia* are

1 Restrictions and bans gagged only the Muslims, e g as regards the training of Muslim League National Guards drastic steps were taken, whereas the Rashtriya Sewak Sangh managed to continue their activities
2 Muslims' licences for guns etc were reduced beyond [*sic*] their communal proportion
3 There is undue strictness towards the Muslims, for instance the licence of Sh Abdul Khaliq, ammunition dealer, has been confiscated because his brother courted arrest in the movement[2] launched by the Muslim League The District Magistrate ignored the fact that this firm holds licence for other places as well for the past seventy years The Sheikh is an Honorary Magistrate and besides giving recruits he had given thousands of rupees in cash to the War Fund and was Convenor of the Peace Committee only four or five months back

4. Leaving aside Ambala Cantonment, the civil supply depots in the rest of the Ambala District are almost all Hindu concerns
5 Muslims' representation in appointments and promotions has been unfair

As regards the unwarranted firing[3] on Muslim women and children during the recent Civil Disobedience Movement, the District Magistrate did not act wisely and impartially commensurate with the grave circumstances In the very first week of the movement, the City Magistrate lost all opportunities to discharge responsibilities which were entrusted to the Additional District Magistrate Instead of the City Magistrate, Hindu Magistrates are entrusted with the cases of those Muslims who courted arrest in the Movement Had the City Magistrate been on duty or had the District Magistrate been considerate and better advised, the unfortunate firing would never have taken place

His Excellency the Governor of the Punjab should consider immediate transfer of the present District Magistrate from the Ambala District in order to restore confidence among the aggrieved Muslims

Yours etc.,
AKHTAR MIR
Pleader

[1]*Dawn*, 13 March 1947
[2]For Civil Disobedience Movement see Appendix VII
[3]On 25 February 1947, two Muslim women and a number of men were reportedly killed as a result of police firing on the League demonstrators at Ambala A five-member committee headed by Mamdot was appointed to enquire into the incidents at Ambala and Amritsar See *Pakistan Times*, 28 February 1947

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Kazi Mohamed Mustafa & K A Rahman to M A Jinnah

F 886/135

BOMBAY,
20 March 1947

Most Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

We, the undersigned, the President and General Secretary of Anjuman-i-Ittihadul Muslimeen of Goa, Panjim, now on a visit to Bombay, take this opportunity of expressing our most hearty respects and homage to you. Thanks to God, today we will have our hearts' desire of seeing you at the Muslim National Guards rally

This is to convey to you the deep feelings of the Muslim brethren of Goa (Portuguese India) that we have great admiration for you, for your life-long efforts in bringing about the renaissance of Muslim glory and the revival of the Muslim spirit, not only in India but throughout the world, and we pray to the Almighty God to bestow upon you happy, healthy and long life, crown you with every success and protect you for the sake of the Muslims God bless you all the more and reward you with the day when you may yourself witness the spring in the orchard that you have raised as if from a desert—the orchard of Muslim glory

We deem it a source of inspiration and guidance to develop greater love for you, and we hope that our deeming you as the guide will enable us to succeed in our efforts to establish the integrity of the Muslims of Goa where our population is only 30,000 out of a total of six lac, constituting 50% Hindus and 45% Christians

Goa was under Portuguese monarchy for many centuries till 1906 when a sort of Republic was established, and now the authorities in Portugal have announced that a change in Constitution is going to be effected to render Goa free on the same basis as India

So, we need your sympathy and good wishes, which we trust would prove very auspicious, because, by the grace of God, you are the modern *Maseeha*—for the Muslims

With best *salaams*,

Yours sincerely,
KAZI MOHAMED MUSTAFA
President
K A RAHMAN
General Secretary

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Abdussattar Khan Niazy to M A Jinnah

F 886/128-131

ALTABIB, BARKAT ALI HALL,
OUTSIDE MOCHI GATE, LAHORE,
20 March 1947

Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

Though we talked now and then, it is after a long time that I am

writing to you again. It was a little before I, together with a friend, saw you at Delhi in October 1941, that I wrote to you last We had then come to you to ask for some financial help for our political struggle in the Punjab We had brought a scheme for a party paper and the rest of it You did not see your way just then to give immediate leave to Sir Sikander and his team of nabobs You declined us point-blank any material or ostensible support. You advised us to stand on our own legs

That we have so far tried to do as best as we could But why am I thinking of the circumstances in which I wrote to you last while addressing you now? Perhaps it is because of the similarity between the situations

You failed in the end to make headway with the Sikander-Jinnah Pact.[1] At last you had to give straight fight to the pack of traitors You had to do in 1945 what you had refused us in 1941 In all probability it is now futile to discuss whether the delay was justified But it is remarkable that the first-degree nabobs were removed only to be replaced by their second-degree extractions

I know when I speak to you in these informal and rather unceremonial tones, you will not misunderstand me You are only too well aware of my gratitude for all that you have done for the nation to misunderstand me

So I make my point without bothering to sugar-coat the truth in nice phrases which more often than not fog the real sense

The Indian Musalmans, through you, appear to have two conceptions of Pakistan Pakistan, the ideal, and Pakistan, the practical The former connotes a sovereign, self-sufficient State, here and now, for which we will not hesitate to split [*sic*] the blood of anyone who dares to resist The latter implies a compromise with the British or the Hindus, whereunder we may temporarily accept a limited Centre for Defence, Communications and Foreign Affairs

It goes without saying that Pakistan, the practical, postulates constitutional methods, toleration and the necessity of compromises It is also self-evident that revolutionary discipline, self-sufficiency and civil war are a corollary to Pakistan, the ideal

Now, one may differ as to the merits of these two conceptions of Pakistan One may also differ as to the applicability of any one of them at a particular juncture But there can be no two opinions that only one of these two conceptions can hold at one and the same time Any other view or policy would carry the germs of self-contradiction in it

None else is going to make this choice for us The Musalmans in India through you must make this choice, even though like all human

choices, it is open to mistake But for God's sake do for once be clear in your own mind whether it is going to be peace or war with the Hindu and the Britisher Otherwise we will suffer from the disadvantages of both In July [1946] we will refuse to join [the Interim Government] unless we were taken as the Sole Representative [of the Indian Muslims] and in September [1946] we will enter [the Interim Government] even if we are denied all the three major portofoilos [*sic* for portfolios] and even though the quisling[2] too was present there to sit with us Rather we will add a *kafir*[3] to our own team in the hope that it will spite the quisling. However, that is another tale

So, I was saying, let us be first clear in our own minds Then we will not one day be thinking of Chengiz Khan, like Mr Noon;[4] and the next [day] proclaiming our martyrs to be no better than criminals, as Mr Ghazanfar Ali is doing at Jhelum;[5] or wishing that all the Muslims should have been sacrificed to save their Hindu neighbours, as Mamdot did at Rawalpindi[6] the other day

Either we are prepared to split [*sic*] blood for Pakistan, then Calcutta and Bihar, Attock and Rawalpindi are all justified,[7] or we are merciful enough to join the Indian Union at the sight of communal riots, then we should say so It is no use being confused and undecided To spoil for blood is bad enough, but then to tremble at its sight is even worse

Personally I think we need not enter into a civil war immediately So the Muslim League under you better accept constitutional methods with all their implications and limitations and realize them fully Under your cover, you may set up another organisation which would take up the struggle from the Muslim League after the British leave If you do that, you will have fulfilled your role in history It was decided when you fought the elections and were elected to the Constituent Assembly No leader has ever played the evolutionary and the revolutionary roles simultaneously with success

If you agree to this principle, I will discuss with you or write to you about important details when you come to Delhi

The Punjab today is in a sorry state The N W F P is even worse One is pained to see that at this decisive juncture in our history, utter non-compoops [*sic*] should rule over [*sic*] destinies just because of the wealth of sins they inherited from their traitor forefathers and the support they are able to secure in your fair name.

Yours sincerely,
ABDUSSATTAR KHAN NIAZY

[1]Concluded between Jinnah and Sikander Hyat Khan in October 1937 whereby the Muslim Members of the Unionist Party also became members of ML

[2]Jinnah called Abul Kalam Azad a show boy and a quisling
[3]Jogindranath Mandal
[4]Noon had threatened that Chengiz Khan's exploits would be repeated if the demand of Muslims for Pakistan was rejected
[5]Ghazanfar Ali Khan had gone to Jhelum with Mamdot and there on 16 March 1947 they met the members of the District Peace Committee and other local ML leaders and tried to stem the communal strife in certain parts of that District See *Pakistan Times*, 18 March 1947
[6]During his visit to Rawalpindi, Mamdot had strongly condemned communal rioting there He had appealed to Muslims as the majority community to protect the lives and property of their non-Muslim neighbours Ibid
[7]Refers to the communal riots at these places

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Mrs K L Rallia Ram to M A Jinnah

F 487/25-28

5 MASSON ROAD, LAHORE,
20 March 1947

Dear Mr Jinnah,

Here are the cuttings from today's press[1] I want you to note particularly what the *Civil & Military Gazette* writes under the heading "Lost Opportunity".[2] It just depicts the correct analysis of Pandit Nehru's visit to the Punjab Everybody thought that he would bring all the parties together in order to ease the disturbed situation, but all were disappointed to find him so one-sided and so antagonistic to the Muslim League leaders He actually refused Nawab Mamdot's and Mian Iftikhar's request to go with him and help restore peace in the Province. It seems he had come with a biased mind and left even more prejudiced than before Just now my husband has brought news from the city that Pandit Nehru has asked the Sikhs and Hindus to get ready for the final struggle with the Muslims and they say to the extent that he has promised help from Nepal against the Muslims From what Tara Singh said after Pandit Nehru left, it seems this thing is correct

I sent you the cutting yesterday in which Tara Singh had said that Pandit Nehru agreed with him on most of the points[3] This is a sad commentary on the doings of such a great leader as Pandit Nehru Nobody expected him to go to this length If what the Hindus and Sikhs say is correct, then the Muslim nation has also to get ready Otherwise they will be caught napping as in Bihar

One good thing has come about today There is practically Martial Law declared in most of the Punjab towns. This will prevent conflagration

on a large scale as was expected The Governor has done good in declaring most of the towns as "disturbed areas". But how long can these things continue? If the leaders incite their followers to violence then the explosion is bound to come sooner or later Martial Law cannot remain in force for ever I hope when you go to Delhi, you will present the entire situation in its true colours to the new Viceroy

How calculating Pandit Nehru has been regarding the destruction in the Punjab! I thought he would compare Amritsar to one of the Bihar riot-affected areas But to my disappointment he compared it to Bihar earthquake! The massacre of Muslims in Bihar seems to have gone out of his mind Communal orgy in Bihar and Garhmukteswar did not move Sardar Patel so much as that in the Punjab [has done] After the visit of Sardar Baldev Singh and Pandit Nehru to the Punjab, the Hindu press has started a campaign of vilification and hatred with treble force I cannot understand how the District Magistrate is allowing such inflammatory comments of one party against the other The visit of the two Congress leaders [Baldev Singh and Nehru] has inflamed the passions again against each other instead of allaying the fears and distrust The comment on arson and murder in the Frontier Province is a sample of what is being published in the press to incite each other to violence and hatred against each other Such attacks only serve to bring back the law of the jungle into force

I was very pleased to read the editorial of the *Dawn* on "A Word to the Sikhs" [4] I do wish there were someone who could bring the Sikhs round and explain to them the correct League point of view It is the Hindus, as the editor writes, who are instigating the simple Sikhs into this fury of passion and unreasonableness It is the same Tara Singh—who today is sabre-rattling against the Muslims—who said last year, "Who is Pandit Nehru to prevent me from negotiating with the Muslim League?", and look at his attitude today!

There are some cuttings on the Frontier Province[5] and one on the Congress attitude towards Mr Liaquat Ali's budget [6] It seems there are rumblings against it in the Congress fold

Hope you are feeling fit for the great and heavy task awaiting you in New Delhi. May God give you long life, health and strength to bring your task to a successful end

Long may you live

Sincerely yours,
MRS K L RALLIA RAM

[1]Not available in *QAP*
[2]The editorial criticised Nehru for having lost a golden opportunity of making a contribution

to lasting peace in the Punjab It added that instead of going round to various places in the Province, he should have stayed in Lahore to work out a plan for communal settlement with leaders of all communities *Civil & Military Gazette*, 19 March 1947

[3]Pandit Nehru met Master Tara Singh on 15 March 1947 at Lahore Later the Sikh leader told pressmen that he and the Pandit had agreed on almost all points regarding partition of the Punjab *Civil & Military Gazette*, 16 March 1947

[4]The editorial addressed itself to the Sikh Community saying that in the event of the partition of the Punjab they would remain a hopeless minority in the Eastern Punjab against the dominant Hindu majority there The position of the Sikhs in the Western Punjab would hardly be any better On the other hand, through an agreement with the Muslim majority, the Sikhs could enjoy considerable position and advantages in the Punjab as a whole

[5]Not available in *QAP*

[6]Liaquat Ali's budget proposals apparently sought to help the poor by abolishing salt duty and introducing heavy direct taxes mainly on business profits and capital gains Naturally, the budget was called by the public the "poor man's budget" but was severely criticised by the big business lobby in the Congress See also No 123, note 1

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G B Velkar to M K Gandhi (Copy to M A Jinnah)

F 886/125-127

DARGAH SHARIF BIYABANI,
24 CHANDANWADI,
BADA KABRISTAN, BOMBAY 2,
20 March 1947

Dear Mahatmaji,

The War ended long long ago but your so-called popular Congress Ministries are not desirous of taking drastic actions against the black marketeers, nor have they any intention to bring down the cost of living They are allowing us to die to-day and are making efforts for our happiness of tomorrow after our death by prohibition, irrigation, wells, buildings, education, etc The cost of living should have gone by now far below if the Ministers had really made any efforts in that direction But as is said that the Bombay Ministry is predominantly overwhelmed by Gujeratis and as the business locality [*sic* for community] of Bombay city is mostly of Gujeratis, it may be (as is said everywhere) they have no intention to check the black market. To give you facts and figures I state as below giving the pre-War rates and the present controlled rates as also the black-market rates of some of the articles

Article [unit of measure]	Pre-war rate [Rs-as-ps]	Controlled rate	Black-market rate
Sugar [per lb]*	- 2 -	2 times	10 times
Soap [per bar]	- - 9	No control	5 times
Tea [per lb]	- 8 to 10 -	No control	4 times
Sweet oil [per lb.]	- 2 -	No control	7-8 times
Coconut oil [per lb]	- 3 -	2 times	8 times
Copra [per lb]	- 3 -	No control	6 times
Groundnuts [per lb]	- 1 6	No control	4 times
Gur [per lb]	- 1 -	4 times	10 times
Milk [per seer]	- 4 -	3 times	about 5 times
Dals [per *piyalee*]	- 8 -	3 times	about 5 times
Butter [per lb]	- 8 -	No control	4-5 times
Ghee [per lb]	- 8 -	No control	4 times
Cloth [per yard]	[varies]	3 times	5-8 times

* [As quantity is almost sufficient in ration, black market[ing] is made only by *Halwais*, Hotels, etc]

You will observe from the above that the public has to pay for all the articles 4 to 5 times [more] on the whole, while the income is not even two times than the pre-War [income] Hence they cannot get sufficient food and clothing and their state is day by day becoming more and more miserable There is no sign of rates being decreased, on the contrary, they are daily increasing bit by bit The Government is issuing orders and even taking deposits from the merchants in case of *gur* etc for selling at controlled rates but as the executive authorities (Rationing Inspectors etc) are totally ineffective and as the Ministers are utterly negligent and they are doing nothing except issuing orders from the Secretariat and publish[ing] them in papers, the control over prices has no effect at all and things like *gur*, *dals*, cloth, etc , are sold in the open market at three times the controlled rate, as given above Only food grains and sugar are hardly required to be purchased from black market as they are regularly and almost sufficiently given in rations Now, if there is actual shortage of supply, the things should not be available at all in the black market even by paying 100 times the controlled rates But all things such as sweet oil (control over this was very recently removed), *gur*, *dals*, cloth (mill cloth under the name of power-loom cloth) are available in ample quantities anywhere and everywhere at the black-market rates

And what is the state in Bombay City is more or less the state in villages and even throughout the country, as I suppose, and if very drastic measures are not adopted against these black marketeers—these

greatest enemies of the public—their constant [sic] habit has been so deep-rooted that they are trying to squeezing [sic] more and more money from the public by adopting new and novel methods Not only the black marketeers must be severely punished but the Rationing Inspectors whose duty it is to check black marketing must also be punished or dismissed from their service and new social-minded Rationing Inspectors may be appointed in their stead The black marketeers must be fined from Rs 1,000 to Rs 10,000 and sentenced to imprisonment from 2 years to 10 years, (and I do not request you to hang them as is done in France and Germany), otherwise they can easily pay a fine of Rs 50, which is mostly done at present in Bombay, and which fine is recoverable by them within a single day by black market[eering] On the whole I suggest as follows

1 It should be the policy of the Government that the rates of all the necessaries [sic for necessities] of life must not be more than 3 times the pre-War rates in any case
2 The rates of the manufacturers and producers must first be controlled and they should not be allowed a margin of profit of more than 20% in any case
3 After controlling the rates of manufacturers, the rates of wholesalers and retailers should be so fixed that the retail customer will in no case be required to pay more than 150% of the rate of the manufacturer This condition may be relaxed a little in the case of perishable articles such as onions, potatoes, garlic, vegetables, etc
4 The merchants keeping stock but telling customers "no stock" must be investigated by the Anti-Corruption Branch and should be punished with rigorous imprisonment for a very long term
5 Each retail dealer must be compelled to keep a board at his shop specifically mentioning the rates of all the necessaries of life The board must be kept in a conspicuous place and it must clearly indicate the price of each article of daily use
6 In case it is found that the rate mentioned on the board is more than the controlled rate, all quantity of such articles should be taken possession of by the Government
7 Rationing of the articles which are available in sufficient quantity should be entirely removed without any delay
8 There should be relaxation of transport control and the transport of the necessities [sic] of life must be given first preference by the Railways
9 The local rates should be published in local papers every week and these rates should be fixed by the Government (Provincial)

or the District Magistrates (in case of Districts) with the consent of local wholesale and retail merchants as well as the local Congress and other party leaders.

10. All the high Government officials such as Magistrates, Judges, *Mumlatdars*, and even the Ministers, their Parliamentary Secretaries, Secretaries, Personal Assistants and other high officials must be compelled to spend at least one hour in a week to see as strangers (and not in their official capacity) whether any shopkeeper is committing any default by charging more than the control[led] rate, and the defaulter must be very severely punished along with the Rationing Inspector of that particular area

The Congress Ministries should immediately divert their wholehearted attention to this very important subject, instead of trying for irrigation, prohibition and education, and in the very near future throughout the country there should be found uniform rates for all the necessaries of life, with a very little negligible [*sic*] difference in prices between any two places

As the clamour of Bombay newspapers and the public has created no effect on the Government of Bombay, I see no other helping hand except your good self

If steps as stated above are not taken immediately, there is every possibility of an all-India famine, like that of Calcutta, in the near future

I trust that you will personally look into this matter immediately and direct the Congress as well as the Congress Ministries to launch an all-India campaign against all the black marketeers instantaneously

Hoping to be favoured with your early reply,

Yours faithfully,
G B VELKAR
FIS

Copies to

1 Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
2 Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
3 Mr Liaquat Ali Khan
4 Dr Rajendra Prasad
5 Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah
6 S K Patil, President, Bombay Provincial Congress Committee
7 S L. Karandikar, MLA, Bombay
8 L B Bhopatkar
9 Master Tara Singh
10 C Rajagopalacharia
11 Comrade Dange

12. H E The Viceroy of India
13. H.E The Governor of Bombay, for immediate attention and doing their utmost on the lines proposed without any delay, and [to]

The *Vividh Vritta*, the *Chitra*, the *Dawn*, the *Kesari*, the *Times of India*, and the *Prabhat* for publication and public opinion

25 March 1947

PS Dear Quaid-i-Azam, please do tell all your Muslim papers to copy this.

G B VELKAR
F I S

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Yusuf A Haroon to M A Jinnah

F 1108/23-24

NAPIER ROAD, KARACHI,
21 March 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

There is a large and responsible body of opinion among us Muslims here, which I cannot but place before you

The key positions among the law officers of the Crown are occupied by Hindus The Advocate General is a Hindu, the Public Prosecutor and his First Assistant are Hindus and the Legal Remembrancer (now a full-fledged Secretary) and his assistant are Hindus Without going into personalities, it is sufficient to say that each of these has a vested interest and can muster considerable backing by means of personal and other connections—so much so that it has been impossible for some time now even to suggest with any possibility of success that Muslims ought to be appointed to at least some of these appointments [*sic*]

A few weeks ago, the Hon'ble Mir Bundeh Ali Khan, Minister for Law and Order, agreed to permit the Advocate General to transfer work to the Public Prosecutor, thus conceding that the Advocate General has Crown work which he could not cope with alone

As soon as I came to know of this, I met the Mir Sahib and in all seriousness suggested the creation of the post of a Deputy Advocate General (a post which I understand exists in the Punjab and other

provinces) to which a Muslim advocate of standing should be appointed I even suggested that he might be good enough to obtain the opinion of the Judges of the Chief Court of Sind as to the creation of this post and the choice of the Muslim advocate to be appointed to it

I told him that I expected that the Judges would most probably agree and were likely to recommend Mr Walimahomed B L Vellani, Barrister-at-Law, who holds excellent certificates of character, ability and integrity (copies[1] of which I subjoin) and that the Governor could easily be carried to agree to the suggestion, if the Judges agreed I went into all this because the Mir Sahib felt that the appointment of a Deputy Advocate General might be looked upon as the individual responsibility of the Governor and, secondly, because I thought it expedient to meet beforehand the oft-repeated argument that the post requires a person of proved ability in civil as well as criminal law, and that there is no Muslim lawyer fit for the post I said all this in order to induce him to make a move without finally committing himself in any way to the creation of the post or the person to be appointed or his emoluments That I should have failed in getting him to take even this non-committal initiative seems to me to be most significant

Sir Godfrey Davis[2] is retiring on 25th March 1947, and we all expect that at long last a Muslim—Mr Justice Tyabji—will be our Chief Judge It should be possible to take this matter above all personal controversies and interests, by leaving the three questions—(a) as to the desirability of creating the post of Deputy Advocate General, (b) as to a Muslim Advocate to be appointed to it, and (c) as to his emoluments, to the decision of Mr Justice Tyabji in whose sense of fairness and propriety all people have the greatest confidence

I think this would be a move in the right direction to which no objection could be raised on any side May I suggest, therefore, that if you are pleased to agree with this, you might be good enough to issue the necessary directions

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Y A HAROON

[1]Not available in *QAP*
[2]Chief Judge, Chief Court of Sind

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Sher Badshah Khan to M A Jinnah

F 574/30-31

TANK, WAZIRISTAN, D I KHAN
21 March 1947

A joint *jirga* of the Waziristan Tribal Pathans[1] (Wazir, Mahsud and Bhittani) was held in Spinkai, Raghzai, Waziristan on the 20th of March 1947 The prominent in the *jirga* were the following

Faqir Sahib of Amakhel, Din Faqir
Faqir Shahzada Sahib of Waziristan
Faqir of Shewa, Waziristan
Qazi Sahib Muhammad Arif of Sararogha
Capt Mirbadshah
Col Shah Pasand
Malik Gulab Khan
K S Qutab Khan
K S Hayat Khan
Hayat-Nazar Khel
K S Hafta Khan
M Khaisor Khan

The following resolutions were unanimously passed

(1) It is our birthright to have Pakistan The very intention of the Hindus to dominate Muslim India would be crushed If we don't get our goal by political settlement, we would have it by bullet We must have Pakistan whatever the consequences may be
(2) If Doctor Khan Sahib has a little sense in his head and if he is not a traitor to Pathans he should resign [along with] his Ministry and leave it to the Muslim League to form one The present agitation in the Frontier has definitely proved that he is not a leader of the Pathans but a Hindu-hired agent We, the Tribal Pathans, warn him that the situation in the Province would be far worse if he still remains in office
(3) We warn the Patel Committee on the rights of minorities and

Tribal people, to step down in Delhi The consequences would be very grave otherwise

SHER BADSHAH KHAN MAHSUD
Lieut
Office Secretary,
Waziristan Muslim League,
Tank

Forwarded for information to
1 All Provincial Muslim League Committees
2 Quaid-i-Azam M A Jinnah, Delhi
3 Khan Liaquat Ali Khan, Finance Member, Delhi
4 Khan Abdur Rab Khan Nishtar, Communications Member, Delhi
5 Viceroy of India, Delhi
6 Governor, NWFP, Peshawar
7 Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, External Affairs Department, Delhi
8 Vallabhbhai Patel, Home Member, Delhi
9 Dr Khan Sahib, Premier, NWFP, Peshawar
10 Political Agent, South Waziristan, Tank
11 Pir Sahib of Manki Sharif, via Nowshera, Peshawar
12 Press

Also see No 99

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Abdul Hameed Mirza to M A Jinnah

F 659/4-5

SUITE 10, 258 CIRCUS CHAMBERS,
CIRCUS AVENUE, CALCUTTA,
21 March 1947

My beloved Quaid-i-Azam,

I am writing this letter after seven years and at a time when the crisis is at hand and we are in the field for the last battle of life and death

I am told by some hypocrites and useless friends, who can but do destructive work and dare not stand to sacrifice themselves at the call of the Leader and for our Nation, that you have written to them

about my work that it is a "bluff" and "destruction" They say you have denied the fact that I had ever worked for the P M S F[1] and had any photograph taken with you They sent some copy to you of an old "photo" when I was President of the P M S F in 1941 and you came to the Islamia College and presided over the Pakistan Conference

Respected Quaid, enemies serve their own purposes by false propaganda spread by hired persons, and a personality like yours cannot commit an act to make work difficult for unselfish persons and workers This is unthinkable!

You know I resigned the Presidentship of P M S F at your command and wish, in favour of Mian Bashir Ahmed, in the year 1941, and since then I have been out of picture My students and workers have even become MLAs and Presidents of the League but I have no such ambition I did my work in the Islamia College for five years and Principal Umar Hayat's certificate is enough to convince you that I did something good When I found that Chhotu Ram and Khizar were making work impossible for me by creating direct and indirect hindrances, I came to Bengal, but during the last elections I was again in the Islamia College, Lahore, along with my brave colleagues to win the elections for the League In Sind, I did my part along with Mr M A Khuhro, Minister P W D , and Lady Haroon, and I don't need any appreciation for that It was my duty and I performed it

After the Calcutta carnage and Bihar killings, we have changed the whole technique, and the enclosures[2] will speak eloquently Now men, mean in spirit, who change their opinions from time to time like weathercocks, and other enemy agents, are playing their part by dancing, like ballet dancers, to the tune of destructive forces I can crush them and bring them to their senses, but I cannot bear an unfair word from [*sic* for against] the man I love and for whose mission I am ready to lay down my life I pray you not to be misled by underlings, mean clerks and useless creatures—write to me direct if you find that I am wrong in my actions and ambitions A word from you will be much appreciated and will strengthen our hearts, therefore please reply to this letter and oblige

Your son-in-Islam,
ABDUL HAMEED MIRZA
Director,
The Muslim Reform Movement

[1]Punjab Muslim Students Federation
[2]Not available in *QAP*

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Narayanan to M A Jinnah

F 928/5-6

1320 KRISHNAMOORTHY PURAM, MYSORE,
21 March 1947

Sir,

I am a poor Brahmin having a big family and with[out] any land and have become helpless and in support of my family I am seeking public charity from great patriots Now that I requested many a times Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru [and] Mr Gandhi, the great Hindu patriots who stand for the protection of great Hindu population, I requested them to help [me] by way of personal charity [with] at least Rs 300 I posted about 6 applications to them to which they did not care to reply at all If such great Hindu patriots do not sacrifice to help an ordinary poor man in time of need, I do not see any chance of their helping a great many people

Now I am approaching you with the same request and believing that you have no distinction between this [*sic*] and pray your merciful heart to send at least Rs 200 [in] charity in support of my poor family and, acknowledging your money order of Rs 200, I will release [*sic*] your kind sympathy and charity extending to even for a poor man's request and it will be noteworthy in your life and in your history [*sic*] I will also release [*sic*] the unwillingness and negligence of duty of Hindu patriots as a pride [*sic*] of your general kindness towards the poor

If you please extend your generosity towards the poor Hindu Brahmin, I shall ever remember your name and make public your interest and kindness towards Hindus too As I am disgusted in asking charity from Hindu patriots and have full confidence [that] you will certainly help me I am requesting for the charity and I am ever at your service to do for you at any time in return [*sic*]

Your dedicated servant,
NARAYANAN

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Abdel Rahman Azzam to M A Jinnah

F 1059/8

LEAGUE OF ARAB STATES, BUSTAN PALACE, CAIRO,
21 March 1947

My dear brother,

I present my friend Takkiy el Din Solh Bey, a distinguished diplomat of the Arab League, who will express to you my best wishes for the prosperity of our Muslim brothers

He will have the occasion to explain to you the various problems which are now absorbing all the energy of the Arab people, particularly the Palestinian, Libyan and Egyptian problems

I hope we will have the pleasure of seeing you again in this part of the world

Please remember me to Mr Liaquat Ali Khan and your friends

With best wishes,

I remain,
Yours sincerely,
ABDEL RAHMAN AZZAM
Secretary-General,
League of Arab States

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Theruvath Raman to M A Jinnah

F 908/64

KERALA PRESS, CALICUT,
21 March 1947

Sir,

We extend a cordial invitation to you to attend the Conference You know that, in the present conditions of our country, it is our duty to organise the workers employed in various walks of life and bring them under the banner of the Congress so that their services may be utilised in all nation-building programmes to be initiated by the Congress. The Hotel Works [*sic*] play no mean part therein

If for any reason you find it inconvenient to attend, we hope you will send us your message and good wishes

Yours fraternally,
THERUVATH RAMAN
Chairman, Reception Committee,
Third Calicut Hotel Workers Conference

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Abdul Wahid to K H Khurshid

F 701/90-91

BOMBAY,
22 March 1947

Dear Mr Khurshid,

May I be kindly allowed to apprise Quaid-i-Azam about the countries as written below

I belong to Leh and half of my family resides in Lhasa (Tibet) having business connections with India Tibet, especially Lhasa, had been culturally connected with India for centuries till the end of the Moghul period Its political connection with India dates recently in [*sic*] the beginning of this century The Younghusband Military Expedition sent by the then Indian Government had been caused by Russian intervention in the Tibetan politics during the Boer War when the Britishers were engaged there

The Indian Muslims, though all the available records having been destroyed by the British, must have been to Lhasa during those [*sic*] period as some of the Persian words were being used a few years before the above said Expedition, and one of the Panchen Lamas actually knew a little of Persian as recorded by some of the English travellers Besides these, there are some Chinese Muslims residing in Lhasa and other parts of Tibet

China to a great extent culturally and Manchus politically had good relations with Tibet. The latter even subjugated Tibet during the period when China was under its control

Recently, with the political changes in India, there has been a definite move by the British Political and Intelligence Departments to remould its relations with Tibet China objects to British interference in Tibetan affairs as it claims Tibet as a province of China On the other

land, British [sic for Britain] asserts Tibet's independence and it has recently succeeded in creating a party of its own among the Tibetan ruling class

Bhutan and Sikkim play an important part in this game and the recent meeting of the representatives of Bhutan with Mr Nehru is, perhaps, one of the first lessons to mould these Central Asiatic non-Muslim lands into a Block

Immediately next to Tibet in its North-Eastern side is the so-called Chinese Province of Chinghai with its capital Sining actually governed by a compact Muslim community, virtually independent This State may be called China's threat to Tibet [just] as formerly Nepal used to be India's threat to Tibet This State of Sining is not satisfied with Chiang's rule and at the same time they dislike Communism Tibet, itself [being] an undeveloped buffer State, does not wish to see the Muslim State of Sining strong and independent and the British as well as the Chinese may easily ignore Sining if they get a real hold over Tibet Lots of Sining Muslims annually come via Tibet [to India] to perform *Hajj* but the recent British move to tease [sic] them at the Frontiers again makes us doubtful [sic] that there might be a sinister move against these people to gain Tibetan goodwill

On Kashmir's Frontier, a part of Ladakh, i e Leh, may be claimed through British instigations by the Tibetans to block a direct approach to Sinkiang—a Muslim State—as Gilgit is already done [with]

Yours sincerely,
ABDUL WAHID
Ladakhache Lhasa
Relli Road,
P O Kalimpong

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K I Ghariaya To M A Jinnah

F 908/137-138

MUSTAFA BUILDING,
SIR PHEROZESHAH MEHTA ROAD, BOMBAY,
22 March 1947

Beloved Leader,

Assalamo 'Alaikum

I am directed by the Members of the Executive Committee of this

Association to request you to grant us an interview at a time and date convenient to you The object of this is to place before you the grievances of the Muslim employees (clerks & labourers) in the H.M.I. Dockyard, Bombay The Association has carried on its activities under the presidentship of Mr Ahmed E H Jaffer, MLA (Central), who has always done his best in representing the legitimate grievances of Muslims to the authorities

At present Muslims are being harassed for their political leanings and different interpretations are made of Government of India's instructions on the question of communal representation, often attempts are made to overlook this important question and offer lame excuses such as non-availability of suitable Muslim candidates I shall here quote one example The Muslim representation in Central Services as laid down by the Government of India is 25%, but this percentage is denied to the daily hired staff such as labourers, supervisors, etc, although it was specifically made clear by Mr Jaffer in his letter dated 4th May, 1946, addressed to F O C , R I N , that the assurances given on the floor of the Assembly (Starred Question No 50) applied to all, i e daily hired and monthly rated [persons] Secondly, there is not a single Muslim officer in the Dockyard and in spite of Government of India's instruction, no attempts have been made by the authorities either to recruit or to promote Muslims I must here add that we have some qualified Muslims in the Dockyard holding responsible positions but who are not promoted to gazetted ranks for reasons best known to the authorities

These are some of the grievances of the Muslims If you desire I shall send the file for your perusal

Names of members who have been selected to lead the deputation will be as follows

Mr G S Matadar, B A , LL B , Advocate (Leader)
Mr Ghulam Mohammad Kashmiri, B A
Mr Ishtiaq Ahmed
Mr Ibrahim Khan

Thanking you,

I am,
Yours respectfully,
K I GHARIAYA
Honorary Secretary,
Muslim Employees Association,
Royal Indian Navy, Bombay

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Yusuf A Haroon to M A Jinnah

F 561/68-69

NAPIER ROAD, KARACHI,
22 March 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

The question of Bihar Muslims has become a problem The Muslims of Sind are anxious to receive as permanent settlers as many Muslims as possible We would, of course, prefer people who are cultivators and who can plough The Provincial Muslim League has received offers from various leading *zamindars* of this province showing their willingness to receive as many cultivators as we can send them, but the emigrants from Bihar who are pouring into this province are mostly middle-class people looking for service employment, only a very small number of them are in search of trade

The Government of Sind is planning for their accommodation and giving them land at a nominal value near Karachi The speed with which the Government is planning to open up this new colony, with hospitals, schools, and a police post, is really to be congratulated [*sic*], and I hope that demarcation of this land will be over by the end of the next month

The only unfortunate controversy which arose between Khan Bahadur Khuhro and Sir Ghulam Hussain [Hidayatullah] was with regard to agricultural land near Karachi in which K B Khuhro had said that about 60,000 acres of land would be available for Biharis between 1948 and 1949 and would be given to them for cultivation Sir Ghulam Hussain then issued a press communique, stating that the land will not be available till 1952 Of course, this has discouraged the immigrants, and I am receiving letters from all kinds of people

I had a discussion with K B Khuhro, and he told me that he is preparing statistics which will be placed before the Governor for his final approval for land which will be available for cultivation in 1948-49, and now again a communique has been issued by K B Khuhro's department, a cutting [of which] I enclose for your information

I understand from a reliable source that there is a movement afoot in Bihar with regard to Muslim emigrants endeavouring to discourage them from leaving the province Mr Yunus has written a letter to Sir Ghulam Hussain, a copy of which he has sent to Mr Khuhro, which

I enclose for your information I feel that Mr Yunus does not sympathise with emigrant movement I feel that this policy will do no good to the Muslims there, while a little emigration from that part will be of great help to Sind in building up our population figures and providing the labour to the Province so desperately requiring [sic] in its industrial and commercial advancement

What I wish is this that the Muslims in Bihar should be encouraged to leave [Bihar] and settle in Sind If you happen to see Mr Yunus or the Bihar leaders personally, you may kindly impress upon them the necessity of Muslims coming to settle in this part of the country

Yours sincerely,
Y A HAROON

Enclosure 1 to No 182

F 561/70

BIHAR IMMIGRANTS TO BE SETTLED IN A COLONY
SIND GOVERNMENT'S PLAN TO HELP THEM[1]

The following communique has been issued by the Sind Government

The attention has been drawn by Maulana Abdul Quddus Bihari to the communique of the Government of Sind dated 9th March, 1947, in regard to the completion of new Lower Sind Barrage by 1952 and its reaction on the Bihar immigrants and its misrepresentation by the press in Bihar We therefore consider it proper to clarify the misunderstanding created by the said communique What it meant was that full irrigation scheme with sufficient water would be completed by 1952 It never meant that water will not at all be available Water will be available even before that in some places We declare that the Government of Sind has got full sympathy with the Bihar immigrants and is ready to help with all possible facilities We warn the Bihar Muslims not to get misled by the Press Our Government is very anxious for urgent relief of the oppressed Bihar immigrants and is preparing plan for settling Bihar immigrants in a colony near Karachi commercial city

[1]*Sind Observer*, 22 March 1947

Members of the AIML Working Committee

Mountbatten's arrival at Delhi

Jinnah with the Mountbattens at the V

... Indian leaders on 2 June 1947

Enclosure 2 to No. 182
M. Yunus to M A Khuhro

F 561/72

PATNA,
7 March 1947

My dear Khuhro Sahib,

I am herewith enclosing a copy of a letter I have written to the Honourable the Prime Minister, for your information and such help that you can give to the refugees of Bihar

I hope to reach Karachi some time during the Easter holidays when I hope to have the opportunity of meeting you all and to discuss what further progress can be made for the Bihar refugees

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M YUNUS

The Honourable Mr M A Khuhro,
Karachi,
Sind

Enclosure 3 to No 182
M Yunus to Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah

F 561/71-72

PATNA,
7 March 1947

My dear Hidayatullah Sahib,

Regarding the conversation I had with you this morning, I was rather surprised to learn that someone has given you the impression that we are sending out people with hopes that they will get fifty thousand acres of land in Sind I believe this impression is created due to the fact that some people of standing issued some statements giving out such hopes to the people of Bihar I can quite appreciate that the poor Bihar sufferers have been very much misled in this connection The fact, however, remains that they are now in Sind, and the problem which faces us is as to whether due to their own fault or through the fault of someone else, they are there now and what is to be done for them I do hope you will look at the whole

question in this light and help them as far as you can in settling them wherever possible I must express my sincerest gratitude to you and to all the Ministers for all that you all have been doing and are prepared to do, and I quite realise and appreciate the difficulties that naturally stand in the way of large numbers of refugees getting into the place all at once

The difficulty with the minority provinces has been that these people claim that they have a right to expect from the Pakistan areas such help which is their due, owing to the fact that they have staked all and sacrificed themselves for the establishment of Pakistan. In fact the Biharis have suffered most and we hope that their suffering and their blood will help in establishing Pakistan in the majority provinces. However, I am trying to impress upon the people the difficulty which is naturally in your way

A very small population has gone to Sind, they find it easier to walk across the border into Bengal We are very grateful to the Muslim League Ministry of Bengal who have spent several lac on them in maintaining nearly three lacs of people at their own cost for at least three months I have visited most of the camps in Calcutta and I found the arrangements for both their board and lodging entirely at Government cost very very satisfactory I am proceeding by car on the 9th with a view to visit[ing] a large number of areas in different parts of Bengal to see our refugees there The Government of Bengal, just like the Government of Sind, but, of course, on a very much larger scale, have prepared a scheme for the rehabilitation of these Muslim sufferers The position of Bengal, of course, offers a smaller difficulty because of its proximity to Bihar

Dr M A Hai, M D, M R C P, has applied for the post of Professor of Medicine at the Town [*sic* for Dow] Medical College, Karachi, to the Sind Public [Service] Commission, through the Bihar Government His case deserves consideration He is a very popular physician and has [had] practical experience in Bihar for about 18 years He is one of the leading physicians of this town The fact is I very much regret that he is thinking of leaving this town, and it was about him that I mentioned to you on the phone His father-in-law, Mr. S M Shareef, Bar-at-Law, Secretary of the Bihar Muslim Central Relief Committee, Patna, has done very valuable work I hope what will be the loss of Bihar will be the gain of Sind

I also hope that the Golimar area and some portion at least of the land formerly occupied by the Military opposite the G.P.O No 3 on the Victoria Road will be given to us

I tried to get several other Ministers on the phone but was told

that they were out of the station I could only get you and the Honourable Mr Pir Ilahi Bakhsh I am, therefore, forwarding copies of this letter to all of them, so that they may, in consultation with you, help us and give you all information regarding the subjects of their respective portfolios with which they may be dealing

I hope you are keeping well With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M YUNUS

The Honourable Mr Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah,
Prime Minister, Sind,
Karachi

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Yusuf A Haroon to M A Jinnah

F 274/305

786 NAPIER ROAD, KARACHI,
22 March 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I enclose a letter from Mr L Leiner, Managing Director of Treforest Chemical Co , Ltd , for your information

Mr Leiner is one of the biggest gelatine manufacturers of the world and, therefore, it is interesting to know his point of view

I shall be obliged if you return the letter to me after you have seen it

With kind regards,

I am,
Yours sincerely,
Y A HAROON

Enclosure to No. 183
L Leiner to Yusuf A Haroon

F 274/306

TREFOREST CHEMICAL CO , LTD ,
TREFOREST, N[EA]R CARDIFF,
11 March 1947

Dear Yusuf,

Thank you for your letter of the 4th March, and I have read your

comments regarding the political situation in India with very great interest

Needless to say I do not agree with everything the Tories say I am just as much for Pakistan as if I were a real Muslim We all think in this country that if the Muslim League plays its cards correctly, they will get all they want

As ever yours,
L LEINER
Managing Director

Y Haroon Esq ,
Messrs Sind Chemicals Ltd ,
Chamber of Commerce Buildings,
Wood Street, Karachi, India

184

Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah to M A Jinnah

F 286/25-28

SECRET SIND SECRETARIAT, KARACHI,
22 March 1947

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am sending you a separate letter[1] which you would kindly place before the Working Committee, but I wanted to give you some other facts which I did not like to incorporate in the other letter Hence I am writing this separately

2 The proposal contained in my accompanying letter is made after a talk with the Governor, which took place after the Party resolution had been passed in this behalf,[2] and I might tell you that the draft resolution has been framed in consultation with him He is also of the view that constitutionally nobody, neither the Central Government nor His Majesty's Government, can prevent us from moving this resolution and going ahead with the framing of a Constitution, as proposed by us

3 Viscount Mountbatten arrived in Karachi today, and the idea of our Governor was that we should put forth these facts in our talk with him when he comes In fact, the Governor himself talked about this to the Secretary to the Viceroy-designate when he arrived here Myself and the other Ministers had a talk with Viscount Mountbatten this morning, and I thought of giving

you a gist of our conversation with him

4 So far as the point raised by me is concerned, the impression that I got from him was that he would not object to the constitutionality or legality of the procedure proposed to be adopted by us

5 But his main point was the maintenance of law and order within the province or, in fact, within the whole of the Pakistan area when a separate provincial sovereign State or a Pakistan State was set up This, in fact, he said resolved into a question as to how the present army should be split up between Pakistan and Hindustan One proposal would be to have established three Commands one in the Western India, the other in the East, and the third for the rest of India, and send the Muslim members to the West and East Commands, and let the remaining stay in the third Command for the rest of India But this he described to be a difficult task. I made a suggestion to him to have three Federations one for Pakistan, the other for Hindustan, and the third for Indian States, and that all these Federations should, by treaties, set up a common army which should be used anywhere to meet the internal disorders and also any possible aggression from outside But he said that he had still an open mind and that he would decide the question after consulting all sections of opinion According to him this question was of the foremost importance as even the question of transference of power could not be given a final shape before this has been decided upon

He said that his general instructions were to see in what best ways the power could be transferred by June 1948, and when a definite question was put to him whether this transference of power could be delayed beyond June 1948 for any reason, he said that it could not be delayed except when all the parties in India requested the Britishers to stay on further When a question was again put to him as to[3] what would happen if, in terms of the declaration of February 20th, 1947, there was no constitutional authority which could maintain law and order at the time power was to be transferred in June 1948, his reply was that power was to be transferred except when a request was made to the contrary by all parties combined

6 I am sending both these letters through Mr Rahimbux A Soomro as I do not think it safe to send them by ordinary post

Trust you are doing well

Yours sincerely,
GHULAM HUSSAIN HIDAYATULLAH

[1]No 185
[2]See Enclosure to No 185
[3]No 1

185

Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah to M A. Jinnah

F 286/16-22

SECRET SIND SECRETARIAT, KARACHI,
22 March 1947

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

You are aware of the last declaration of His Majesty's Government made in the House of Commons on the 20th February 1947[1] In that the British Government have made it clear in paragraph 10 that if it should appear that a Constitution approved by the fully representative Constituent Assembly is not possible, His Majesty's Government will have to consider to whom the powers of the Central Government in British India should be handed over whether as a whole to some form of Central Government in British India or in some *areas to the existing Provincial Governments*[2] or in such other way as may seem reasonable and in the best interests of the Indian people

2 Cripps Offer in 1942, vide para (c) (i)[3] of the declaration, also contemplates that in certain circumstances His Majesty's Government will transfer power to, and enter into treaties with, individual Provinces which would frame their own Constitution

3 It is very clear from the existing relations between the Congress and the Muslim League that a Constitution framed by a fully representative Constituent Assembly will not be framed [*sic*]; and, therefore, transfer of power as a whole to some form of Central Government in British India is not possible In that case, transfer of power may, in some areas, be made to the existing Provincial Governments

4 This declaration of His Majesty's Government and the Cripps Offer, therefore, make it incumbent upon this Provincial Government to be ready to receive powers in case the British Government decide to do so

5 In paragraph 11 of the declaration of 20th February 1947, they again make it clear that although the final transfer of authority may not take place until June 1948, preparatory measures must be taken in hand in advance This [Sind] Government must, therefore, take preparatory measures in hand so as to be able to receive the final transference of powers in June 1948 should the British Government decide to do so.

6 In consequence, therefore, my Government have decided to set up

a Committee of 8 people, consisting of 6 Muslims and 2 non-Muslims, to be elected respectively by Muslim and non-Muslim Members of the Sind Legislative Assembly, by the method of proportional representation by a single transferable vote, with the necessary secretariat and office staff, to advise on the action to be taken from time to time to enable the Government of Sind to take over powers from, and enter into a treaty with, His Majesty's Government, and to make arrangements with other Provinces or parts of India by treaty, Union or otherwise, if and when these questions arise We propose, for this purpose, to move a Resolution on behalf of this Government in the Sind Legislative Assembly, calling upon the Muslim and non-Muslim Members of the House to elect the members of the above-mentioned Committee

7 In view of the declaration of His Majesty's Government referred to above, this Government is legally and constitutionally entitled to appoint such a Committee, and it will have the necessary sanction behind it also The draft Resolution proposed to be moved in the House is attached herewith.

8 The Committee so appointed will have powers to frame a Constitution for the future government of the Province of Sind and also to draft a Constitution for the Union of Provinces or parts of India, should it become possible for the province of Sind to unite with other Provinces or parts of India, for the purpose of administration of common subjects as a single Union or Centre

9 A provision could also be made for entering into a treaty with His Majesty's Government or other parts of India should such a necessity arise But we have not drafted the Resolution in those explicit terms and have chosen to use the language as embodied in the draft Resolution for the simple reason that such a decision may come directly in conflict with the powers of the present Constituent Assembly to frame a Constitution for India as well as for Groups and Provinces. We have, therefore, said in the Resolution that the Committee would "advise on the action to be taken from time to time to enable the Government of Sind to take over power" etc

10 It is thus clear that should there be no compromise between the Congress and the Muslim League, and the Congress goes on with the present Constituent Assembly in utter disregard of the Muslim League, the Muslim League will have to set up a Constitution-making body, through its Government in Sind, with all the legal sanctions behind it. The Committee set up by the Government of Sind could be used as a foundation or a starting off place for framing a Constitution for the Western India Pakistan areas

11. The Sind Legislative Assembly is in session at present and I very much like that we could move this Resolution in the present session; but I realize that, this being a matter of fundamental importance to the Muslim League, it would be necessary to obtain a decision of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League whether we should move this Resolution The Working Committee may also consider the language of the draft Resolution. I would therefore request you to place this matter as early as possible before the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League and to get me the necessary direction to move this Resolution in the Sind Legislative Assembly[4]

12 A similar step could then be taken in Bengal as well

13 As this is a matter of utmost importance to the whole of the Pakistan area in general, and to the future of the Province of Sind in particular, I would request you to invite two persons from Sind, in addition to the Members of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League, to take part in the deliberations I think you would ask me and the Premier of Bengal to be present; but I request that from Sind you may kindly invite Hon'ble Mr Abdus Sattar Pirzada also to attend the meeting of the Working Committee along with us since the whole idea incorporated in this letter has originally been conceived and developed by him

14 The present session of the Sind Legislative Assembly is to conclude by the end of this month, but should the Working Committee decide to authorise us to move this Resolution, a fresh session of the Assembly would be called forthwith for this purpose

Yours sincerely,
GHULAM HUSSAIN HIDAYATULLAH

No 1
Emphasis in the original
Para (c) (i) reads as follows
"(c) His Majesty's Government undertake to accept and implement forthwith the Constitution so framed subject only to
"(i) the right of any Province of British India that is not prepared to accept the new Constitution to retain its present constitutional position, provision being made for its subsequent accession if it so decides
"With such non-acceding Provinces, should they so desire, His Majesty's Government will be prepared to agree upon a new Constitution, giving them the same full status as Indian Union, and arrived at by a procedure analogous to that here laid down " See Appendix II
There is no evidence whether the Working Committee took up this matter

Enclosure to No 185

F 286/23-24

DRAFT OF THE RESOLUTION

This House takes note of H M 's Government's announcement of 20th February 1947 and of the Draft Declaration discussed by Sir Stafford Cripps with Indian leaders in March 1942, both of which contemplate that, in certain circumstances, H M G will transfer power to, and enter into treaties with, individual Provinces, which will frame their own constitutions, and in consequence resolves as follows

That a committee consisting of six Muslims and two non-Muslims, to be elected respectively by the Muslim and non-Muslim Members of this House by the method of proportionate representation by the single transferable vote, be appointed along with the necessary Secretariat and office staff, to advise on the action to be taken from time to time to enable the Government of Sind to take over power from and enter into a treaty with H M G and to make arrangements with other provinces or parts of India by treaty, Union or otherwise, if and when these questions arise

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Message from M A Jinnah on Pakistan Day

F 1022/64

BOMBAY,
22 March 1947

It was on the 23rd of March 1940 that the All India Muslim League laid down definitely the establishment of Pakistan as the goal of Muslim India This is the seventh year of our struggle for the realization of that goal

Every year the Muslim League has forged ahead and gone from strength to strength Muslim India has stood its tests and trials with wonderful solidarity, Pakistan has been getting nearer and nearer and we are fast reaching in our approach and the realization of it

The present conditions in India are far from peaceful and everywhere there is terrific tension and unrest We must, therefore, observe this day strictly in a peaceful manner and in complete co-operation with the authorities and maintain law and order I urge upon the

Musalmans all over India not to insist on taking out processions, or even upon holding public meetings, but every Musalman, wherever he or she is, should observe this day and reaffirm our resolve and determination to achieve our goal of Pakistan

Pakistan is the only practical solution of India's constitutional problem; Pakistan alone will lead to stable and secure governments in Hindustan and Pakistan and Pakistan alone will guarantee real progress, welfare and happiness of all the peoples inhabiting this vast sub-continent Pakistan means freedom and independence for Hindu India and Muslim India in their respective homelands where they are predominant One India is an impossibility For it can and will only mean the establishment of Hindu Raj—and for Musalmans, merely transfer from British domination to the Hindu Caste Imperialism A Constitution and Government attempting to function as an All India Central Government, reducing 100 million Muslims to an all-India minority can never succeed but only lead to terrific disasters, for it will mean the rule of one nation with its perpetual and brute majority over another nation of 100 million people

The only common ground and basis of a settlement is Pakistan, and I do hope that we may yet find a peaceful and amicable solution on that basis

But one thing is most essential At this critical moment in the history of Muslim India, we must stand absolutely united, come what may, and let us be ready to carry on our grim struggle and face all dangers and eventualities that may beset our path for the realization of our goal of Pakistan

I, once more, most earnestly appeal to every Muslim at this moment that he should rally round the banner of the Muslim League—the only authoritative representative organization of Muslim India We must, for the moment at least, bury the hatchet and whatever domestic differences there may be, we can solve them and settle them ourselves, but on the fundamental issue, I am happy to say that there is no difference of opinion and the Musalmans to a man stand firm for the establishment of Pakistan

187

M A Jinnah to Habib Bank Ltd., Bombay

F 861/94

22 March 1947

Dear Sirs,

I shall thank you to please purchase 3% 1957 Victory Loan of the face value of Rs 35,00,000 (Rupees thirty-five lakh) and debit the cost to the Current Account of Bihar Relief Fund with you If the balance at my credit is not sufficient to cover the cost, please intimate to me and I shall make up the deficiency

I understand that the price will be at or below Rs 102/8/-, free of brokerage and bank commission Please endorse the bonds in my favour

Yours faithfully,
M A JINNAH

Messrs Habib Bank Ltd,
Bombay

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Habib Bank Ltd, Bombay, to M A Jinnah

F 757/134

MAHOMEDALI ROAD, BOMBAY,
22 March 1947

Dear Sir,

With reference to your letter of date, we confirm having purchased on your behalf 3% 1957 V L [Bonds] @ Rs 102/7/9 net to you of the face value of Rs 35,00,000 (Rupees thirty-five lac only) free of brokerage and bank's commission, and note to debit the cost thereof to the Current Account of Bihar Relief Fund with us We shall intimate to you as desired if there is any deficiency in the balance at credit

We shall give the delivery of the Bonds duly endorsed in your favour as desired at our very earliest, latest by Tuesday, the 25th instant, to Mr Mohamedali Maniar, as personally instructed to our Chief Accountant

Yours faithfully,
DOSTMOHAMED H VISHRAM
General Manager

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Shareef Mateen to M A Jinnah

F 832/27

AMRITSA
22 March 19

Dear Sir,

As it was feared, scores of cities and towns in the Punjab are in tl grip of serious communal riots Many innocent people have been doi to death, while property worth crores of rupees has been destroyed

The riots were very severe in Amritsar—in the commercial ai political centre of the province A large part of the city has been raz to the ground The different communities have lost faith in each oth Life has become a constant worry

The public is tired of such a way of life, but there seems to be i way out On the other hand, the unsocial elements are getting on tl top and misleading the people They may try their hand at anoth flare-up

It is not possible to narrate the tale full of woes in these few line nor is it our desire to do so But we must draw your attention to tl fact that the present riots are not the result of some local trouble, n are they due to another mosque or temple incident It is the game power-politics, as indulged in by the political parties in India, that primarily responsible for the present flare-up Till this is stopp there can be no real peace and the Peace Committees etc will fun tion only on paper The Congress-League agreement is the only saf guard against riots It has become imperative for us to work for peaceful future rather than shed tears over what has happened

In my opinion, only a United Ministry can ensure peace and safet in the Punjab and can become the sound foundation for peace an unity in India If the major political parties in India write [*sic*] on som such basis, they will have the whole-hearted support of the working clas

Pinning our faith to your great popularity and sagacity, we ea nestly hope that you will leave no stone unturned to turn the tide i the country, thus saving it from the clutches of communal frenzy.

Yours faithfully,
SHAREEF MATEEN
President, District Trade Union Committee

190

Louis Mountbatten to M A Jinnah

F 22/22

THE VICEROY'S HOUSE, NEW DELHI,
22 March 1947

Dear Mr Jinnah,

I have arrived in Delhi today, and I write at once to say that I hope you will be able to come to Delhi soon to see me I look forward to seeing you

With good wishes,

Yours sincerely,
MOUNTBATTEN OF BURMA

M A Jinnah, Esq

191

Muslims of Chitral State to M A Jinnah

F 990/130-131

CHITRAL,
22 March 1947

Sir,

Most humbly and respectfully we beg to submit as under

That Chitral is a small State The people of this State are all Muslims But the ruler of the State, Muzaffar-ul-Mulk, is a cruel and dishonest man He counts himself as one of the members of the Muslim League Party On account of his cruelness [*sic*], all the people of the State hate the Muslim League Party

Therefore, we (public of Chitral) respectfully apply [*sic*] to you as you are the Great Leader of the Muslim League and proud [*sic*] of the Muslim Nation [all] over the world, but we are also Muslims

Therefore, this is your duty to help us and to prevent the cruel ruler from bad actions

This is also opened [*sic*] to the world that he has arrested the Governor of Drosh, Prince Hissam-ul-Mulk, without any crime. This innocent man is a prisoner at Loralai (Baluchistan) for a year He was

arrested without any Law [sic]. We apply [sic] to you that you wi
do mercy upon us and our innocent prince Hissam-ul-Mulk. If h
would be [sic] arrested under any Law, in that case we would b
happy

Now, you are a great leader and a Muslim and we are your brother
by religion You must make free us [sic] from the paws of this crue
man for the sake of *Qur'an*

We beg to remain, Sir,
Your most obedient
Muslim People of Chitral State, especial[ly
SHER
Subedar
MIR ZALA KHAN
Jamadar
ANONYM
Quartermaster Havildar
SAIDAN KHAN
Havildar

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Firoz Khan Noon to M A Jinnah

F 399/159-160

FALETTI'S HOTEL, LAHORE
22 March 194

Dear Mr Jinnah,

Please read the enclosed letter [1] Will there never be an end to you
mistrusting me? When momentous problems are facing us, do you
think I have nothing better to do than to send messengers to canvas
for me? In my opinion everyone is free to express his views for o
against me, that people have always done and will continue to do It i
not in my power to stop them, especially when I know nothing abou
them or their doings I myself wonder who sent Akhtar Ali to you.

Yours sincerely,
FIROZ NOON

PS I have just returned from Rawalpindi after a week's stay and
hope to return there soon as the Muslims are now being persecuted
and falsely implicated in cases There are several cases where the

army have shot innocent villagers When you come to Delhi, I hope to see you.

F N

[1]Not available in *QAP*

193

Syed Bashir-ul-Hassan to M A Jinnah

F 908/71-72
[Original in Urdu]

JHANSI,
22 March 1947

This is my story

I am an old employee of the G I P Railway[1] and the length of my service here is about 33 years I belong to village Magandi [?] which is situated in Mathura District I got no promotion in the Railways although the Railways could have promoted me Out of spite they did not raise my salary from Rs 50 to even Rs 51 Still, I continued to work very diligently I complained against the grant of daily allowance to others All the Heads and Divisional Officers who came here were Hindus who bore malice towards me In October 1945, the Head Booking Clerk, Mr Chhote Lal, and Assistant Station Master, Mr K L Mathur, tried to take undue advantage and greatly harassed me for religious and political (hatred for non-Congressites) reasons They made a false complaint against me to the D T.M ,[2] Mr Mukerjee, through A T M ,[3] Mr Chopra, and got me transferred because I was intolerable to them All these persons are alike I have made 150 representations so far but the authorities have taken no notice of them Rather, these had an adverse effect and I am being put to hardship in a number of ways and I have been transferred to [illegible] in Jhansi, to which place I had to go They stopped my rations at Mathura from 20 April 1946 I sent telegrams to all and sundry but nobody listened to me Consequently I sent [?] to Mathura and arranged for my rations brought this matter to the notice of the Divisional Officer but he, instead of helping me, made some false charges against me and wrote that I should be removed from the service But the charges could not be proved and I was reinstated after two months My salary for these two months was withheld, on account of which I am still suffering When I resumed my duty, I was accommodated

in lavatory-cum-bathroom, where I have been living all alone I have to cook my meals My children are at Mathura, and thus in a way they have become "orphans" I have to maintain two households in my meagre salary, which is very difficult in these hard days.

Secondly, I have appealed for payment of daily allowance for the period of my posting outside Mathura, but no heed has been paid to my request I have filed 150 representations since October 1945, but with no response I have been seeking an interview but no reply has been given to me

I now submit that I should get some promotion I have received no promotion since 1920 My daughter has come of age and I have to arrange for her marriage If I can go back to Mathura, it will be good for me My son is very sick and there is no hospital here In Mathura, I used to purchase good medicine for one anna, but similar facilities are not available here, and I am in great trouble I have written to everybody, which has only annoyed my superiors Now I request that I should be promoted, transferred to Mathura and paid my two months' withheld pay These are my last days What will they gain by ruining my family? They have transferred me out of spite and those people are still posted at Mathura If the affairs of booking office, parcel office and godown are looked into, everything will become crystal clear When I was posted there, they could not indulge in those practices That is why I have been posted away

I sent a similar application in November 1946 but to no avail Now people ask me tauntingly to write to the League So my request to the supporters of Islam is to come to my rescue Kindly give due consideration to my submissions, which have not stemmed from any mental disorder I am indeed extremely worried I have no house here to which to bring my family I humbly submit that since a very short period of my service is now left, you should kindly take pity on me

Thanking you,

Yours obediently,
SYED BASHIR-UL-HASSAN
General Clerk,
Railway Station,
GIP Railway, Jhansi

Great Indian Peninsula Railway
'Divisional Traffic Manager
'Assistant Traffic Manager

194

Begum Aizaz Rasool to Fatima Jinnah
F 832/24
[Original in Urdu]

WOMEN'S SUB-COMMITTEE OF THE
ALL INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE, LUCKNOW,
22 March 1947

Dear Madam,

I hope you have received my last letter

The meeting of the Committee has been scheduled to be held during the Easter holidays at Mrs Husain Malik's residence, 7 Albuquerque Road, New Delhi, on 5 and 6 April 1947 The meeting will begin at 3 p.m on 5 April, at the conclusion of which there will be a tea party to be hosted by Mrs Husain Malik We do hope that you would be able to participate Mrs Husain Malik and I shall appreciate intimation of your acceptance of the invitation

AGENDA

Minutes of the last meeting
Accounts Report
Discussion and Resolution on the Situation in Bihar and the Punjab
Action Programme of the Women's National Guards
Programme of Future Activities
Election with the President's permission
Any other business with the President's permission

BEGUM AIZAZ RASOOL

195

N. A Rizvi to M A Jinnah

F 886/146

SRIPURA, KOTAH (RAJPUTANA),
22 March 1947

Honourable Sir,

Most humbly I beg to get your permission allowing me to print your

"Photo-mark" on the labels of *Biri* bundles to be manufactured at our firm.

Hoping for a favourable reply,

I beg, etc.,
N A RIZVI
for Syed Brothers

196

M. Nazir Ahmad to M A Jinnah

F 822/11-14
[Original in Urdu]

OFFICE OF THE MUSLIM LEAGUE,
SANGUWAL, DISTRICT JULLUNDUR,
23 March 1947

Quaid-i-Azam *Zindabad!*
Pakistan *Zindabad!* Muslim League *Zindabad!*

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

I belong to Sanguwal, the place where the members of the Ahrar Party neither themselves listened to nor let anyone else listen to the speeches of eminent persons like Maulana Zafar Ahmad Sahib, Maulana Ashfaq-ur-Rehman Sahib and Mufti Muhammad Shafi Sahib when they visited Sanguwal during the last elections and hurled stones and brickbats on their car At that time, Muslim League-minded persons were few in numbers, but we served them to the best of our ability and repulsed as many of the brickbatting ruffians as we could But it was impossible for a handful of people to be a match for the huge tidal wave of the opponents Yet we served them (the visiting Muslim League dignitaries) as well as we could

There are many people here who belong to the Ahrar Party, while we Muslim Leaguers are only a few Still we are propagating the Muslim League creed and are informing the people about the Muslim League and Pakistan as far as we can, and are making appreciable progress But we are not well-informed about Pakistan and the Muslim League. Thus we desperately need some literature on Pakistan and your speeches and views. We also try to obtain booklets of Muslim League membership forms but failed to get any We hope to make many members if only these booklets are made available to us. We undertake to pay the postal charges

incurred in supplyıng them Since you are our Quaıd-ı-Azam (the Great Leader), we have every hope that for the sake of the Muslım League, you will not deny us supply of these books and will not mind supplying them free of cost

We gıve appropriate answers to the questions put to us by the Ahrar people, but we would be better equipped to meet their queries if we have the requested literature Already we are making some headway It is rather easy to bring neutral persons into the fold of the Muslim League, but it is very difficult to do so in the case of Ahrar persons, i e members of an opposition party Our task will become much easier if we have the above-mentioned books So, it is our most earnest and most urgent request that these books be sent to us at the earliest We also request you to please maintain correspondence with us in Urdu You have been born to lead us and you alone will lead us

A member of the Ahrar Party here has been saying that you have declared yourself to be Imam Mehdi We do not believe it Please write to us in your own handwriting what you really are We would be highly grateful if you would send us a copy of the Constitution of the Muslim League, ten copies of enrolment books with your instructions, your speeches and statements, and other literature on Pakistan If we still meet some questions to which we have no answers, we will seek your help through correspondence We are, of course, hopeful that for our guidance you will maintain correspondence with us

Yours etc ,
M NAZIR AHMAD
Office Secretary

Quaid-i-Azam *Zindabad!*
Pakistan *Zindabad!* Muslim League *Zindabad!*

I am a young man of 18 We are trying to raise funds for the newspaper *Nawa-i-Waqt* If possible, please send us 4 or 5 calendars of the Muslim League We shall be much obliged

This letter should be either read by the Quaid-i-Azam himself or read out to him word for word

With Your Help, O Allah,
We Shall Achieve Pakistan

Please note down my address which is given below

M. Nazir Ahmad s/o Taj Mohammad,
Office Secretary, Muslim League,
Sanguwal, via Mahatpur,
District Jullundur, Punjab

PS. Have you allowed Khizar Hayat to be the Prime Minister of the Punjab, as reported in the press today? Please write to me about this also.

197

S Mahmood Alam to M A Jinnah

F 976/140

PERSONAL & CONFIDENTIAL

SECUNDERABAD, DECCAN,
23 March 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

My wife and I are coming to Bombay for 3 or 4 days, arriving there tomorrow, the 24th instant I shall deem it a great privilege if you could possibly spare me a few minutes to permit my paying respects to you and to discuss one or two points of national interest My cousin, Laik Ali, perhaps will be seeing you today and might be mentioning me to you

I have been wanting to see you for a long time, and I do hope you would be able to grant me a short interview We shall be staying at the Taj, and your Secretary can ring me up there

With kindest regards and respects,

Yours sincerely,
MAHMOOD ALAM
Deputy Director,
Railway Location and Construction,
H E H The Nizam's State Railway

198

Mirza Asfandyar Begg to M A Jinnah

F. 886/151

ROOM NO 6, 2ND FLOOR, KALYAN BUILDING,
FALKLAND ROAD, BOMBAY,
23 March 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am an 80-year-old man belonging to an old Mughal family. I had

been in Rangoon and had a very big soap factory there But at the time of transfer from the hands of the British to the Japanese, I returned to India

Through the goodwill of Dr Ziauddin, I was appointed at the Aligarh Muslim University Industrial Class for teaching some arts to students of the High School and the Intermediate College But due to serious illness of my only daughter, I went to Delhi where I had to stay for more than a year

Now I have been in Bombay for the last eight months and want to do something for my community I am perfect in the following [industrial] arts

(1) Making toilet, glycerine, transparent and washing soaps,
(2) Silvering on metal, copper and brass,
(3) Manufacturing celluloid, kelloloid and bekeloid, etc

I shall be highly obliged if you will kindly grant me a few minutes to explain to you my aims and objects as I desire to start a school for young Muslims who want to do some work on independent lines

I beg to remain, Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
MIRZA ASFANDYAR BEGG

199

M A Hassan Ispahani to M A Jinnah

F 309/327

AIR MAIL

TEHRAN,
23 March 1947

My dear Mr Jinnah,

I write to ask you not to take any notice of Dr Sheikhzadeh's letter to you dated 14th March 1947[1] This gentleman called on me to-day and I told him that no special permission was necessary for any Muslim to work for the achievement of Pakistan nor was any designation or creation of office required He showed me a letter he had written to Nehru which disclosed his character in all its nakedness He is an unreliable man and in my opinion unworthy of trust I am forwarding a copy of this letter to Liaquat Ali as he has also written to him.

Yours very sincerely,
HASSAN

[1]Not available in *QAP*

200

M A Hassan Ispahani to M A Jinnah

Telegram, F. 309/326

TEHRAN,
23 March 1947

Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah, New Delhi

On Pakistan Day we pray for speedy achievement Pakistan, your health, long life

HASSAN ISPAHANI

201

Haji Balay Mohamed to M A Jinnah

Telegram, F 1130/196

COLOMBO,
23 March 1947

Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Bombay

Indian Muslims in Ceylon celebrated Pakistan Day Resolved in meeting to defend and further the cause of Pakistan the natural right of Indian Muslims Offered special prayers Allah might give Quaid-i-Azam and colleagues courage fortitude wisdom achieve cherished goal Pakistan Appeal all Indian Muslims unite enlist under Muslim League banner Pakistan *Zindabad*!

HAJI BALAY MOHAMED
President,
Ceylon Textile Merchants Association

202

Ghulam Ahmed Parvez to M A Jinnah

F. 886/149-150

37 TURKMAN ROAD, NEW DELHI,
23 March 1947

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

I was in Bengal during January-February and came to the Punjab at the end of the last month I am now returning to Delhi in a day or two I shall be grateful if you will kindly let me know (at my above address) whether you intend coming to Delhi in the near future or propose staying at Bombay for some time more

You are perhaps aware that I am on leave from my office since September last

I hope you are enjoying the best of your health

With all respects,

Yours obediently,
G A PARVEZ

203

Yusuf Quraishi to K H Khurshid

F 886/147-148
[Original in Urdu]

PERSONAL

CENTRAL JAIL, SRINAGAR,
23 March 1947

Respected brother,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

Received your letter of 14th March[1] Earlier I had written another letter to you before I went on hunger strike The hunger strike lasted 12 days, during which the Government, calling the Military inside the jail, subjected political prisoners to utmost violence, removed some to Jammu, mercilessly beat others, and forcibly arrested a number of them In short, the Central Jail is today nothing short of Karbala The jail Doctor is performing the duties of a C.I.D[2] inspector. It is a long story, so I am cutting it short. For the past 15 days I have been put under an armed guard Because of

hunger strike I lost nearly 12 pounds I am now getting better Keep praying for me

In to-day's letter you have mentioned some very strange things It is amazing, indeed, that you should talk about England after such a long time, and that you were not aware of my arrest earlier It means that you have been completely out of touch with the events of the past five months in Kashmir It seems that you have written this letter while under some sort of stress and strain However, here is the reply to your queries

There is no question of bargaining with the Government over the release of friends detained in Riasi [Sub-Jail] Our immediate problem is that of direct action, but about this our friends are keeping mum Mere release of the detainees should not be our goal I am prepared to prove that the friends have set at naught our eight-year-long struggle Time, labour and sacrifice are needed to remedy the situation that has arisen, and, according to reports, these things are lacking in our friends. The Muslim Conference cannot be strengthened by only condemning the action of the adversary from the stage, action is an absolute necessity

The situation in the Punjab and the Frontier Province is under study Relevant information about it is gathered from the *Civil & Military Gazette* and the *Statesman* It is a pity that things have worsened because of the Hindu-Muslim riots Kashmir is so far safe from them

I am not aware of how the Riasi friends are faring I am only hoping that they are well It is being said that the detainees of the Muslim Conference would be released before the Assembly session, that is before the 27th of March But the present situation indicates that the Government is not going to do so I wish to Allah that this may happen, so that the mettle of those indulging in mere paper work may be tested I agree with you that it would be better for us to remain out of it But the danger is that these friends may again adopt their old attitude, about which I wrote to you before going on hunger strike I had also thought of writing a few words to the Quaid-i-Azam But, as weakness overcame me and the situation worsened, I gave up the idea For the present, I do not feel the necessity of doing so May Allah preserve the old man Amen!

You have not told me anything about the Constituent Assembly Apparently the Congress seems to be determined to make it a success, and the Nawabs and Rajas seem to be supporting it Please inform me of the real situation

Kashmir seems to be the personal fiefdom of Kak Sahib which is

currently under military and defence rule No body cares for anyone. An ordinary constable enjoys more authority than a Governor

So far I have written some two dozen letters to the Governor, demanding supply to me of the *Dawn*, *Nawa-i-Waqt*, *Javed*, and also some books What to speak of granting to me a special class, they have imposed restrictions on my receiving clothes from home I shall, *Insha'Allah*, fight manfully against all odds I am deliberately not talking about other matters I hope you will answer my earlier letter I shall be grateful.

Yours sincerely,
QURAISHI

PS My address is already with you

[1]Not available in *QAP*
[2]Criminal Investigation Department

204

Malik Munawar Ahmed to M A Jinnah

F 886/158

BARI BASTI, SUBZI MANDI, DELHI,
24 March 1947

Respected Sir,

I do not want to destroy [*sic*] your precious time at this stage, but due to the following reasons I was compelled to trouble you

Advertisement for the constitution [*sic*] of Pakistan Cotton Mills Ltd at Calcutta is still given in the newspapers of Delhi and a branch office has been opened here I intended to purchase its shares and saw the Chief Organiser in his office During the course of interview with him, I pointed out certain things such as that the prospectus was not available

Due to this doubt I addressed two registered letters to Hon'ble H S Suhrawardy and Maulvi A K Fazlul Huq, copies and reminders issued to them are enclosed herewith for your kind perusal The acknowledgement receipts[1] received from them are [also] enclosed herewith, which may kindly be returned to me after perusal

For [*sic*] addressing the letters to them my idea was this that they should make an enquiry about it and confirm about the constitution [*sic*] of the mill, if really started, and, on the other hand, if it is not

correct, then why [should] the money of the Muslims has been destroyed [*sic*] for the word Pakistan (which is our aim)

Replies from them have not been received so far while the matter was urgent Therefore, I am approaching you with the deepest [*sic*] request kindly to move the attention of both the responsible men to this effect If the information is correct, I must do my duty to encourage the public to purchase the shares so that the difficulties of our blood brothers in Bengal should be removed to some extent

Yours most obediently,
M M AHMED

[1]Not printed

Enclosure to No 204[1]

F 886/159

COPY OF LETTER NO 8/MMA-47 DATED 6 MARCH 1947, FROM MALIK MUNAWAR AHMED TO HON'BLE H S SUHRAWARDY, PREMIER OF BENGAL, CALCUTTA

Advertisement for the constitution [*sic*] of Pakistan Cotton Mills at Calcutta is being given in the daily newspapers *Anjam* and *Payam* of Delhi It is doubtful if the Chief Organiser, who is holding his office in Delhi, is a responsible man I am, therefore, writing [to] you to please confirm that a Mill is really started in your province so that the public should not suffer any loss of money (if it is not constitued)

It is realised that it will take your precious time to investigate the matter (if it is wrong) to save the public I extremely [*sic*] request you to please go into the matter and let me have your reply by return of post The head office of the Mills is stated [*sic*] at 5, Dharamtalla Street, Calcutta

[1]Similar letters written to Fazlul Huq and reminders sent to him and Suhrawardy have not been printed However, they are available in F 886/160-163, 6 and 14 March 1947, *QAP*

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Yusuf Quraishi to K H Khurshid

F 886/168
[Original in Urdu]

PERSONAL

CENTRAL JAIL, SRINAGAR,
24 March 1947

Dear Brother,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

For the past fifteen days I have been in solitary confinement Torture has crossed all limits I dropped a letter[1] to you yesterday and have been driven to write to you again Yesternight it rained and the light went out A lantern was provided to help me in offering my prayers but it was taken away after only five minutes I told the Sikh Warder that it was not proper for him to do so I was locked up in the room, the Warder abused me in an obscene and vulgar language for at least 30 minutes An hour later the Superintendent came, who after listening to me perfunctorily said, "I am sorry" and went away Today I have written to the Chief Secretary, the Governor and the Inspector-General (Jails) all the details of this incident I have also sent a detailed account of it to Ishaq at Jammu Permission to offer prayers is refused They are harassing me one way or another There is nobody to inquire about it

Here is an account of another incident Pandit Srikanth, the representative of the Globe, was arrested under Section 524 a month ago Todate Jawaharlal, Maulana Azad and the Globe Agency People have sent telegrams to the Prime Minister The Nawab of Bhopal and Sir Sultan Ahmed have talked to Kak and also written to him Bakhshi[2] and others have also issued statements I felt the need to say it all because we also had our representatives but not a voice was raised for us

I was extremely pained by this incident It was well publicised, but there is need for more publicity I shall be grateful if you would take appropriate steps in this regard What to speak of special class and other facilities, they do not allow me even to sit in peace Reaction to it will embarrass them as well

It is said that those arrested under Section 524 will be released in about seven to ten days

Yours,
QURAISHI

[1]No 203
[2]Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad

206

Faiz Ali to M A Jinnah

F 762/51-52

MUSLIM NATIONAL GUARDS,
BOMBAY PROVINCE, BOMBAY,
24 March 1947

Respected Sir,

I, the undersigned, *Sardar-i-Zila*, C Ward, Bombay, beg to bring to your kind notice the following serious incident which took place on the 20th March 1947 at 2 p m at Cooperage Ground where the Bombay Muslim National Guards Sports were being held and Quaid-i-Azam distributed the prizes

At that time, *Salar-i-Subah*, Mr Inamdar, without listening to our appeal or case, lost his temper and asked the whole of the C Ward National Guards to walk out Thus we were compelled to remain out and were deprived of the opportunity to partake in the sports

In the interest of discipline and the future of the National Guards and in view of the position of the *Salar-i-Subah*, I request you to depute an impartial Inquiry Committee to sit in camera and hear my appeal The urgency of the matter is so great that unless this appeal is heard at the earliest convenience the whole of the C Ward National Guards may decide to tender their resignations and the most unfortunate precedence [*sic*] may be created in the history of the Bombay Muslim National Guards

Sir, I am a disciplined soldier and I have taken the liberty to address you this letter in the spirit of service above self I am sending a copy of this letter to *Salar-i-Subah* for his information and for such report as he may deem necessary to you

Your command and orders are awaited with the greatest respect for the cause to which we have pledged

I beg to remain, Sir,
Yours obediently,
FAIZ ALI
Sardar, C Ward, Bombay

Copies forwarded to
(1) *Salar-i-A'la*, A I M N G
(2) The President, City Muslim League, Bombay

(3) The President, C Ward Primary League, Bombay
(4) *Salar-i-Subah*, B M N G , Bombay (for information and necessary action)

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M Shaukat Ali to K H Khurshid

F 366/21-28

[SUB-JAIL] RIASI, KASHMIR,
24 March 1947

My dear Khurshid,

Your letter[1] reached me a few days ago Your programme was obviously changed and now I learn that you will be in Delhi next week So I am addressing this letter to Delhi Ishaq has also sent us your letter propounding the new plan for the adoption of the Muslim Conference[2] With parts of it we agree greatly Ch [Ghulam] Abbass and other colleagues are also here and we have thought over your proposals Before I deal with them, I wonder if you brought my suggestion to the notice of Mr Jinnah that, if possible, he should get into touch with His Highness[3] Your letter was silent on that point I am glad you agree with me that unless the League and Mr Jinnah take up the matter, nothing positive and constructive can be done in Kashmir

But what we are surprised about is the complete indifference and nonchalant attitude of the League vis-a-vis Kashmir What does not stand in the way of the Hindu Congress cannot prevent the League interfering, if only to a similar extent in Kashmir politics to the advantage of our organisation On the contrary, you have been over-cautious not to offend the Princely order, so that they may support you, and not the Congress, in the future Indian Constitution-making—which too they have not done However, I do not press for a radical re-orientation in the League policy vis-a-vis the States; but nothing should prevent the League from taking an active and positive interest in our affairs, responding actively to the developments and helping us in our endeavours No one even sent a volunteer to assist us in the elections[4] After the first statement by Mr Jinnah,[5] no one has opened his mouth even Everybody has forgotten Kashmir Look at the Congress and what they are doing for the National Conference—even if mingled with hypocrisy and window-dressing. Why can't the

Committee of Action, before whom you are hoping to bring the Kashmir situation, send two top-ranking members, like Nishtar and Daultana, to pay a visit to Jammu? The Assembly session will be on, everybody will be there and they can even meet Kak and bring pressure on him to come to his senses Now he knows we have no press, we have no one to take notice of our troubles and his gross injustices, and he is positively encouraged The moral effect of such a gesture will be great It will hearten our people, and when the Government knows that influential people are watching their activities, they will try to be straight So we strongly urge [that] a deputation of these two persons should be sent to Jammu immediately A statement or a resolution will not help us

I wonder if you know that in the absence of Ch [Ghulam] Abbass, no step can be taken by Hamidullah to initiate a new policy Unfortunately, the rift in our ranks has isolated him from Kashmir, which is very serious Even in Jammu a party of reactionaries is trying its worst to put obstacles in his way

The new plan suggested by you will also die before it is born if it is sought to be executed through any agency other than Ch [Ghulam] Abbass So his release is a *sine qua non* of everything that ought to be done This should be very clear to you so that what I have written above may be clear to you, and this is the reason why Kak is not releasing us Outside reports confirm our fears Even in this, the deputation I have mentioned could be of great assistance Have a frank and bold talk with Mr Jinnah

Now about Kashmir and its future I feel that you have ignored the emotional basis Pakistan has been for the great renaissance in the Muslim Nation Kashmir Muslims could not afford to remain unconcerned or untouched by its appeal or its possibilities This alone has been our justification to exist as a separate organisation from Sh Abdullah's[6] Once we talk of Kashmir for Kashmiris, we confirm Abdullah's policy and must fall in line with him Syed,[7] Khizar,[8] [and the] Frontier [leaders] have all been laid low by this appeal, and because in Kashmir the League has been indifferent, so Abdullah is still strong It is for this that I have all along urged a more active interference from the League

China is torn by a bloody civil war Russia is expanding its tentacles in Central Asia Britain alone has been standing in its way on the northern borders of Kashmir Gilgit and other Muslim States,[9] which have often rebelled against the Maharaja and which have been kept under his yoke by the British, will, with their withdrawal, either

walk into the Russian parlour or remain independent This is a meeting point of three Empires It is of vital concern to India, but more vital still for Pakistan. Kashmir alone cannot control or tackle this problem

The plan that you suggest—I mean keeping aloof from Pakistan for the time being, or giving a bait to the Maharaja not to walk into the Congress parlour—do you seriously believe that the Maharaja will be taken in, knowing as he does that he is surrounded by a ring of Muslim provinces which can always reduce him to subjection? Already papers like the *Hamdard* etc are urging the Maharaja to join Pakistan in his own interest rather than run after the will-o'-the-wisp of a nebulous *Akhand* Hindustan Even then if Hamidullah were to publicly propound it, he will be finished politically by the intensity of the propaganda that will follow in its wake

Pakistan holds out the green dream of Muslim rule No other ideal (as an ideal) can replace it or stir our people to action Don't forget Quit Kashmir[10] and Abdullah They, too, count in Kashmir Even if this arrangement is a stop-gap one, only Ch [Ghulam] Abbass can execute it

On our release, the rift between Jammu and Kashmir will be healed We can then talk, with certainty, of carrying both the provinces with us At the moment anything emanating from Hamidullah must be opposed by Mir Waiz and vice versa But your suggestion of tickling Maharaja's vanity, anointing him King, His Majesty, etc , has appealed to us

The Russian menace is likely to become more real as days roll on Besides, the National Conference also is for all practical purposes controlled and dominated by the Communist Party Ours being a native State, the revolutionary changes taking place and forcing us to change our policy radically, should also change the League [policy] Constitutionally, too, the League's attitude so far followed so relentlessly calls for a radical revision Have you never thought that, instead of isolating us and placating the Maharaja and Kak, if we organise ourselves and mobilise the support of the contiguous Muslim provinces and bring pressure on the Maharaja, it will bring him to his senses quicker than anything else? Don't you realise that, in spite of our following a conciliatory policy and even humbling our organisational prestige in so doing, the effect on Kak has been just the contrary? You cannot eliminate him from the picture With [him] only force counts The weak he will crush and trample These ideas must be brought to the notice of Mr Jinnah

Write to me on the address given to you already
I hope this note finds you in the best of health

Yours very sincerely,
SHAUKAT

[1]Not available in *QAP*
[2]Khurshid's letter to Ishaq not available in *QAP*
[3]See Enclosure to No 27
[4]Held in January 1947
[5]At the end of his last visit to Kashmir in 1944, Jinnah had advised Kashmiri Muslims to resolve differences through mutual discussions He also urged the State Government to allow the constitutional liberty of speech and freedom of thought
[6]Refers to Jammu and Kashmir National Conference
[7]G M Syed
[8]Khizar Hayat Khan Tiwana
[9]The principal among these States were Hunza and Chilas
[10]See No 128, note 3

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M Anwar to M A Jinnah

F 886/157

V & P O THANIL KAMAL, TEHSIL CHAKWAL,
DISTRICT JHELUM,
24 March 1947

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,
Assalaamo'Alaikum

Excuse me to write [*sic*] you this personal letter in wrong English and thus wasting your time

You must have been told the details of what has recently happened in the Punjab It is possible that you may be against this action of the Muslims, but I dare to assure you, "the beloved leader of Muslims", that the Punjab Muslims were forced to fight, and if they had not done so, their existence was in danger You can judge and know these things better than anyone [else]

The present position of the Punjab, especially of my sub-division (Chakwal) in Jhelum district, is this that there is complete military rule here Most of the honourable Muslims are being arrested on false reports though innocent they are, and their houses are being searched, and many unlawful and shameful methods are being adopted in the name of law

I most humbly and earnestly request you kindly to take personal interest and see that these Muslims are provided with every kind of legal aid and financial help

Your most obedient soldier,
M ANWAR

209

Cawnpore Retail Yarn Association to Louis Mountbatten (Copy to M A Jinnah)

F 928/9

GENERALGANJ SOOT BAZAR,
CAWNPORE,
24 March 1947

Exalted Sir,

We commercial people are feeling some relief when it has come to our notice that your arrival in India would solve the difficulties of business and [improve] the economic condition of the country by relaxing the control orders imposed due to war emergencies by enforcing the legal rights of Your Excellency as due to some misunderstandings prevailing in public mind, it has been publicly announced that the Viceroy has no powers in the Centre to move any thing over the existing control orders

APPEAL

While you will find from the above how commercial people in general and the masses of the country are pain-stricken [*sic*] to solve the difficulties by approaching your good self, we attach hereto a copy of a letter addressed to the Secretary, A I C C, Allahabad, dated 24 3 47, for favour of watching the retrospective, present and future steps [that] are necessary and request Your Excellency to take such measures which may relieve the economic condition of the country and receive sympathies of the peaceful[ly] living subjects

Yours faithfully,
for Cawnpore Retail Yarn Association
JUGGI LALL
Secretary
KAILASH NATH
President

Enclosure to No 209

Juggi Lall to the Secretary, All India Congress Committee, Allahabad

F 928/7-8

Dear Sir,

While your President's statement published in the newspapers sometime in the last week of February, 1947, calling the Parliamentary Boards of the provinces to cooperate with the general public by giving them relief and utilizing the powers the Congress Government hold and relaxing such control measures which can help the economic condition of the country, gave the commercial people some sort of relief and some of the control orders have begun relaxing, but we find no reason why control of cloth and yarn has not been relaxed for which only some big capitalists are responsible to gain the fat profits (especially industrialists) thereby depriving the small capitalists who have no other means of their income excepting the usual business The businessmen have to make their arrangements according to their previous, present and future income While, since the creation of war, fates of such middle-class businessmen together with their employees have been thrown out unsettled, one can easily imagine how long this distressing condition will prevail and the means [*sic* for steps] the existing government would take to remove such bans It is India where we are not yet settled to receive our citizenship rights which have been curtailed due to some war emergencies and as it is about a year [that] cessation of war was declared, we find no reason why our normal rights are not reinstated [*sic*] Nor has any easement under this ban been made and we find people are taking undue advantages in some places for which no proper checking has been introduced

While the Cawnpore Kapra Committee has been entrusted with some facilities to solve the difficulties of his [*sic*] members with the help of control authorities, we find no reason why similar facilities are not afforded to yarn dealers with the help of our Association

We would like to refer to you in this connection that our Association is a registered body, and we are in communication with your Provincial Authorities of the U P Government, which you may seek from the office of the Premier, U P Government, Lucknow, by giving reference of his letter No 2863/XXIX-B(D)-661/1945 dated 26 12 46 and relative [*sic*] communication, but [we] regret to invite your attention [to the fact] that although months are passing by, no favourable responses are given by them to solve the problem

May we hope that you will take up the matter with the appropriate authorities and frame such rules with the help of Central Legislative

Assembly that can relieve our distressing condition at least and further manage to relax the existing Control Order of cloth and yarn

Yours faithfully,
for Cawnpore Retail Yarn Association
JUGGI LALL
Secretary
KAILASH NATH
President

Copy forwarded to the President, Muslim League, Delhi, for favour of relieving the middle-class businessmen (including weavers) of the country alikewise our above suggestions promptly and legally [*sic*]

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Egbert Dial to M A Jinnah

F 1057/74-75

P O BAHERI (DIST BAREILLY), U P ,
24 March 1947

My dear Mr Jinnah,

I am an Indian Christian doctor, lover of Mr M A Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League (Bombay), whom I consider the only real and sympathetic leader of India for the poor and the helpless persons of the minority community, which is mentioned in my letter to the U P Congress Government also

At present I have become a poor person, ruined by the Congress Ministry I look to you to save my life and pension

The U P Government has forfeited my leave pay and pension as I am a lover of Mr Jinnah I wrote an article also to the *Pioneer* about you on 30 June 1946, but it was not accepted which I attach herewith in original for your kind perusal

I am writing this letter to you with tears in my eyes You [are] my saviour on earth and God above in Heaven to help me financially with at least Rs 1,000 as I am in heavy debt due to fighting with the U P Congress Government for more than one year which has ruined me due to above reasons and gave no pay or maintenance allowance for one year

I am in a dying condition with a big family to support My niece, whose expenses I am bearing, was going to appear from Aligarh Muslim University for High School Examination in May 1947 Although the examination fee has been deposited but [she] will not be able to do so because I have no money to put [*sic*] tutors for her and to bear [her] expenses for going to Aligarh for the examination

I have no money to fight my case in the court or feed my family properly, for which I most humbly request you to take up my case in your hands and please [help to] restore my service and pension I have done 31 years' good and meritorious service in the U P Medical Department

I am like a mad man now Please have mercy on me May God bless you and grant you long life to see Pakistan perfect [*sic*]

In case you will not help me *immediately*,[1] there is every danger of my death

My eyes [are] anxiously waiting for your reply soon Pray do something at once for me Please appoint somebody from the U P to look into my case for fully explaining it to you since I am much worried and am like a mad fellow Please see that I am allowed by the U P Government voluntary retirement and all full average-pay leave due be granted to me with effect from 9 February 1946 Further 4 months' leave preparatory to retirement and then permission to retire from the date it falls [due] Please excuse me for the trouble given

Best wishes to [your]self I am always at your service Please make me a member of the Muslim League of India I shall be much grateful to you if you would kindly inform me by express wire about sending help to me

Yours very sincerely,
(DR) EGBERT DIAL

[1]Emphasis in the original

Enclosure to No 210

F 1057/76-78

The Editor,
The *Pioneer*

WARNING TO INDIAN CHRISTIANS

Sir,

I shall be much grateful to you if you would kindly publish this warning to Christians

We are now passing through the Atomic age, and we Christians must open our eyes and be careful in seeing that who is our enemy or [who is our] friend The Congress is purely a Hindu organisation, its motto is solely selfish to achieve long-lost Hindu *Raj*. They show that they are fighting for the independence of India No It is a farce Once they gain their object they will not even look on Christians but will kick them like South Africans [are] kicking Indians They are trying to be friendly with Christians to gain majority, but internally they cannot see a Christian flourishing but are pleased to see him starving and do not care to listen or see to his suffering

Mr Jinnah is the only leader of India who has been able to see them [*sic*] through their selfish hearts and has given a warning to all in his article in the *Leader* dated 29th June 1946

The Congress condemns the Hallet[1] regime but they must be grateful to God that Hallet only saved U P from civil war, destruction and horrible troubles This strict and just discipline will ever shine in India

[The] Congress leaders are simply greedy of pomp and show but they will not care even to reply to the letter of a starving or dying Christian

They are very busy in digging the graves of their own men and giving life to the skeletons

Famous leader of the Congress, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru,[2] who went to Kashmir to arrange for the defence of Mr Abdullah simply to gain honour and fame in the eyes of the world He has no time to look into the grievances of any poor individual, if approached

The Congress talks too much of anti-corruption, but if a Hindu is caught for corruption, he is overlooked but others [are] brought to book immediately

I, therefore, warn my Christian brethren not to be tempted by the false love of the Hindu Congress which is shown now by offering seats in Provinces and in Centre to the Christians, but to fight for their rights Union is strength, but it works against [it] in India In the end, union with the Hindu Congress will bring complete destruction to Christians Hindus hate Christians

The Hindu Congress will surely vanish from India like Hitler's Nazism

Anyone wishing more light on this subject is quite welcome to have correspondence with me through the editor of the *Pioneer*

AN INDIAN CHRISTIAN SUFFERER

[1]Sir Maurice Garnier Hallet, Governor of UP

[2]Nehru visited Srinagar on 24 July 1946 to arrange for defence of Sheikh Abdullah who had been imprisoned in connection with "Quit Kashmir Movement "

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Yusuf A Haroon to Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah
(Copy to M A Jinnah)

F 274/307

NAPIER ROAD, KARACHI,
24 March 1947

Dear Sir,

You are aware that as a result of underhand and illegal methods adopted by anti-League forces, the League lost, during the last general elections of the Sind Legislative Assembly,[1] one seat, namely that of the Upper Sind Frontier District, Rural Muslim Central (Thul Taluka) constituency But in spite of all the tactics adopted by the opposition forces, the margin by which the League candidate was declared to have lost was so small that it appears very likely that if the counting of votes had been made with due care, the League candidate would have won

In view of the glaring illegalities resorted to by the League candidate's opponent in the course of the election, the League candidate has filed an election petition, which has now been pending decision since more than a month ago [*sic*]

As the general feeling amongst responsible people of the constituency is that this petition is based on very cogent reasons and strong evidence, several deputations consisting of leading people of the constituency have waited upon me to impress upon me the urgency of the matter both in the interest of the organisation and for the public good, especially in view of the part that the sitting member from this constituency (Sardar Khan Khoso) played during the course of the last Assembly, which owed its dissolution in no small measure to that part

In view of the important issues involved in the matter and also in the interest of the organisation, I deem it my duty to request you kindly to move His Excellency the Governor to be pleased to admit the League candidate's election petition without further loss of time so as to check the mischief that delay is otherwise likely to cause in this matter

Yours truly,
YUSUF A HAROON
President, Sind Provincial Muslim League

The Honourable Shaikh Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah,
Premier, Sind Government

[1]The third general elections to the Sind Assembly were held in December 1946

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M A Jinnah to Manzar-i-Alam Ansari

F 227/24

24 March 1947

Dear Mr Manzar-i-Alam,

I am in receipt of your letter of 19th March[1] and I cannot possibly say when I shall be reaching Delhi But your best course is really now to keep in touch with Mr Nishtar, who, I see, is taking interest in the All India States Muslim League It is not possible for me to attend to each and every problem, as you see I am already pressed with matters which leave me no time

Yours sincerely,
M A JINNAH

Manzar-i-Alam Ansari, Esq ,
All India States Muslim League,
Liaison Office,
Delhi

[1]No 156

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M A Jinnah to Habib Bank Ltd , Calcutta

F 757/135

24 March 1947

Dear Mr Baakza,

I am in receipt of your letter of 21st March 1947[1] and also a draft for Rs 55,092/4/6 (Rupees fifty-five thousand and ninety-two, annas four and pies six only) which was the balance left in your hand after incurring the necessary expenditure from the advances that I had made to your Committee and I acknowledge the receipt of it

I thank you and your Committee for all the trouble you have taken and managed so well the administration of the funds that were placed at your disposal Please convey my thanks to your Committee

Yours sincerely,
M A JINNAH

A W Baakza, Esq ,
Habib Bank Ltd ,
Calcutta

[1]Not available in *QAP*

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M A Jinnah to Habib Bank Ltd , Delhi

F 156/64

24 March 1947

Dear Sir,

I am enclosing herewith two cheques and one demand draft, all totalling Rs 3,190 (Rupees three thousand, one hundred and ninety only) which amount, on realization, please credit to my Bihar Relief Fund Account opened with you, and issue receipts direct to the donors as per the list of names and addresses attached

Kindly acknowledge receipt

Yours faithfully,
M A JINNAH

The Agent,
Habib Bank Ltd ,
Chandni Chowk,
Delhi

Enclosure to No 214

F 156/65

	Donors' names & addresses	Rupees
1	Lt Col Anis Ahmad Khan, Aftab Manzil, Aligarh (U P) Cheque on Imperial Bank of India, Aligarh	505
2	Mr Wajih-ud-Din Khan, Kucha Saadat Khan, Daryaganj, Delhi Cheque on Imperial Bank of India, Delhi	30
3	Mr M A Sheikh, Honorary Secretary, The Nyanza Muslim Social Service League P O Box No 227, Kisumu, Kenya (East Africa) Barclays Bank Dr to The Eastern Bank Ltd , Bombay	2,655
	Total	3,190

215

M A Jinnah to A H A Khadbai

F 886/72

24 March 1947

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of 27th February[1] and thank you for it

I beg to inform you that I cannot interfere in the matter as suggested by you I notice that the Hon'ble Minister-in-charge, Industries Department in Sind, has been apprised of your proposals and I have no doubt that he will do justice in the matter You cannot even have any apprehension as he happens to be a Muslim You will see that it will not be right for me to make any recommendation, besides I have no time to examine your scheme of putting up a textile mill at Karachi, before I can express any opinion with regard to it

Yours faithfully,
M A JINNAH

Ahmed Hajee Ayub Khadbai,
Khadbai Brothers,
Khadbai Building,
Porbandar (Kathiawar)

[1]No 50

216

Mohammad Aslam Khan to M A Jinnah

F 886/154-156

CANAL BUNGALOW, RAHIM YAR KHAN,
BAHAWALPUR STATE,
24 March 1947

My respected leader,

This is my first letter to you in which I want to bring certain things to your notice Before I say something, I would like to introduce myself to you I am an ordinary college student I have the honour to say that I have not the least interest in getting any position in the League.

In this letter my main object is to point out those men who are

proving themselves [*sic*] disgraceful to the League The League leaders put up a very bad show during agitation in the Multan District They adopted such methods by which we had every chance of conflict among ourselves, but, due to [the help of] some young students of the college, we prevented this unfortunate thing to come in existence [*sic*]

I have noted the following defects in the Multan League leaders

(1) All the big offices of Multan City and District League are in the hands of the Gillani *Pirs* They think it to [be] their birthright When they were in jail, they often used to boast that the League had done nothing, but they had done a lot for the League (during elections they mean)

(2) They tried and [are] trying by all kinds of their underhand means to crush or to defeat the sincere workers of the League

(3) But why all this? It is because they want those workers who respect them according to the rules and regulations of *Piri Muridi*

(4) These Gillani leaders, as I call them, handed over before their arrest the charge to such persons who were nothing but duffers or fools as we can call them They were the first-class timid [*sic*] out of the bogus lot

(5) The President of the City League, Ghulam Nabi Shah, was the main cause of the failure of the League work during agitation

Now I relate in short the whole story

It was the second day of our agitation when Ghulam Nabi Shah announced in the public for the next day gathering in the *Aam Khas* garden The public of Multan showed very good spirit and they started gathering at the time The time was 3 o'clock It struked [*sic*] 5 o'clock, but there was no trace of the President, Ghulam Nabi Shah The public started murmur and whispering [*sic*] when they saw the Presidential chair vacant for two hours At last the Devil in the shape of a human being appeared and the public shouted slogans in his honour The public was very anxious to see him in the chair, but he refused to take the chair and ordered the workers to start the work The public was much disappointed, disgusted and disheartened by this act of Ghulam Nabi Shah No speech was delivered by anyone After a few minutes the time and place for the next day's gathering were announced and the procession started to[wards] the police station At this stage, there was no leader to lead the procession of one lakh [persons] The public asked the President, Ghulam Nabi Shah, to lead the procession, [but] he at once ordered [the procession] to stop, and then he made a short speech, [saying] that no one was the leader and [asked the people to] carry on I was quietly seeing the work of this Devil up to this stage I could not remain

more quiet [*sic*] and rushed to this Devil and asked him the cause of his hesitation He replied me [*sic*] that it was a secret The secret was that the fellow had been ordered by the Punjab League [High] Command not to offer himself for arrest The next day, the reaction to the previous day's happening, was this that nobody turned to [*sic*] the place mentioned No procession was taken out The police was happy on their victorious work. It gave me and some of my co-workers a great shock I made full enquiry and when Maj Khurshid came, I brought this thing in [*sic*] his notice. I found the Devil misleading the public and then I discussed the matter with Major Sahib After that we young men of the [*sic*] Multan formed a Committee of Action Now question arised [*sic*] about money Where to get and how to get was the problem before us All the League money was with Nawab Muhammad Aslam Khan, another duffer who vanished from Multan and did not reappear till the agitation finished He betrayed the League and to [*sic*] us in this way All the new [*sic*] appointed leaders did not appear during the agitation Now, when these *Pirs*, in or outside the jail, heard that the young party was getting popular among the public, they played a new trick It was this that they started saying to every visitor to them [*sic*] in the jail that the public should not trust our young men So, under this [*sic*] circumstances, we carried on our work We are very much thankful [first] to God and then to Mr Nobahar Shah, MLA, and to [*sic*] Mr Mulla Abdulla Sahib They gave us every type of co-operation After the agitation was over, everybody was expecting that the traitor would be punished But it was a great surprise to everyone that they were re-elected for [*sic*] their respective posts, what to say of punishment The District League invited us in [*sic*] their meeting and served a notice upon our young men that they proved harmful to the *Pirs* We were not allowed to say anything regarding those men who betrayed the League [just] because they were from [among] these *Pirs* When they insulted us in this way, we could not tolerate it and walked out Every man of [the] Action Committee was furious and loosed [*sic*] temper I made them understand that whatever they [the young men] have done was for the Muslims, and thus the matter was [not] pressed

This was the matter which I wanted to bring in [*sic*] your kind notice It is my request to you that this letter should be considered as a [*sic*] secret Our party still exists under the banner of the League and your leadership but not under these *Pirs* and *Nawabs* of Multan It will come in[to] action automatically whenever the call will come from you

Now I give the names of the traitors

(1) Ghulam Nabi Shah, President

(2) Nawab Muhammad Aslam Khan
(3) Alamdar Sahib and so many others

The men who worked sincerely are as follows

(1) Syed Saeed Ahmed Sahib, B A , LL B
(2) Sheikh Abdur Razzak Sahib, Bar-at-Law
(3) Dr Bashir Ahmed Sahib, M B B S
(4) Abdur Rashid Siddiqi Sahib
(5) Abdul Hakim Sahib, Proprietor, Multan Transport Bus Service (He did marvellous work He gave his buses for transportation)
(6) Syed Nobahar Shah Sahib, MLA
(7) Mulla Abdulla Sahib, landlord of Multan
(8) The sister of Syed Saeed Ahmed Shah, Women's League worker

I pray from [*sic*] God to give you long life and honour At the last [*sic*], I request in [*sic*] your honour if you kindly drop me a few lines so that I may keep myself in touch with you

Yours obediently,
MOHD ASLAM KHAN
s/o H N K QUMMAR, ESQR ,
Executive Engineer

217

Mahomedali A Mahomed to M A Jinnah

F 886/152-153

208 NISHANPADA ROAD, KHADAK, BOMBAY 9,
24 March 1947

Subject My letter dated 18th February 1947,[1] addressed to you at Karachi, for your kind permission and approval to start "QUAID-I-AZAM BRAND TEA"

Respected Sir,

Most respectfully I beg to lay before you the following few humble lines for your earnest and favourable consideration

It is my misfortune that up to now I have not received any reply from you to the above letter At present I am so much worried and disappointed by the financial difficulties that I have no other means to approach anybody except you Therefore, I request you most sincerely to have mercy on my family's condition and stretch your hand of help and favour

me by giving me the kind permission and approval requested

Hoping to be excused for the trouble given and thanking you in anticipation for your immediate favourable reply,

I beg to remain, Sir,
Yours obediently,
MAHOMEDALI AHOMED MAHOMED

N B I shall be highly grateful if you can spare a few minutes to allow me to see you personally so that I may be able to explain my whole difficult position more clearly

[1]Not available in *QAP*

218

Mohamed Ali Maricar to M A Jinnah

Telegram, F 560/32

KUALA LUMPUR,
24 March 1947

Quaid-i-Azam *Janab* Jinnah, Bombay

Pakistan Day meeting Indian Muslims Kuala Lumpur resolved sacrifice their all to achieve Pakistan under leadership Quaid-i-Azam *Janab* Jinnah

MOHAMED ALI MARICAR
President,
Indian Muslim Association, Kuala Lumpur

219

Mostafa Momin to M A Jinnah

Telegram, F 560/29

NEW DELHI,
24 March 1947

Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah, Bombay

Sending on behalf of the Muslim Brotherhood all over the Middle East hearty Pakistan Day greetings

MOSTAFA MOMIN

220

President, Indian Muslim League, Singapore, to M A Jinnah

Telegram, F 560/31

SINGAPORE,
24 March 1947

Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah, Malabar Hill, Bombay

Singapore Muslims celebrated Pakistan Day Resolved to support achieve Pakistan Have full confidence in the Quaid-i-Azam's leadership

President, Indian Muslim League

221

Habib Ibrahim Rahimtoola to M A Jinnah

F 419/14

ISMAIL BUILDING, HORNBY ROAD, FORT, BOMBAY,
24 March 1947

My dear Mr Jinnah,

With reference to our conversation last Friday, I am enclosing herewith the list as required by you I shall ring up during the course of the day and fix up an appointment convenient to you

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
HABIB I RAHIMTOOLA

Enclosure to No 221
Indo-Europa Trading Co , Bombay, to the Proprietor, Sanj Vartaman Printing Press, Fort, Bombay

F 419/16

9 DALAL STREET, FORT, BOMBAY,
24 December 1946

Dear Sir,

As desired by you, we have gone round your press and have seen the machinery and materials of your press According to to-day's ruling prices of foreign second-hand and re-built machinery, we think the prices of your machinery and materials should be as under

		Rs
1	Cutting Machine (by Harrild & Sons) with New AC Motor	10,000
1	Linotype Model 4 with New AC Motor	15,000
1	Monotype Composition Caster and	
2	Monotype English Keyboards with New AC Motor	25,000
2	Double-Feeder Printing Machines with New AC Motor	35,000
2	Quad-Demy Printing Machines with New AC Motor	30,000
1	Quad-Crown Printing Machine with New AC Motor	14,000
2	Double-Demy Printing Machines with New AC Motor	20,000
1	Brehmer Folding Machine Double Royal with New AC Motor	6,000
1	Spencer & Cook Newspaper Folding with New AC Motor	2,000
1	Card-Board Cutter	300
2	Brehmer Stitching Machines	3,000
1	Chandler & Price Treadle Royal-Folio with New AC Motor	5,000
1	Chandler & Price Treadle Demy-Folio with New AC Motor	4,000
1	Chandler & Price Treadle Cap-Folio with New AC Motor	3,000
1	Thompson Automatic Type-Caster, Material English and Gujerati	15,000

3 Hand Type Casters	1,500
1 Hand Press	800
1 Galley Press	200
1 Knife Grinder	300
1 Type Metal Furnace	500
Type Metal & Types 75 tons	1,68,000
Racks, Cases, Composing Sticks, etc	10,000
Galleys 800	2,400
Miscellaneous Articles	9,000
Total	3,80,000

Thanking you,

We remain, Dear Sir,
Yours very truly,
[UNSIGNED]

222

Haroon Haji Abdul Sattar to M A Jinnah

F 854/18-19

AKHADA FALIA,
P O VANTHALI (SORATH), KATHIAWAR,
24 March 1947

Respected Sir,

I beg to enclose herewith a copy of my letter [which] appeared in the *Dawn* of the 16th instant Kindly have a glance at it

In this connection I beg to say that the Memon community, as you are well aware, is backward both in education as well as in politics Consequently, though famous for trade, they don't know how to approach League leaders and air their grievances I earnestly request you to kindly get in touch with them, send League leaders to Kathiawar and persuade them to divert their attention to the Pakistan Zones At the same time, please issue instructions to the League Ministries to contact them, giving every facility in commerce and industry

When your honour visited Calcutta last year, I wanted to lay before you the above facts Though on 7 April 1946 I met you in the Muslim Chamber of Commerce, I could not get the opportunity [to do so] After that I went away to Burma

I am sorry to say that as a Burma refugee, I tried much to secure some help for [obtaining] licence, permits, etc , from the Bengal Government but was denied [it] Now I have re-established myself there (Burma) Please direct the Premiers of the League Governments to be more lenient towards the Muslims If permits, licences and quotas are granted on the basis of previous records, it is impossible for the Muslims to progress in commerce, as all old merchants are Hindus

Further, I beg to write here that the Indian Muslims in Burma are dominating the Hindus and Burmans all over the country, in every sphere of business The Congress leaders have started their wicked tactics there also They incite the Burmese public against the Muslims Please help us, if possible, and contact the Aung San Government.

I fully realise your honour's heavy engagements and, therefore, I hope you will excuse me for the trouble

A reply in this connection will oblige, ensuring the receipt of this letter

I beg to remain,
Your brother-in-Islam,
HAROON HAJI A SATTAR

Enclosure to No 222

F 854/20

LETTER TO THE EDITOR[1]

INDUSTRIES IN PAKISTAN

Sir,

Among Muslims of Kathiawar, Memons are financially very strong They have invested crores of rupees in Hindustan Zones, viz Bombay, Madras, and Central and United Provinces, and are getting a bad deal from the Congress Ministries of these provinces I suggest that they should now concentrate on industrialising the Pakistan Zones

HAROON HAJI A SATTAR

[1]*Dawn*, 16 March 1947

223

Gulamhusein Thaver to M A Jinnah

F 679/88

BRITISH INDIA PRESS, LOVE LANE,
MAZAGAON, BOMBAY 10,
24 March 1947

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am sending you a copy of the *Vatan* weekly[1] in which the special photos of your visit to Cairo on the way to India from England were exclusively published These photos were obtained by me through Mr Hlavacek of the United Press Agency

Due to our machine difficulties, we have not been able to get good imprints, though the original photos were excellent

As mentioned in my last letter[2] regarding some machinery talk which Mr Tharani had with you, I would be pleased if you would favour me with the pleasure of an interview with you

Sincerely yours,
GULAMHUSEIN THAVER

[1 & 2]Not available in QAP The *Vatan* was a leading Gujerati journal, founded by Jinnah

224

Mohammad Yakoob to M A Jinnah

Telegram, F 560/18-19

MHOW CANTT (CENTRAL INDIA),
24 March 1947

Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Bombay

Mhow Muslim mammoth meeting celebrating Pakistan Day resolved re-affirmation of their complete faith in Quaid-i-Azam who is assured of every sacrifice in the achievement of Pakistan

MOHAMMAD YAKOOB
President, Mhow Muslim League

225

M. Yunus to Obaidur Rahman Khan
(Copy to M A Jinnah)

F 680/112

DAR-UL-MALIK, FRASER ROAD, PATNA,
24 March 1947

My dear Obaidur Rahman Sahib,

Reference your registered letter No D 3054, dated the 1st March 1947,[1] your note to His Excellency the Governor of Bihar dated the 1st March 1947,[2] and your letter of 4th March[3] to me, I have to inform you that I have sent all the necessary papers to the Secretary to His Excellency the Governor of Bihar and I have asked him to take immediate action I have this morning phoned up Mr D H Crofton, Secretary to His Excellency, who promises that the matter will be decided within a day or two I have impressed upon him the desirability of an urgent decision as the boys need money very urgently In the meanwhile, I have to request you to spend up to Rs 5,000 from your University Funds on these boys on behalf of the Bihar Muslim League Central Relief Committee I undertake to recoup you [the money] in case the Governor of Bihar does not see his way to make a grant to the Muslim University for helping the Bihari students who have either suffered themselves or the supporting members of their families have suffered during the recent troubles Please treat this as very urgent and do not allow the boys to suffer on that account You will appreciate my anxiety to get this money out of the Governor of Bihar, as I am first anxious to get the money from him if possible, failing which the Relief Committee is prepared to shoulder the burden, but the boys should on no account be permitted to suffer

Yours sincerely,
M YUNUS

Obaidur Rahman Khan,
Muslim University, Aligarh

[1,2 & 3] Not available in *QAP*

226

French Indian Muslim League, Ambagaratur, to M A Jinnah
Telegram, F 560/41

PERALAM,
24 March 1947

Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Bombay
Pakistan Day celebrated peacefully twenty-third
FRENCH INDIAN MUSLIM LEAGUE
Ambagaratur

227

Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah to M A Jinnah

F 286/31

SEAFIELD ROAD, KARACHI,
25 March 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I have written two letters[1] to you before but I did not like to write what I am writing now as I did not wish to trouble you since you are already troubled so much

I am pulling on with great difficulty with an ill-assorted team, though we have been doing very well The League is unfortunately being exploited for the benefit of individuals

I wish you every success in your selfless efforts for the achievement of Pakistan

Hoping you are both doing very well, I am, with kind regards and all good wishes to both of you,

Yours sincerely,
GHULAM HUSSAIN

[1] Nos 184 and 185

228

M A Jinnah to Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah

F 286/32

25 March 1947

My dear Mr Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah,

I have received your letter[1] delivered to me by Mr Rahim Bux Soomroo and I will give my most careful consideration to the matters referred to I am likely to get to Delhi by the end of this month and probably the Working Committee will be summoned about the first week of April, and, of course, you will be invited to attend its meeting Till then I cannot say anything and I hope you do appreciate that the whole situation requires very careful consideration

If necessary, you can always call a special session of your Assembly and, therefore, we must wait for a short time I know we must take our decisions without delay and I will not allow a single moment to be lost More when we meet

But one thing is essential—and that is what really matters—that at this moment we should remain absolutely united

Hoping you are well and with kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M A JINNAH

Sh Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah,
Premier of Sind,
Karachi

[1]In fact there were two letters from Hidayatullah and both were written on 22 March 1947 See Nos 184 and 185

229

M A Jinnah to Abdul Hamid Mirza

F 886/173

25 March 1947

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of 21st March[1] and in reply beg to inform you that I have said nothing except this that you have no special authority from me nor have I allowed you to be my representative, as one of the workers of the League, which is a fact Every member of the League,

no doubt, should do his bit and it is his duty, but that can only be done in a spirit of team work by individual or individuals under the Constitution and the Rules of the Muslim League organizations As to the rest of the letter, I have nothing to say except that Islam expects every Muslim to do his duty by his people

Yours faithfully,
M A JINNAH

Abdul Hamid Mirza, Esq ,
25B Circus Chambers,
Suite 10, Circus Avenue,
Park Circus,
Calcutta

[1]No 176

230

M A Jinnah to C M Trivedi

F 916/323

25 March 1947

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of 17th March[1] and I thank you for it I appreciate the decision of the Bar Association to hold a reception in my honour on such day as may be fixed up According to my information this resolution was carried by 37 votes against 35 and, in face of such a strong opposition, while I am grateful to the majority, I am reluctant to force myself upon a large body of unwilling members of your Association

It would have been better that the sponsors of this move had sounded the feelings beforehand and also consulted me whether the resolution of this kind should be forced by a majority In these circumstances, I feel that I should not accept the proposed reception

Thanking those who were in favour of giving a reception in my honour,

Yours faithfully,
M A JINNAH

C M Trivedi, Esq ,
Honorary Secretary,
Bombay Bar Association,
Room 57, High Court,
Bombay

[1]No 150

231

G A Merchant to M A Jinnah

F 886/174

C/O HAJI AHMED HAJI HAROON,
17 CHUCKLA STREET, BOMBAY 3,
25 March 1947

Dear Mr Jinnah,

I have herewith enclosed an article under the heading "Russia's Interest in Pakistan"[1] to draw your kind attention to the malicious propaganda carried on by some Bengali Hindu students that there is too much difference between the Muslims of India and the Muslims of other countries, and some propaganda is carried on against you and the Muslim League

Yours faithfully,
G A MERCHANT

[1]Not available in *QAP*

232

Muslim League, Havelian, to M A Jinnah

Telegram, F 560/30

HAVELIAN,
25 March 1947

Quaid-i-Azam M A Jinnah, Malabar Hill, Bombay

Orders for firing on peaceful procession issued by Tollington, Additional Magistrate Shot two one died, one seriously wounded Still peace

MUSLIM LEAGUE HAVELIAN

233

Habib Ibrahim Rahimtoola to M A Jinnah

F. 757/141

ISMAIL BUILDING, HORNBY ROAD, FORT, BOMBAY,
25 March 1947

My dear Mr Jinnah,

With reference to my conversation with you last Friday, I have great pleasure in enclosing herewith my cheque for Rs 5,000

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
HABIB I RAHIMTOOLA

234

G R A Sheikh to M A Jinnah

F 886/171-172

59 KAMBEKAR STREET, BOMBAY 3,
25 March 1947

Dear Sir,

Along with the Party Secretary, Mr M Omar, I came for an interview and to invite you to a reception to be held in the Taj Mahal Hotel on a day and time to be fixed by you As your Secretary was not present, we did not like to trouble you The Party has unanimously decided and deputed us to see you in person and, looking [forward] to this, I request you to accept the invitation and oblige

Kindly inform your Secretary to phone me at my residence or our Secretary at the Bombay High Court No 24409

Hoping to be excused for the trouble and inconvenience caused to you,

Yours sincerely,
G R A SHEIKH
B Sc, M B B S
Leader,
Muslim League Party in Bombay Corporation

235

Anonym to M A Jinnah

F 886/169-170

ANDHERI, BOMBAY,
25 March 1947

Dear Sir,

As a student of economics I have been goaded to write to you these few lines on Mr Liaquat Ali Khan's Budget.[1]

1 No single act of the Muslim League in the field of politics to defeat the Congress objective of securing Hindu domination in India will prove itself to be as powerful as this act through its Budget proposals in the field of economics It will, with one stroke of pen, reduce that power of the purse of the Hindus through which they so far managed to gain enormous strength in their political game

2 But the effect this budget will have of exposing it [the Congress] in its pretentious claim to represent the masses will be still greater The opposition the Congress party has offered to the budget has now proved up to the hilt that it is a capitalist body This should now straightaway weaken it by (1) making the poor masses, including the poor Hindus, give up faith in it, (2) causing split in its own camp between the Socialists and others, (3) awakening the Harijans and the Communists to align themselves with the League, (4) convincing the Socialist Labour Government in England that Congress is not democratic, (5) arousing the "rebel" bloc in Parliament to realise for the first time that it was taking up the cause of a wrong party up to now, and (6) convincing America and Russia that the Muslim League, and not the Congress, stands for the masses

3 What is of utmost urgency is that the Finance Member should under no circumstances yield to the Congress pressure to amend the budget The longer the controversy continues, the longer will the Congress be exposed and the stronger will the League emerge out It is the easiest and yet the most potent weapon the League has in hand now Any weakening of a firm stand would mean disaster for the League If a compromise is ever reached, it would throw this big issue, which has a world-wide significance, in the background For the sake of God and the poor teeming non-Hindu millions in this country, dear Mr Jinnah, our saviour, do not budge an inch May God give you health and strength

[*Incomplete*]

[1]Liaquat Ali Khan's budget presented on 28 February 1947

236

Muhammad Hifzur Rahman to M A Jinnah
F 672/5-8
[Original in Urdu]

DELHI,
25 March 1947

Dear President of the All India Muslim League,
Assalaamo 'Alaikum wa Rahmatullah

The Jam'iyyat al-'Ulama-i-Hind has repeatedly impressed upon the Muslim League that, in these critical times, it is highly damaging to Muslim interests for any Muslim organization, no matter whether it represented the overwhelming majority or the smallest minority of Muslims, to insist on presenting its separate point of view before the Government or other communities or even the Muslims of India themselves, for it would prove unfruitful and very injurious to the Muslim cause Had the differences in the points of view of the Jam'iyyat al-'Ulama-i-Hind and the Muslim League been superficial or trivial, the Jam'iyyat, for the sake of Muslim unity, would have been perfectly willing to ignore the Muslim League's insistence on standing on its dignity and would have itself taken the initiative and declared its agreement with the League But, as it is, the differences between the Jam'iyyat and the League on the question of the Muslim stand in independent India, which could guarantee security to them in both this world and the Hereafter, are serious and fundamental, which have been fully expressed by both the parties Under these circumstances, the only acceptable course of action in accord with the dictates of Islam and reason is for the well-informed elders of all the Muslim political parties, irrespective of the number of their supporters, to form a consultative council in which all the diverse points of view be impartially and fairly discussed and to adopt any one of the current political viewpoints which, after a thorough discussion, is finally approved and got accepted by the Indian Government and other nations, even if it entailed sacrifices As a result of the discussions and negotiations, it can be possible to decide on a political programme which, for the sake of unity, be unanimously accepted by all the parties

A man of your political sagacity could not have failed to notice the wholly new situation created by the recent (historic) declaration of the British Government[1] of its intention to transfer power by June 1948 It is not the time to sacrifice the political interests of the Muslims at the

altar of personal or party prestige Nor will it be right for the Muslim League to regard its views as divine and to ignore the sincere leaders of all other political parties merely because special circumstances have enabled the Muslim League to command constitutional majority of the Muslims In fact, from the Islamic point of view, it is all the more incumbent upon the majority-claiming political party to forge unity among the Indian Muslims by following the Jam'iyyat's present and past line of action It is obvious that if non-League Muslim organizations regard the basic decision (or objective) of the Muslim League as unwise from the Islamic point of view, they cannot be expected, in view of the Holy *Qur'an*'s clear directive *Wa amrohum shoora bainahum* ["And who (conduct) their affairs by mutual consultation", *al-Qur'an*, XLII 38] and *Wa shawirhum fil amr*, ["And consult them in affairs (of moment)", *al-Qur'an*, III 159] to join the Muslim League unconditionally and contrary to the dictates of their own conscience as this will violate the injunctions of Islam and the command of the Holy *Qur'an* cited above

Accordingly, in accordance with the resolution recently passed by the Jam'iyyat's Working Committee, a copy of which is enclosed, I invite the Muslim League and its President to join us and, in the name of the honour of Islam, I appeal to you to accept this offer, made in all sincerity and humility, so that a united programme for Muslims may be framed for elimination of discord among the Muslims and the future of Muslims in independent India may become secure and bright

On behalf of the Jam'iyyat al-'Ulama-i-Hind, I assure you that if the Muslim League accepted this Islamic principle of forming a consultative council and agreed to consult representatives of all other Muslim parties, the Jam'iyyat would agree to any steps that you may suggest for the formation of the council

In the end, I must emphasize the point that unless you form the above-mentioned consultative council, no decision of any political party, no matter how great the number of its supporters at present, can be regarded as Islamic In the absence of a consultative council, no party can be entitled to consider the decision of those who differ from its decisions to be against the interests of the majority just because that party for the time being is supported by the majority of the Muslims I shall be anxiously awaiting your reply.

Yours sincerely,
MUHAMMAD HIFZUR RAHMAN
Nazim-i-A'la,
Jam'iyyat al-'Ulama-i-Hind

[1] No 1

Enclosure to No 236

F 672/4

[Original in Urdu]

RESOLUTION NO 3 PASSED BY THE WORKING COMMITTEE OF THE JAM'IYYAT AL-'ULAMA-I-HIND IN ITS MEETING HELD ON 13-15 MARCH 1947

This meeting of the Working Committee, in the light of the new circumstances created by the British Prime Minister's Statement as well as those liable to be created by the independence of India in 1948, considers unity and harmony among the Indian Muslims essential for their religious and national security and emphatically impresses upon all the Indian Muslims the urgent need for a meeting of the representatives of all the Muslim political parties to discuss how far religious and national safeguards are likely to be denied to the Indian Muslims in independent India and how best to secure them If at this juncture Muslims, out of obstinacy and mutual hatred, ignored this question, they would fail to attain any significant position in independent India and would suffer irreparable losses

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Aftab Jahan Begum to M A Jinnah

F 679/89

SALIM MANZIL, DEPUTYGANJ,
MORADABAD (U P),
26 March 1947

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Re Bihar Relief Fund

I am herewith enclosing a cheque for Rs 200 as my humble and belated contribution to the Bihar Relief Fund I am an old and almost infirm lady but my son, S Hyder, is doing his bit for the nation's cause. Pray direct this money to the proper channels, and favour me with a receipt and reply

Yours sincerely,
AFTAB JAHAN BEGUM

238

Habib Bank Ltd, Delhi, to Sheikh Mahmood Hassan Khan (Copy to M A Jinnah)

F 680/131

HABIB BANK LIMITED,
CHANDNI CHOWK, DELHI,
26 March 1947

Dear Sir,

Re Bihar Relief Fund

We are in receipt of your letter of the 17th instant[1] and in reply have to request you to please communicate with Quaid-i-Azam at Bombay in connection with the assistance you need for the settlement of Bihar refugees

Yours faithfully,
M Y KHERATI
Agent

Khan Bahadur
Sheikh Mahmood Hassan Khan,
Nashaiman, Fraser Road,
Patna

[1]Not available in *QAP*

239

Mohammad Hanif to M A Jinnah

F 832/29

MUZAFFARPUR,
26 March 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I, in the capacity of the Joint Secretary, Muzaffarpur Town Muslim League, have the honour to lay the following lines for your kind perusal and necessary instructions

Since the last grim carnage in Bihar, the atmosphere of the province has become very grave and unfavourable Both in social and in political

life, the Muslims are looked down [upon] by their fellows, neighbours and even officers In certain cases they are pressed to do any and everything against their conscious [*sic* for conscience], which is unbearable and intolerable

Among my relations and friends there are a number of persons in the Government service, having posts of various ranks, like Sub-Inspectors of Police, Excise Clerks in civil [*sic*], criminal [*sic*], Income Tax [Department], PWD Overseers, Teachers, and Sub-Inspectors of Schools, who have already decided to migrate from Bihar and settle in Sind once for all, with their bag and baggage

I therefore request you to be good enough to guide us in the matter I may also kindly be informed whether the above [mentioned] persons would get suitable jobs under the post-War reconstruction scheme of Sind in the departments they are serving, and with what prospects

Yours faithfully,
MOHAMMAD HANIF
Joint Secretary,
Town Muslim League, Muzaffarpur (Bihar)

240

Aziz Hindi to M A Jinnah

F 886/176-177

SHAHJAHAN HOTEL, FORT, BOMBAY,
26 March 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

In view of the statement made recently by the delegates of the Muslim countries to the so-called "[Inter-]Asian Relations Conference", I think now it is necessary for us that we should turn our attention towards them and apprise them fully of the present situation of India, particularly of the Muslims' stand My point is that they should return to their respective countries with full knowledge in respect of Muslim India The Provincial Muslim League of Delhi and other Muslim circles should be given instructions, therefore, to see and invite them frequently And, if it is possible, the Quaid-i-Azam may also invite them personally at some later stage In my humble opinion, it will be an act of high policies [*sic*] if the Quaid-i-Azam bestows his best attention upon them

The Quaid-i-Azam may be fully noting that it is a move in the direction of higher politics on the part of the Congress by convening this Conference to show to the world at large, most particularly to the U K., that India, if its so-called integrity and unity is kept and left intact, would establish its leadership over most of the Asian countries, thus contributing and presenting a united front to the cause and progress of the world

Is it not a sort of a bait to the U K ?

Yours sincerely,
AZIZ HINDI

241

S M Jamil to M A Jinnah

F 908/67-68

371 HORNBY ROAD, FORT, BOMBAY,
26 March 1947

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Many many thanks for your letter of the 24th March, 1947[1] Please permit me to remind you that at our last interview with you we agreed to place the whole matter before you in order to enable you to understand the position correctly, and then come to some final decision, which we would all respect You said you had an open mind and would consider our points also and then finally decide the matter doing justice to the deserving party That was a just and reasonable solution of our differences and we readily agreed and still agree to place all the facts before you for final guidance and directions If I remember well, you said you would call us again after coming back from your Frontier tour and then settle the matter Since then we have been waiting for the call We ourselves did not write to you because we knew you were busy in the political affairs and you might have not appreciated it if we had distracted your attention to a matter of comparatively lesser importance which could very well await a later solution Anyway, we are anxious to seek your guidance and help to compose our differences in a satisfactory manner

May I also take this opportunity to say that we believe you have not been correctly informed of the true position of the Muslim Chambers It seems that certain interested parties distort the facts and misrepresent the whole affair We are most anxious to clarify our position Perhaps, you do

not know that our Chamber is the most active organisation of the Muslim merchants We have about 1,000 members, each paying Rs 50 per year Over and above this, we have 40 Muslim commercial associations affiliated to our Chamber and a branch office at Delhi Thus, we are receiving and spending about Rs 50,000 per year to promote the commercial interests of the Muslim merchants We do a lot of things for them and our commercial bulletins, which we issue quite regularly at short intervals, are very popular and informative I do not know if you have seen them, but we have your name on our mailing list You can understand that if we had not been so active, or were not doing any service, we would not have got the support of so many merchants and organisations It is, indeed, a pity that so far we have not been able to convince our leader of our sincere and disinterested services

I sought the interview because I had a proposal in my mind which I thought you would like By this proposal I wish to bring the Federation and my Chamber into closer contact so that both these organisations could exist and work for a common objective We entirely agree with you that Musalmans should stand united and I assure you they will stand united Despite our unfortunate differences with the Federation, we have maintained a unity of purpose Without saying anything against anybody, we have been silently rendering whatever little services we can to the Muslim merchants and will continue to do so as long as our members and circumstances permit

In the light of this explanation, if you think it will serve any useful purpose, please do give me an appointment

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,
S M JAMIL
Secretary,
All India Muslim Chamber of Commerce & Industry

[1]Not available in *QAP*

242

M A Jinnah to Louis Mountbatten

F 22/21

26 March 1947

Dear Lord Mountbatten,

I am in receipt of your letter of 22nd March 1947[1] and I thank you

for it According to my present programme I hope to get to Delhi in the first week of April and shall be glad to meet you

I also look forward to seeing you

Yours sincerely,
M A JINNAH

His Excellency
Rear-Admiral Viscount Mountbatten of Burma,
Viceroy of India,
The Viceroy's House,
New Delhi

[1]No 190

243

Mrs K L Rallia Ram to M A Jinnah

F 487/29-30

5 MASSON ROAD, LAHORE,
26 March 1947

Dear Mr Jinnah,

Today I am forwarding to you a solution for the North-West Frontier Province as envisaged by the correspondent of the *Civil & Military Gazette* of Lahore [1] I think it is the only solution for the ending of the present agitation against the Congress Ministry The crucial point can only be decided by fresh elections

Look how the Hindu press always wants to hide the murderous assaults by Sikhs and Hindus on the Muslims They do not even want to publish the fact when the Sikh is a culprit, whereas when a Muslim attacks for defence of his life, he is presented as the aggressor Only the *Pakistan Times* disclosed the fact that the assault was made on a Muslim [2] This is happening everywhere Look at the hullaballoo created by the Central Government over the riots in the Punjab They were dumb when Muslims were being annihilated in Bihar, Garhmukteswar and Beniabad As I wrote, this is all a conspiracy of Brahman plus the *Bania* to make the Muslim nation surrender to the Hindu *Raj* But thank God that you are there to withstand their most violent onslaughts on the honour and dignity of the Muslims and minorities.

Look how the traitor D B Singha,[3] who has betrayed the Muslims again and again for a mess of pottage, now comes forward with

his-master's-voice plan of joint electorate! He is a man who has been bought off by the Congress the second time The first betrayal was when he let down the League at the eleventh hour after getting the Speakership, [and] walked into the Congress camp Now he is their paid agent I hope you will never trust this man It is he who has obstructed the formation of the League Ministry twice

The mischief of partitioning the Punjab does not stop here They now want to extend it to Bengal Tara Singh has gone there to spread the poison there The INA[4] leaders are going to be utilized by the Congress for this great mischief You must be following the absurd and mischievous demands of Tara Singh The Hindus are so pleased with his mischievous activities that they want to make him their leader instead of the Congress Hindus who they think have betrayed the Hindu cause

At last the Ahrars and the Momins have taken the right course of disconnecting themselves from the Congress Better late than never I do hope that the remaining Muslims of India, realizing the gravity of the future of their nation, will also rally round the League under your leadership, the saviour of the Muslims and the minorities

I do hope you are receiving my daily letters and cuttings

Long may you live

Sincerely yours,
MRS K L RALLIA RAM

[1]See Enclosure
[2]See Annex
[3]Diwan Bahadur S P Singha, Speaker, Punjab Legislative Assembly
[4]Indian National Army

Enclosure to No 243

FRESH ELECTIONS ON PAKISTAN ISSUE[1]
ONLY SOLUTION FOR N W F P TROUBLE

PESHAWAR, March 24 — The only solution for the North-West Frontier Province is immediate fresh and free elections on the issue of Pakistan This is the inescapable conclusion to an impartial mind after studying the situation in this province

Such elections must not be held under the administration of a caretaker Government The last thing the British should do before they quit the N W F P, a province which has been so particularly under their care, is to mobilise all the British personnel they have if need be military officers to run the elections Let them referee the battle of the ballot box, which alone will conclusively decide an issue fraught with

such far-reaching consequences in this province By so doing they will certainly save hundreds of lives may be thousands and avert a terrible civil war—Pathan killing brother Pathan

Equally important as running the elections is for the British to supervise the issue of rations in every constituency in the province during the election period

The Muslim League emphatically asserts that, apart from other serious allegations, in the 1945 elections, 3,80,000 were added to the electoral roll to vote Congress, that ballot boxes were tampered with, there was systematic distribution of cloth, kerosene oil and sugar as inducement to vote Congress, and that to-day the Red Shirts are the "haves" while the Muslim League are the "have nots" in the matter of rations, which contribute the economic phase to the intriguing situation prevailing in this province It is important that fair distribution of rations should be in force concurrently with elections

WHY NEW ELECTIONS?

Why should there be fresh elections at this juncture? The Congress disdain of the suggestion is understandable with themselves in power as a result of the last elections There is, however, this important point Those elections were not fought on the issue of Pakistan and were moreover, before the visit of the Cabinet Mission to India and, overriding all these considerations, is the compelling fact that the British Prime Minister's statement of February 20 has completely changed all previous conceptions of the political situation

After a first impression here I telegraphed that the Congress is in an overwhelmingly strong position but that the Muslim League was fast gaining ground After a week's study of situation and long, earnest talks with both Congressmen and Muslim League leaders, to-day I doubt if this appraisal of the situation is quite correct

The Muslim League's one line of propaganda is that the present Ministry—of three Muslims and one Hindu—is a mere stooge of a Hindu *raj* like the Vichy Government in "free" France Needless to say that such propaganda is falling on very fertile ground Against this how strong is Abdul Ghaffar Khan to-day—the emphasis must be on to-day—to withstand the Muslim League onslaught? That is the crucial question which only an election will decide

TRUMP CARD

Against this background stalks the shadow of the Sikh girl[2] who embraced Islam and was rescued and returned to her family, the spark which started the fire in this province We have not heard the end of

this yet The red-bearded and much-feared Faqir of Ipi, formidable behind the scenes, became famous over a similar case of conversion and denial of faith in 1936 He carried on an untiring war against the British

The 26-year old Pir of Manki Sharif who has made Islam and the Muslim League one, is not playing this card of the Sikh girl just now It does not suit him to do so But it is his trump card and at the moment up his sleeve If need be, he will increase his personal body-guard of to-day of 300 six-foot Sheikhs, armed to the teeth, to 600 and lead the fanatic tribes into Peshawar on this issue

As I have said in a previous dispatch, the Muslim League is marking time It does not suit them to have a showdown just now Matters may be precipitated if Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel insists on his reported visit to the Frontier as Chairman of the Minorities Committee of the Constituent Assembly I understand that the Afridis have already interested [*sic*] that his visit would be extremely unwelcome

[1]*Civil & Military Gazette*, 25 March 1947
[2]See No 29

Annex to No 243

AMRITSAR LEAGUER DENIES TARA SINGH'S STATEMENT[1]

Commenting on the statement of Master Tara Singh, accusing the Muslims of Amritsar of being aggressive, Sheikh Mohammad Shafi, a League leader, in an interview said "Master Tara Singh's statement is utterly misleading The truth is that the Muslims, in their anxiety to preserve communal peace, abandoned their annual procession on March 5 in connection with the birthday anniversary of Hazrat Piran-i-Pir which has been the regular feature of the national life of Amritsar Muslims for the last 50 years

"On March 5, the non-Muslims began assaulting Muslims and by 3 p m 10 people, all Muslims, were admitted to the Civil Hospital with serious *kirpan* wounds Then, of course, the Muslims began defending themselves

"Master Tara Singh, with his tongue in his cheek, has accused the Muslims of starting arson and loot I wish he had known who started setting the Muslim shops in Katra Jaimal Singh on fire, and who systematically looted every Muslim shop in Bazar Kathian!"

(Parts of Sheikh Mohammad Shafi's statement had been deleted by the Censor)

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 25 March 1947

244

Rawalpindi Muslims to Governor, Punjab
(Copy to M A Jinnah)

Telegram, F 990/129

RAWALPINDI,
26 March 1947

Disturbed Areas Act being badly abused by communally revengeful, wrong, indiscriminate and implicative accusations, identifications in searches of innocent respectable Muslim homes, led by Hindu [and] Sikh shopkeepers and others here and in villages around for factually fictitious, exaggerated or secretly self-removed loss of goods insured heavily otherwise including self-arranged fires Damage and loss of Muslims' property being mitigated and treated indifferently Situation causing aggravation of tension Pray amend the Act to normal law regarding searches only by Police and equally combined Hindu-Muslim officials and ranks of executives and magisterial [*sic*] conducting disturbed areas affairs Most alarming shooting of innocent Muslims at Gujar Khan by Hindu Gurkha troops March 24 Gurkhas communal disposition and hostility towards Muslims is more aggressive than Hindus and Sikhs Allocation of exclusively Gurkha, Sikh or Madrasi Hindu troops in disturbed Muslim areas most inappropriate and dangerously untrustworthy Muslims prefer British troops else urge essentially equal proportion conjointly of Punjabi Muslim or Pathan troops among controlling military deployed anyhow and wherever in disturbed areas Pray expedite necessary orders accordingly

Yours gratefully,
RAWALPINDI MUSLIMS[1]

Copies to
1 H E The Governor of Punjab, Lahore
2 Hon'ble Mr Liaquat Ali Khan, General Secretary, All India Muslim League, New Delhi
3 Deputy Commissioner, Rawalpindi
4 Deputy Inspector General of Police, Rawalpindi
5 Provincial Muslim League, Lahore
6 General Officer Commanding, Rawalpindi

[1]The "Not to be telegraphed" portion indicates that the telegram was sent by the "Muslim Villagers Relief Centre, Rawalpindi "

245

City Muslim League, Ahmedabad, to M A Jinnah

Telegram, F 560/35

AHMEDABAD,
27 March 1947

Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah, Mount Pleasant, Bombay

Please inform to give us opportunity of paying you respects at Ahmedabad aerodrome while passing [*sic*] Delhi

CITY MUSLIM LEAGUE

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Muslim Volunteer Corps, Johannesburg, to the Viceroy (& M A Jinnah)

Telegram, F 560/33

JOHANNESBURG,
27 March 1947

His Excellency Viceroy of India
Mr Jinnah, New Delhi

Meeting convened by Muslim Volunteer Corps on twenty-third endorses Lahore Resolution of 1940 Urges Your Excellency to implement for peace and progress of India

MUSLIM VOLUNTEER CORPS

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S R U Qabil to M A Jinnah & Others

F 908/70

POST BOX NO 177, NEW DELHI,
27 March 1947

Dear Sir,

Please allow me to address you on a subject of human interest and

vital importance The curfew which has been imposed in several parts of Delhi is due, as is generally known, to the high-handed men [*sic*] and offensive designs, especially, of the *kirpan*-bearer Sikhs and other *goonda* elements in the city It was they who appeared to be the heroes in the occurrences of Jum'a Mosque Bazar, Chandni Chowk, Nai Sarak, etc Unfortunately the Hindus seem to be supporting the activities and manners [*sic*] of the Sikhs, of course morally if not actively Besides, Sikhs having no grudge or enmity towards Hindus, they with (the Hindus) are left free and secure It is the unfortunate Muslim alone who finds the present state of affairs a hell for him He feels himself quite unsafe and insecure

Muslims are quite unarmed and possess no means of even self-defence The curfew does not allow them to carry even a heavy stick, let alone any other weapon They are also deprived of their religious right of saying their prayers in mosques in times of early morning and at night, which makes [*sic*] nothing but interference in their religion Instances have come to light when Muslims going to or returning from mosques in the early hours of the morning were put to [*sic*] arrest by the policemen on duty and no heed was ever paid to their earnest and honest statements that they were merely performing their duty to God

On the other hand, the Sikhs are allowed to go about freely, armed with *kirpans* and long swords, which are weapons of offence rather than defence The odious distinction [*sic*] has created feelings of resentment and insecurity among the Muslims who are even rough-handled and mal-treated at the hands of the Sikh police officials who happen to be beyond [*sic*] exceed their ratio in Delhi Only the other day a Sikh Sub-Inspector (Kashmiri Gate Police Station) was said to have abused and threatened *purdah-nashin* Muslim ladies with the words, "It is not the Punjab, it is Delhi"

The status of a religious emblem to which the *kirpan* has been raised does not prevent its being used against others In the communal riots of 1927 in the Punjab, the Sikhs were deprived of their *kirpans* and allowed to carry only symbolic emblems which they carried before the long-sized *kirpans* came into being for political ends

In the face of acute tension and communal bitterness, it is both dangerous and provocative to permit them to carry *kirpans* and to deny others the right of self-defence The authorities will therefore be well-advised to see that

1 Sikhs, like other citizens of Delhi, are deprived of their right to walk with long *kirpans* or swords in the open, or, if they insist upon their being as they are, their *kirpans* etc may be bolted and sealed by the authorities,

2 Muslims be allowed to say their *Fajr*, *Maghrib* and *'Isha* prayers in mosques as usual and no arrest be made at the time of the *Namaz*,
3 Sikh police hands be not allowed at any cost to provoke the feelings of the Muslims or misbehave towards them, and
4 Influential citizens of the localities be held responsible for any untoward incident in their respective *mohallas* and their sincere help and full support must be forthcoming for the tracing and arrest of the culprits, if any

Hoping that the above suggestions will find ready response,

Yours sincerely,
S R U QABIL
General Secretary
Human Rights Protection Board

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Habib Ibrahim Rahimtoola to M A Jinnah

F 646/2-4

PEDDER ROAD, CUMBALLA HILL, BOMBAY,
27 March 1947

Dear Mr Jinnah,

I have had a talk with the *Sanj* people and have induced them to lower their original figure from 15 lakh [*sic*] to Rs 15 lakh including the building newly purchased To put it briefly the figures now are

	Rupees
Value of machinery subject to our valuation	4,50,000
Value of building at cost	2,50,000
Goodwill	8,00,000
Total	15,00,000

I think it may be possible to reduce this figure by another Rs 50,000 at least They have added that they are willing that Mehta, the Editor, should continue to act for us for a year to prove that a profit of Rs. 90,000 to a lakh is possible, otherwise the bargain can be called off then

I would suggest that the *Mumbai Vartaman*, which is showing a yearly loss of about Rs 23,000 officially, should be closed down and their other profits, which in the official figures as regards job work show Rs 62,900 annually, should be developed Their advertisements in the *Sanj*, which showed a steady decline from March to September,

showed a revival thence onwards It was not possible to get at the actual figures though I got the impression that their wages and salaries were inflated Whatever they showed me was in strictest confidence

The name suggested by my friend at the *Times* was Borton of the Caxton Printing Press Unfortunately I had no time to contact him today. He is a Rotarian

I have asked Mehta to contact you through your Private Secretary

Please do look after your health May our cherished goal of Pakistan be realised before my return, but I do feel our hardest work will start with its realisation, for it just has to be a perfect State

With my kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
HABIB I RAHIMTOOLA

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Mrs K L Rallia Ram to M A Jinnah

F 487/31-32

5 MASSON ROAD, LAHORE,
27 March 1947

Dear Mr Jinnah,

To-day I am forwarding to you the analysis of the Punjab disturbances and their genesis by the Communist observers [1] They are no friends of the League and yet this is their opinion that the Akalis backed by the Congress or the RSS[2] were the aggressors in the Punjab riots I have underlined the important parts of their statement They have also declared Khizar as the stooge of the British Government and not a friend of the League All these independent opinions from outside the League circles will give you the proof that Muslims have not been the aggressors as pointed out by the Congress leaders

The breaking away of the Ahrars from the Congress also came when this Muslim organization told Pandit Nehru the fact that the Congress was to blame for [the happenings in] the Punjab Of course it was not in the Congress interest to swallow this fact; because the whole game started at Delhi in the top Congress circles The [enclosed] cutting of [*sic*] the Ahrars'[3] lining up with the League also points to the above fact

The third cutting on Sheikh Sadiq Hassan's statement[4] also points to the fact that in Amritsar it was the Sikhs who started the looting and arson and the Muslims were the victims of Sikh aggression As investigation goes on and facts are found out, it will be revealed that all what has happened in the Punjab was a planned conspiracy of the Congress The Hindus have sung just the opposite hymn of hate and vilification against their own machinations in order to make a lie into a truth But I do hope you will insist on all the Muslim League organizations in every town to gauge down [sic] the true facts in order to contradict the Hindu lies

The editorial enclosed[5] shows the hatred and bitterness that the Hindu mind hides under the so-called unity and oneness of the Indians Look how all the Sikh and Hindu leaders are exposing the loss of life and property of their own kith and kin Whereas the brutal Nazi atrocities committed on Muslims did not move them I also blame the Muslims for not exposing the horrors of their misery when they suffered

Even some of the London papers talk of Muslim brutalities What is the London League doing? Details of what the Hindus did should also be publicized there

The radio has announced that the Viceroy has invited you to Delhi So I will send this there

Long may you live

Sincerely yours,
MRS K L RALLIA RAM

[1]Not available in QAP
[2]Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh
[3]Enclosure 1
[4]Enclosure 2
[5]Not available in QAP

Enclosure 1 to No 249

AHRARS LINE-UP WITH MUSLIM LEAGUE[1]
VIEWS ON PUNJAB NOT ENDORSED BY PANDIT NEHRU

The Ahrar's line-up with the Muslim League, announced on Monday after 36 hours of non-stop deliberation by their Working Committee, seems to have left the Congress cold

The Ahrars had actually broken away from the Congress in 1928 over the Nehru Report, maintaining such diplomatic relations as were ideologically possible These have now been ended to mutual satisfaction

During his recent visit to Lahore, Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru did

not, it is said, endorse the views held by the Ahrars against the non-Muslims' demand for the partition of the Punjab

Pandit Nehru is reported to have told them that since partition of India appealed most to the Muslim League, which carried so much weight with Muslims, it would be unfair to deny predominantly non-Muslim areas in the Punjab and Bengal the same right to separate existence

Pandit Nehru also perhaps did not agree with the Ahrars that Sikhs and Hindus were the aggressors in the present disturbances His survey of past events and future possibilities flowing from the British decision to quit India, made at a party meeting, dismayed them

This is the background to their final decision to have nothing to do with the Congress in future

Naturally this development is welcomed by the Muslim League inasmuch as it increases its bargaining power But there are two opinions on whether the Ahrars will merge themselves with the League

Pandit Nehru, in his talks with Punjab Congressmen, envisaged dissolution of the Congress in the wake of the British departure, a logical conclusion of its role as an "independence" party

In the same way the Muslim League is expected to cease as such once it attains its goal—Pakistan—which has so far failed to meet with the approval of the Ahrars

[1]*Civil & Military Gazette*, 26 March 1947

Enclosure 2 to No 249

"FACTS SHOW MUSLIMS WERE NOT AGGRESSORS IN PUNJAB RIOTS"[1]
SHEIKH SADIQ HASSAN CONTRADICTS TARA SINGH'S DELHI STATEMENT

In a rejoinder to Master Tara Singh's recent statement in Delhi, Sheikh Sadiq Hassan MLA, Vice-President of the Punjab Muslim League, refutes the allegation that Muslims played the aggressors in the Punjab in the course of the present disturbances

Sheikh Sadiq Hassan, in a statement in Lahore on Monday, says The Muslim League Civil Disobedience Movement, which lasted for 34 days, remained singularly non-communal, but it was Master Tara Singh who started reorganising the Akali *Fauj* during the last days of the League Movement The moment the last Ministry resigned, Master Tara Singh began making highly inflammatory speeches against the Muslims

In Amritsar the communal fire broke out as the result of open incitement by Sikh leaders and workers Sikhs armed with *kirpans*, hatchets, spears and in some cases with fire arms, attacked Muslim localities

The order of admission of the wounded and dead in the civil hospital, clearly shows that the Sikhs took the initiative in the clash, which later on worsened Six Muslim women and a number of children died of wounds inflicted during the riots while not a single Sikh or Hindu woman or child was assaulted by Muslims

The very fact that looted property worth thousands of rupees is being recovered from the adjoining Sikh villages, shows that Sikh *Jathas* had been specially imported for riots from outside

The allegation that during the last decade minorities have been ignored by Muslim Premiers of the Punjab, is absolutely false Since 1937 the ministries in the Punjab have always been equally distributed between the Muslims and the non-Muslims and the minorities have always enjoyed a fair representation in the Government

If the Akali leader prefers the continuation of the Governor's rule under Section 93 to a popular Ministry in the Punjab, would he also like the same all over India? It is time for the veteran Akali leader to come out with his proverbial plain speaking

Shiekh Sadiq Hassan, referring to the peace efforts of the Muslims says, that at a meeting called by the district authorities, Master Tara Singh refused to sign a joint appeal for the restoration of peace Giani Kartar Singh also refused to co-operate with the Muslims in their peace efforts

Hundreds of Sikhs and Hindus have issued signed statements expressing their gratitude towards their Muslim neighbours and protectors who gave them refuge during the riots The death toll would have certainly been much higher if the Muslims had not shown their traditional large-heartedness towards their neighbours The Muslims of Amritsar sincerely want to save the sacred city and the Golden Temple from any recrudescence of trouble —API

[1]*Civil & Military Gazette*, 26 March 1947

250

Suzanna to M A Jinnah

F 479/5

4 DJALAN TJILATJAP, DJAKARTA, INDONESIA,
27 March 1947

Dear Sir,

Because of the holy love of all religions, Suzanna, is writing to you, kindly requesting the help of books on Islam [*sic*] as follows

(a) its doctrines

(b) its teachings on healing (physician who heals by holy spiritual power)

These books and magazines will be donated to the public library which is open to all nationalities

Payments against the book cannot be offered at present due to the non-international-recognition of our money [*sic*] We can, however, send you books on Indonesian history and other [subjects] that may be needed by India

With greetings from our year-old Republic and [with best wishes for] your future

Jai Hind

I remain,
Yours respectfully,
SUZANNA
Librarian, Kementerian Penerangan

Enclosure to No 250

F 479/4

[*Not printed*]

251

M H Bahar to M A Jinnah

F 566/43

CALCUTTA,
28 March 1947

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Enclosed is a statement signed by members of the Bengal Legislature belonging to the Muslim League Parliamentary Party As the matter is of vital importance, we cannot help inviting your attention to the serious developments here even though we are fully conscious of your pre-occupation The situation here is fast deteriorating and we are afraid the Ministry can hardly cope with the gravity of the situation In the circumstances your immediate intervention can alone avert the crisis

With the best of regards,

Yours sincerely,
MD H BAHAR
Secretary-in-charge,
Bengal Provincial Muslim League

Enclosure to No 251
Statement by A K Fazlul Huq & 73 other MLAs & MLCs from Bengal

F 810/214-216

CALCUTTA,
20 March 1947

Since its very inception the present Ministry has miserably failed to honour its pledges and programmes, especially with regard to vital problems like Muslim education, abolition of permanent settlement, food crisis, as also agricultural and industrial advancement of the province, and has never cared to implement its assurances to the [Muslim League] party, more so after the Calcutta riots whence the Muslims have been all the more exposed to dangers from various directions And even when Comilla and Noakhali Muslims have been actually on fire, the Government of the day have looked on complacently, allowing things to drift and, what is still more unfortunate, the

present regime has done positive harm to the Muslim cause by bundling out of the districts of Noakhali and Comilla a large number of Muslim officers at a critical moment when their services were most needed, and has of late pursued a policy of appeasement of the other community, thus shaking the morale of Muslims in the countryside

In view of the recent declaration of the British Prime Minister[1] expressing in no uncertain terms the definite intention to transfer powers to Indian hands not later than June 1948, the situation in Bengal has, however, assumed all the deeper significance and is today fraught with the gravest possibilities for Muslim Bengal We are convinced that the Eastern Pakistan Zone will have to take over power in the course of the next 14 months

Naturally, therefore, we have to realise our supreme responsibility in this hour of Bengal's greatest need, subordinate all our personal and sectional inclinations to the demand of the Muslim nation, and harness all our energies for introducing a healthy tone in the administration and purging it clean of corruption and nepotism that have vitiated more or less all its branches We, therefore, consider it our bounden duty to express that the Ministry as constituted has ceased to enjoy the confidence of the party and commands no respect from any quarter in the country

We are confirmed in our apprehension that, in the formation of the Ministry, Mr Suhrawardy has paid no attention to efficiency, character or experience and the results that have followed have been extremely deplorable We are also alarmed at the feverish craze of the present Ministry for coalition in Bengal, especially at a time when Hindu-majority provinces throughout India have deliberately turned down the minimum demands of the Muslim minorities and pursued them to the bitter end We have very grave doubts if the present Ministry has any directions from the Muslim League High Command to formulate any such proposal or suggest any departure from the policy hitherto pursued

In the normal circumstances we might perhaps have thought of giving the present Ministry further trial and a longer lease to mend their ways, but the sudden developments in the political situation call for immediate overhauling of the machinery In the circumstances we are definitely of the opinion that in the shape of things to come the administration must be marked by a dynamic approach by superior wisdom and experience and begin by posting suitable Muslims to key positions in the province and take over power in the true sense of the term We, therefore, consider it essential that the best and the ablest

men in the party should be called upon immediately to shoulder the heavier responsibilities of the Province since any further continuation of the present set-up will endanger the interest of the party, community and the country

Md Abdullah el-Baqui, MLA
Sharfuddin Ahmed, MLA
Abdul Momin, MLA
Akbar Ali, MLA
Jasimuddin Ahmed, MLA
Abul Kalam Shamsuddin, MLA
Hassan Ali, MLA
Hafizuddin Choudhuri, MLA
Ghyasuddin Pathan, MLC
Mukhlesur Rahman, MLC
Syed Abdur Rahman Choudhury, MLC
Syed Azizur Rahman, MLA
Mir Ahmed Ali, MLA
Nuruzzaman, MLA
Hatem Ali, MLA
Asan Ali, MLA
Nawabali, MLA
Abul Masud, MLA
Abdur Rashid Mahmud, MLA
Abdul Aziz Munshi, MLA
Mubarakali Ahmed, MLA
Molla Md Abdul Halim, MLA
Nawajesh Ahmed, MLA
Yousuf Hossain Choudhury, MLA
Syed Badrudoja, MLC
Wahiduzzaman, MLC
Md Habibullah Bahar, MLA
S M Afzal, MLA
A Mahmood, MLC
Yousuf Ali Choudhoury, MLC
Hamidul Huq, MLC
Serajuddin Ahmed, MLA
Paniruddin Ahmed, MLA
Shamsuddin Ahmed Khondker, MLA
Nazir Hossain Khondker, MLA
Raziuddin Ahmed, MLC
Md Abdul Hakim Vikrampuri, MLA

Ahmed Kabir Choudhuri, MLA
Anwara Khatun, MLA
Abdul Hye, MLA
Khurrum Khan Panni, MLA
Ibrahim Khan, MLA
Md Mozaffar Rahman Choudhury, MLA
Abidur Reza Choudhury, MLA
Syed Serajul Huq, MLA
Md Ruknuddin, MLA
Junabali Mia, MLA
Abul Quasem, MLA
Abdul Hannan, MLA
Fazlul Karim (*Misri*), MLA
A K M Bafatuddin Talukdar, MLA
Musharaf Hossain, MLA
Md Quasem, MLA
S Habibul Huq, MLA
N Khairat Hossain, MLA
Syed Fazle-Rabbi, MLC
Abdul Latif Choudhury, MLC
Md Israil, MLA
Md Sayed, MLA
Md Najmul Huq, MLA
S M Siddique, MLA
A M Shahoodul Haque, MLC
Maniruddin Akhand, MLA
Ali Ahmed Choudhury, MLA
K Ahmed Choudhury, MLA
Abdul Latif, MLC
Mobarakali Khan, MLC
Osman Ali, MLA
B M Elias, MLA
A M A Hamid, MLA
Husan Ara Begum, MLA
Aulad Hossain Khan, MLA
Ahmed Ali Mirdha, MLA
A K Fazlul Huq, MLA

[1]No 1

252

Omarjee Ebrahim to M A Jinnah

F 680/152

34 CHAPEL STREET,
CAPE TOWN, SOUTH AFRICA,
28 March 1947

Dear Sir,

On behalf of the Cape Muslim League, I have great pleasure in enclosing a draft for Rupees seven thousand nine hundred and thirty-one, annas two, pies five This is the proceeds of a collection by members of our League

Trusting this small donation will help you in your struggle I shall be very glad if you will kindly acknowledge receipt of the same

Thanking you in anticipation,

Yours faithfully,
OMARJEE EBRAHIM
Treasurer,
Cape Muslim League

253

Liaquat Ali Khan to M A Jinnah

Telegram, F 335/284

NEW DELHI,
28 March 1947

Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah

Please wire when you reaching Delhi

LIAQUAT ALI KHAN

254

K A Kuthoos to M A Jinnah (& Others)

F 570/121-122

THE MUSLIM LEAGUE,
CHITTARKOTTAI, RAMNAD DISTRICT, [MADRAS,]
28 March 1947

The following resolutions were unanimously passed by the members of the Muslim League at Chittarkottai, Ramnad District, at a meeting held at 4 p m on Monday, the 24th March 1947, under the presidentship of *'Ali Janab* S Ahmed Ibrahim Alim Sahib, on the memorable occasion of the celebration of the "Pakistan Day"

1 We cordially accept that the unique leader of Indian Muslims is Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah
2 We agree that the only representative [body] of Indian Muslims is none other than the Muslim League
3 In free India we urge the establishment of independent Pakistan
4 On principles inculcated by Islam we are resolved that we should be ready to perform any kind of sacrifice at the call of the Quaid-i-Azam for the cause of Pakistan
5 We cordially cherish the memory of the valiant Muslim *Thiyagees* [selfless sacrificers] of the Punjab, of the Frontier and other places, who were gaoled in the struggle for freedom and offer them our heartfelt appreciation
6 This meeting sends the deepest condolence to those afflicted Muslims in the inclement uproar [*sic*] of Bihar
7 We yearn that the Government of India and the Madras Provincial Legislature ban publications that add fuel to the fire of the corroding venom of communal strife and hatred in Congress papers

For Primary Muslim League,
K A KUTHOOS
Honorary Secretary

Copies to
Provincial Muslim League, Madras and H E The Viceroy, New Delhi

255

Secretary, Mian Channu Muslim League, to M A Jinnah

Telegram, F 560/14

MIAN CHANNU,
29 March 1947

Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Lahore

Sikhs gathering all round Mian Channu Military non-Muslims shooting innocent Muslims Great danger Kindly intervene without delay

SECRETARY MUSLIM LEAGUE

256

Report by Anonym on Bombay Riots

F 1128/155

EVENTS OF THE DAY

CONFIDENTIAL [BOMBAY],
30 March 1947

A riot was started on 30 3 47 at 6 45 p m at the Khairuddin Mosque, Kalachowkie, which was stoned by Hindus A hack-victoria was stoned and chased and its driver and Muslim occupants were assaulted and stabbed and the hack-victoria was set on fire At Lal Bagh, a hack-victoria was attacked and its Muslim occupants assaulted and stabbed at the same time Disturbances started simultaneously in the south of Bombay and some portions in the north also For all practical purposes, it seemed that this was a pre-planned scheme by Hindus Seven bombs were thrown from the Husseinbhoy Building inhabited by Hindus at Null Bazar, and stones and bottles were thrown from other buildings inhabited by Hindus at Round Temple, namely Pranjivan, Ismail and the building opposite the Husseinbhoy Building One bomb, stones and bottles were thrown at a *masjid* in Chutney Mohalla, Bhandari Street, near Round Temple A Muslim lady phoned to the Pydhonie Police Station for help when her house was stoned by the Hindus but she was told *Pakistan lo!*

At the time, the meeting of the Bombay Provincial Council was

going on It was adjourned at 7.30 p m. without completing the agenda and relief work was started Lorries were employed to rescue Muslims from Haji Ali Fair and dangerous localities in the north and south of Bombay The rescued persons were accommodated in the Habib *Langarsarai* where we used to have our Relief Head Office

I toured round the south of Bombay and went to the J J Hospital with Messrs M U Rajab, MLA, and A H Ansari, Editor of the *Inqilab* and pacified the Muslims till 1 a m We did not find any Hindu leader doing so

Official report of the incidents is enclosed [1]

[1]Not available in *QAP*

257

Report by Anonym on Bombay Riots

F 1128/156

IMPORTANT EVENTS OF THE DAY

CONFIDENTIAL [BOMBAY], *31 March 1947*

I was having discussion with Mr Mohamedali Maniar and Maulana Fazlullah when Mr A A Khan, Leader of the Muslim League Party in the Assembly, and some Muslim MLAs came to my house, with whom we also discussed the adjournment motion in the Assembly I went round with them to Null Bazar where bombs were thrown from Husseinbhoy Building Mr Khan was given a shell of the bomb thrown at Null Bazar Went to the Jail Road East where Pir Kadri Shah's *Durgah* was burnt [down] the previous night at about 8 p m Thence went to the Relief Head Office and the Muslim League Office

Went to the Commissioner of Police with Mr A A Khan The Commissioner said that he was not able to ascertain the cause of the riot but it started from the Khairuddin Mosque in the north and the stabbing of the Muslims in a hack-victoria at Lal Bagh Requested the Commissioner of Police to search and make arrests from the buildings from which bombs, bottles and stones were thrown Thanked him for giving us police protection for rescue work unlike the last time

Went to the north of Bombay with Mr A A Khan and the escort, Deputy Inspector Mr Race Met Messrs Hasan A Shaikh, Hashamali

Inamdar, Kokil and Botalwalla, at Parel, with the police escort The Rehmat and Kasam Mitha Buildings were heavily stoned and many stones were also lying there but there were no stones lying opposite the above buildings The police post was opposite the buildings which were stoned The Muslims suggested that the police post should be nearer their buildings to end stoning The Muslims of Kasam Mitha Building complained that the Hindu Sub-Inspector assaulted a Muslim who was sitting on the staircase with others They were sitting there to see that the building was not set on fire, but the officer asked them to go indoors.

Went to the Assembly. Visited the J J Hospital with Messrs Osman Merchant, I Chhapra and Adam Maniar, Convenor of the Hospital Committee

Official report of the incidents is enclosed

Enclosure to No 257

F 1128/157

RIOTS FLARE UP IN BOMBAY POLICE OPEN FIRE ON 19 OCCASIONS CURFEW IMPOSED TROOPS STAND BY[1]

After about two months of quiet, disturbances broke out again in Bombay City on Sunday evening Forty persons were killed and 137 injured according to official figures The police opened fire on 19 occasions firing in all 59 rounds

The situation was brought under control within three hours, according to an official statement The Police force was out in strength and troops are standing by to meet any contingency

Curfew was clamped down on the affected areas soon after the disturbances broke out It will remain for seven days, the hours being 7 p.m to 7 a m

The Director of Publicity, Bombay, in a statement on the disturbances issued late on Sunday night said.

The situation in the city was brought under control within three hours of the sudden outbreak of disturbances in the Lal Bagh, Bhindi Bazar, Null Bazar, and Round Temple areas a little after 7 on Sunday evening.

The police force including the armed police was out promptly in full strength. Curfew was imposed immediately after the trouble started and was enforced rigorously. Troops are standing by to meet any contingency.

The Home Minister was in constant touch with the Commissioner of Police till late on Sunday night to keep himself posted with the latest situation

The proclamation of a state of emergency in Bombay City will hold good and the ban on assembly of more than four persons, the prohibition of processions and meetings and the ban on the carrying of lethal weapons are already in force

Stabbing incidents were reported from the Agripada, Maharbowri, Parel and Byculla areas A case of arson and of stone throwing and soda-water-bottle throwing was also reported

The police opened fire on three occasions in the Maharbowri section

The curfew order will be in force from 7 p m to 7 a m for a period of seven days from today (Sunday)

Forty persons lost their lives and 137 others were injured in Sunday's disturbances

Three cases of arson and one case of looting were reported

[1] *Times of India*, 31 March 1947

258

A W Akhtar to M A Jinnah

F 886/179-181

"PALMLANDS" D, 2ND FLOOR, MORI ROAD,
MAHIM, BOMBAY,
31 March 1947

Quaid-i-Azam,

I rang up yesterday to ask for an appointment, but your Secretary promptly told me to write and hence this letter

Four years ago, if you recall, you might remember I saw you on three occasions, once in Delhi when you spoke to me for nearly two years [*sic* for hours], and then in Bombay, regarding an industrial project on fuels, but I had to give up the plan owing to lack of co-operation on the part of financiers I realised then that it was a worthless and thankless job hankering after the moneyed few who are always responsible for blocking the door of opportunities and universal progress I had approached you to guide me on a very ambitious

industrial project which I had designed for Musalmans In my attempts I contacted a multi-millionaire Muslim, one who is in the line and he was very much interested As he could not understand the technical points fully, he gave me a letter to his workshop partner advising me to contact him in order to discuss details before launching the project It was a rainy day and after some splashing I found the paste of the letter rather loose I casually opened it and read to my astonishment "Please collect all details from Mr Wahab before we finally say No to him "

You had insisted on my developing the line only in Pakistan zones, but unfortunately I could not serve my community From an obstinate communalist, I turned Communist and have ever since stuck to the creed which offers genuine progress for one and all Nevertheless, I have been a two-anna member of the League and the interests of the Muslims have been very dear to my heart I believe in the Communist-communalism that you preach That is because I feel that, in the march of human progress, Islam is on the path of Communism, which, incidentally, is the only solution of all human ills Man has definitely reached a stage when he either mends himself or ends himself! And all the evils of the world are a direct consequence of foolhardy capitalism

Your affirmations that "Pakistan will be a socialist State, it will not be a theocratic State"[1] and such utterances have meant a new world to the adherents of the creed of the common people Your recent address to the Memon Chamber of Commerce[2] has been yet another glorious eye-opener in that direction

In the address mentioned above, you have envisaged an economic plan on the lines of the Tatas I can understand your deep tenderness and earnestness for the cause of the Muslim common people, but, alas, the present juncture is rather a delicate period for such projects It is late, too late, and the sands [of time] are running out I know of some enthusiasts who intend approaching you for inaugurating a scheme under your patronage and, in our humble opinion, we feel that it would be much better for them to divert their capital for migration and transfer of population than to invest in industry at a most vulnerable period when all capitalist institutions are in a melting pot I am saying this from an analytical survey of conditions and you may take my word of caution for what it is worth We are very keen on your "transfer of population" as speedily as possible and I have a plan to suggest investment on this aspect, which, though not commanding an immediate monetary value, ought to prove a great labour potential for industrialisation in Pakistan, the fruits of which must appear in due

course I am afraid if capitalists persist in living and propagating their only motive of human existence—money—they are bound to rue the day. In other words, if our industrialists are too eager to seek dollar returns immediately, I am afraid they are extremely short-sighted They would rather do well to foresee that Dollar and Sterling are bound to collapse very soon in a fast-changing world

It is on this issue that I am anxious to see you, because it means guarding the assets of the Muslims, and a word of caution from *you*[3] will protect the nation for whom you have toiled to an extent beyond human comprehension

If I am eager to discuss this most important subject at this critical period, naturally that will involve a number of political issues like affairs of the Congress and their powerful hold in Muslim areas etc

By making common cause with the common people you have brought Pakistan to their very door But there are problems and problems, within and without, which need speedy attention before the final knock-out blow is delivered, and you, as the guardian of the Muslim nation, will, I am sure, be only too glad to feel the pulse of all from various points

Referring to Pakistan, you have clearly said that it was going to be a State where there would be no difference as to race, caste or colour, and all people would get their due share as citizens, and they would be the concern of the Government With this, your power has multiplied tremendously, and why must not the depressed and compressed [*sic*] humanity look to you for their salvation? It was announced that much spade work will have to be done before drawing up the Constitution of a sovereign Muslim State Is it not fair that, with such deep attachment to the Muslim cause, I should have an opportunity of seeing you? Am I not justified in my anxiety to meet the most modern and practical statesman of the *world*[4] to-day, with a view to gaining enlightenment on the economic potentiality of Pakistan? Is not Pakistan an international problem now? Would [you] not like to feel the pulse of the common people who look up to you for a solution of all their ills? Is it not necessary to open a Second Front against the Congress if Pakistan is to crystallize?

Now, what do I mean by Second Front? I shall explain this in detail when I see you However, as a pointer, I mean that Congress capitalism outside the Muslim areas must be combated if the resistance quotient is to be minimised inside. In other words, if Congress "walk-outs" are to be avoided, some other agreeable party must step in. In all these matters I feel helpless without the guidance of the greatest Muslim

socialist statesman How about well-organised propaganda abroad?

As credentials of my sincerity, I am enclosing copies of two articles which I wrote, one for the Quaid-i-Azam Number of the *Star*,[5] and the other for foreign press[6] Some of my works remain unpublished because of their glaring display of truth; and, incidentally, how could truth breed in capitalist democracy? However, from these you could make out what I stand for to-day

I am approaching you with a clean heart and a clear head, hoping to discuss the subjects outlined somewhat elaborately.

Don't I have a right to approach our Quaid-i-Azam when I am confronted with problems which mean something about the future of everyone of your followers? I may be a Communist by creed, but I say my prayers as a Muslim I may be a man of straw, I may not have appeared in headlines, nevertheless, I have a clear knowledge of those who work in the sun and the shower, those who sweat and toil and whose garment is covered with dust and those who constitute the solid bulk of humanity to-day. I am sure you would like to know what they want Therefore, I must see you

Waiting to hear from you at an early date,

I remain, Quaid-i-Azam,
Your humble devotee,
A W AKHTAR

[1]While addressing the Muslim Legislators' Convention at Delhi, on 10 April 1946, Jinnah stated that neither theocracy nor a theocratic State was their aim See *Dawn*, 11 April 1946

[2]In his address Jinnah emphasised social justice as one of the fundamentals of Islam He also advised the Muslim business community to organise itself economically and urged emulation of the pioneering efforts of the Tatas See *Pakistan Times*, 29 March 1947

[3&4]Emphasis in the original

[5]Enclosure 1

[6]Enclosure 2

Enclosure 1 to No 258

F 886/182-186

THE PROMISED LAND

By

A COMMON MUSALMAN

What is the value of a leader and why ought he to be eulogised? To the man who judges critically and would not accept things readily, it is not mad hero-worship. It is necessary to consider this question in view of the fact that many men, under the influence of politics, are inclined to doubt whether leadership is anything better than useless trifling, hair-splitting distinctions and controversies on matters concerning which

there is enough confusion-worse-confounded state of affairs prevailing in the land This view of leadership appears to result partly from a wrong conception of the kind of services which leadership today strives to render

Politics, through the medium of capitalism, is useful to innumerable people who are wholly ignorant of it Thus the study of leadership is to be recommended to-day, rather these days, because of the effect on the followers and because of the effect on mankind in general If the study of a leader as a hero has any value at all for others than students of politics, it must be to ascertain what mould the followers of a leader have taken and what repercussions it has had on their opponents It is in these effects, therefore, if anywhere, that the value of leadership must be primarily sought Further, if we are not to fail in our endeavour to determine the value of a leader, we must first keep our minds open to understand what "practical" men are

"By training and by constitution I am a cold-blooded logician,"[1] said the *Man* who to-day seems to hold the balance of India in his hands, maybe the scales of a world fast-moving and rapidly and profoundly changing Let us look at this "cold-blooded" lawyer straight, and judge in cold, unassuming, unemotional language, for beware, he has no room for flattery That is not in his line Yield he would not to the mightiest of the mighty coming down on their knees Submit he will—beyond a shadow of doubt—to cold, stark reasoning What better canon need one seek to pick out the "practical" man in politics? Scratch him *"My heart is bleeding for Bihar and henceforth I will never leave the Muslim minorities to themselves "* Tap him gently and you hear the resonance of *"My life is devoted to the cause of Muslims God help me I will not fail you "* Here do we sound the depths of this "cold" constitutionalist!

Bone and skin, nothing more—morning, evening, noon and night—this mighty, fiery soul strives to serve, loves to serve, longs to serve and lives to serve! *Quaid-i-Azam* [he is! And] *why not?* [He is] marvellous beyond any of our mightiest marches of intellect

"Pakistan" came into the world but yesterday Iqbal planted it, Jinnah watered it and the Musalmans gave it increase it [*sic*] Now this concept has reached a stage when it is like a huge tree with branches and roots spread so far and wide that no power on earth could uproot it All this in the course of hardly a decade! Anything short of a miracle, Sir, I ask? The modern age has no room for miracles and the supernatural Small wonder the evolution of the "Cold Logician" into *Quaid-i-Azam* baffles the cold critic of this astute politician But the next moment the same logic whispers

Politician he never was,
Statesman he was born!

The common word "politician" is far from the tune to define this category, what with the innumerable plethora of these specimens, symbols of shameless capitalism, monuments of ignorance and littleness that seem to infest our country, contributing so much in abundance to the chaos in the land Politician—that is a misnomer for this "Q[uaid]" of Musalmans Statesman—that is the word He is born to command, direct, order and control He is piling victory upon victory in every breath of his life Hercules killed Hydra and then evolved a new era, according to the ancients To-day, the Congress lies there bleeding, paralysed and in a dilemma Never did they face so much dissension in their rank and file The Fallen Angels! Suicide, yes, that is the only way to define it None can help it, not even their dear kith and kin God alone can come to their aid after this "fall" in the eyes of their countrymen Let us hope better sense will prevail which would help them to get over all this hide-and-seek policy, but now only after the Quaid has carved the Promised Land Lately, the old gang have started imitating Mr Jinnah in every phase of activity—their talks, delibertions, speeches, *modus operandi*—with the hope of "working wonders" with their "stray lambs", but it is too late, too late now However, they are bound to follow suit No true Muslim wants to wish them ill, for the Musalman's concept of progress is universal, unlimited

Pakistan crystallised first in the Muslim India that was crashing and crumbling, but there it is, an entity now "Musalmans *Will Never Submit to Hindu Raj*" has assumed dimensions, and Sardar Patel, sword in hand, lion but yesterday, has turned into a cold mouse to-day (Challenging the heaven was too heavy, Sardar Sahib, when you could hardly swallow Attlee's forbidden fruit "Even if the heaven and earth were to crash and crumble, the Constituent [Assembly] will meet on the 9th and decide India's future" [2] Too heavy to shoot off, to heave, while Mother Earth and her tiny tots know what is what What earthly good can this do to anyone?)

Quaid-i-Azam won the man who has affirmed his ability to cope single-handedly with the infinite army of enemies! To this military attitude of the soul we give the name Heroism This Dictator of a hundred million Muslims in India has a mind of such balance that no disturbances can shake his will, but pleasantly and, as it were, merrily he advances to his own music The heroism in him has pride No wonder It is the extreme of individual nature Nevertheless, we profoundly revere it He feels and always reasons Self-trust is the

essence of this man of wiry steel. He is made of solid stuff So comes it [*sic*] he is wise He speaks the truth, and he is just, generous, hospitable, temperate, scornful of petty calculations, and scornful of being scorned An undaunted boldness and a fortitude not to be wearied out are the pith and substance of his frame That false prudence [*sic*] which is a characteristic of leaders after leaders of our land, doting on health and wealth, is but his butt and merriment This man fans the flame of human love and raises the standard of civil virtue among his followers This analysis reveals the secret of his personal magnetism Verily, Quaid-i-Azam, thou has earned thy name[1] A unique make-up; a rare pattern; a glorified complexion, a mingled yarn of worthy fabric; God sent you to lead this blind, blundering, baffled community whose psychology was to lug and lag and lumber on for ages

You fanned the flame in them, you made them antlered and swift, you inspired them—that is an accomplished fact Now give them your *Constitution* They are toiling, they are hungry; they are starving, they are crying, they are weeping, they are suffering, they are pining, and they are groaning under the axe of the ruthless capitalist whose wheels grind like hell and iron But in their misery, in their toil, in their sorrow, in their pain, in their suffering, they have pinned their faith on you and look to their lodestar

Did he not say. "Pakistan *will be a Socialist State, it will not be a Theocratic State*"[2] How better could he have defined it? And, upon God, Jinnah's word is no mere word at all It means a world to them, a blissful age, a new era They know he speaks the truth. "*God help me , I will not fail you*" is dinning [*sic*] into their hearts and their hearts are bleeding with love for this, their Master They know that Jinnah, the Genius, will give them a Constitution, a Constitution that will not falter, a Constitution that will mean freedom, justice, equity, love and brotherhood, a Constitution that will revive the Muslim [*sic* for Islam] in the Musalman and a Constitution that will wipe off the deadliest sin of man—*Exploitation.*

They look to you, Quaid-i-Azam They look to you for they are the outcasts of the country. They look to you for they are the outlaws of the society. They look to you for they are the offsprings of humanity.

Living, counting, hoping. these are the watchwords of the Muslims you have carved for your Pakistan

May God preserve this *Architect of Pakistan. Amen!*

[1]Emphasis here and hereafter in the original
[2]These words are attributed to Sardar Patel

Enclosure 2 to No 258

F 886/187-190

BRITISH DECISION AND AFTER

By

A W AKHTAR

BOMBAY,
14 March 1947

There is a crisis in England, there is a crisis in Europe, there is a crisis in the world, and there is a crisis in India The state of affairs in India, which had almost reached a stage of confusion worse confounded, has appeared temporarily to settle down with the pronouncement of the British Government's intention to quit by June 1948 It is a temporary truce—that is the only way one with broad vision could see things in relation to the wide and varied behaviour patterns of Indian politics to-day

The British almost intend dropping India in all confusion Their domestic problems have boiled up to a crisis and the only saving grace they found was to cease to bother about India and the muddle Evidently, they wished to settle accounts reasonably with big business interests in order to secure future commercial prospects at a period of high-strung economic tension, which has fast begun manifesting itself lately in every aspect of English life This may be point number one The other, which may not be a strong one but all the same has considerable psychological bearing, ought to be the hue and cry of the Indian Congressites that the only hindrance to Indian development is the Britisher directly and indirectly Every time any trouble started, the burden of the Congress song was "Britain is in our way" Times out of number these nationalists have played the same tune in order to guard their skin, in order to shield themselves from the questioning public in the series of awkward situations into which they have landed themselves ever since they came into power The offer to quit has taken them unawares and has altered the situation Their mouths are shut!

But then this abrupt offer has complicated the matters further The Indian problem, instead of crystallising, will get further tangled Let us see how this works out Now a different situation has arisen and that is of a most interesting and complex order To understand this, one may have to look at a cross-section of Indian politics

CROSS-SECTION

Indian politics have become such a fiasco that the interests of

Britain must be considerably focussed on the country that once made them prosperous, but is now turning into a hotbed for them On the surface, there are only two main parties, the Congress and the Muslim League The Congress, after decades of struggle, gained power to the extent enjoyed by them to-day. They rallied public opinion by harping upon the string of "India for Indians" The intelligentsia gave full support and it was votes that mattered But the War served as a great eye-opener to the masses, and the men from fields and forests have become politically conscious These are naturally a mighty force to reckon with as the post-War economic crisis spreads all over like wild fire As it is, the nationalism of Indian leaders is being challenged all over On acid test, it seems to reveal something altogether different from the expectations of the people It looks as though nationalism to them consists in wearing *khaddar* caps, having money in the bank and eating sweetmeats at home Undoubtedly, the fountainhead of their inspiration is the big *businesswalas*—as it ought to be in a democracy—and these are the Caste Hindus Pandit Jawaharlal [Nehru] is no longer the stark socialist of his gaol-going days This is perhaps what Mr Attlee was alluding to when he said that Indian nationalists were brought in the Interim Government to give them a foretaste of administrative problems Alas, it proved a sugar-coated pill and they began to realise too late that "things are not what they seem"

In spite of all the administrative jugglery, the plight of the lower untouchables still remains the "unwept, unhonoured and unsung" way [*sic*] They have become fully conscious of their true place and power in Hindu society despite tall talk and much throwing of dust into people's eyes This class speedily yields to Communist propaganda It is a technical impossibility, in a capitalistic democracy, to conceive a classless society, but the element of caste distinctions is a ridiculous mess in Hindustan

The educated people who boosted up leaders like Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, etc and reposed their confidence in them, can hardly place what is [*sic*] the significance of nationalism when they find that the man who preached socialism all along, seems to have forgotten it clean on entering the Executive Council It may be argued that the new Constitution has not been evolved and the Constituent Assembly did not function and so forth But this point looks so weak when seen in the light of opposition offered by the Congress to Mr Liaquat Ali Khan's budget, and their sole ambition to draw a Constitution on the American pattern The American Constitution, incidentally, need not be the ideal for India and the progressive world, and the younger

generation knows it Was it nationalism to deprive the Bank of England with a view to swelling up the local coffers which are sunk deep in usury? Was it nationalism to talk about glorious planning but offer nuts when coming to brass tacks?

It is admitted on all fronts that the Britisher exploited India, and he did it, they say, in clear conspiracy with the *bania*! Admitted that the British might have played hell to keep their paying business going, but that does not mean that a handful of Caste Hindu millionaires, who are the voice of the Congress to-day, have any business to buy up that Commercial House set up by a foreigner and pass it off under the garb of democracy! This is a very legitimate question the thinking millions are out to ask to-day But they are flabbergasted at the same time Is there any other organisation that has any voice worth the name to whom they can offer whole-hearted support? None on the face value

Lately, the Indian national press has been blowing its own bugle and constantly keeps drowning this sedition brewing in every nook and corner of India Such a state of affairs has led to many dissensions inside the Congress fold, which are hushed up quickly outside What is more, the Muslim League, under the powerful leadership of Mr Jinnah, has made such rapid strides that the moment anyone talks about Congress follies in the inner circles, the elders point to the writing on the wall—*Pakistan* Therefore, it is the onrush of the League that is keeping things from boiling up inside the Congress The Madras Premier has just been dethroned!!

POSITION OF PRINCES

The third side of the triangle of power and influence is the *Rajasthan* of Princes Pandit Nehru and his supporters for some time were labouring under the delusion that the princely order could be squared up by the agitation of their subjects, who would swell by the so-called clarion call of Congress Nationalism On the contrary, the economic condition in some States is far better and [more] rosy than in British India, while the majority stick to the old feudal order The psychology of the States is such that the learnings [*sic*] gathered at Inner Temple and Middle Temple does not reach these people, but they are readily susceptible to town-talk emanating from clerks and salesmen and the very many unemployed men of learning No wonder, Communism, in the words of Mr Churchill, "is marching apace" The common people in their heart of hearts give their utmost sympathy to these learned *babus* than to Pandit & Co , who have proved their sheer incompetence in solving their food, clothing and other pressing and distressing needs, mounting every day No sugar, no ghee, no oil, no cloth, no coal, but

black market reigns supreme. Discontent spreads like an epidemic! If this is the state of urban folk, what should be the plight of villagers?

The Congress to-day is literally suffering from Communist-phobia, and every other day new laws are made, novel ordinances are promulgated, fresh powers are sought to check, to harness the will of the people, [which is] supposed to manifest itself in various forms of rioting and hooliganism The Congress is scared of Communists much more than of British guns and gaols They will give anything to prevent this hydra from breeding; they will do anything to stop this whirlwind! But in their haste and impetuosity they forget the dragon's teeth they sowed Things have begun to operate in a vicious circle Congress's fright is responsible for multiplication in the rank and file of Communists It looks as if the inevitable must be faced!

To add more fuel [*sic*], the Muslim League has a positively socialistic trend It is definitely not of the hide-and-seek pattern of the Congress socialism Mr Jinnah has already defined that "Pakistan will be a socialistic State, it will not be a theocratic State" The affirmations of Pandit Nehru generally fall flat, somehow To the Muslims Mr Jinnah's word is gospel truth Such promises together with the fight of the Caste Hindu domination in their already crippled economic plight [has] pulled up the Muslims to what they are to-day, a nation out of rabble!

The Princes, in their turn, do not want to be dictated by mill owners and stockbrokers after the British quit With this fool-hardy nationalism for the background, surely the chances of Pandit Nehru governing a fifth part of the globe are not at all bright Pandit Nehru as a man is all culture and learning, but as an administrator, he is a failure The art of statesmanship is different from the game of politics As a statesman he definitely lacks the capacity to feel the pulse of the nation His juniors are out of question because they just follow the leader

MR CHURCHILL'S PROPHECY

Mr Churchill might have landed his nation in a mess by wasting all on war, but he is very near the truth in believing that the greatest blunder Britain committed was to give such undue pre-eminence to the Congress as the voice of the nation India is a heterogeneous conglomerate—not a nation! His forecast ought to prove itself fairly soon that "In handing over the Government of India to these so-called political classes, you are handing over to men of straw, of whom, in a few years, no trace will remain" Yes, the base of their leadership is propaganda, and incidentally propaganda without firm ground can hardly sustain for long Mr Churchill may be a great enemy of India, but give him his due, for has he not understood the situation in the right perspective? On the contrary, Mr

Attlee's knowledge is rather skin deep [shallow]

After the Congress took office, what is happening in legislatures is the most silly waste of time over either useless measures like prohibition or vainglorious enactments about polygamy, divorce, etc , when grave problems have to be tackled quickly Someone said the Congress has a rare skill for putting the cart before the horse Hence all this trouble After debates in legislatures on polygamy, monogamy, etc , they sleep fast on their laurels But when roused from slumber, these patriots preach morality and political science Anyone disagreeing with their views is a Communist, and they keep seeking diabolical avenues and powers to suppress the voice of free thinkers and judges, dubbing them Communists Formerly, the British were responsible for all the ills! Now, the Communists are in their way! And smooth sailing is hampered—that is the cry Heaven knows when these ancient patriots will stop pointing at others, knowing not how to keep their house in order The other day, a prominent member of the Bombay Legislature characterised the Congress regime as satanic when compared with the bureaucratic British Reason dictates that very soon dissenting elements are bound to come up to the surface if things keep drifting in this fantastic fashion Probably, a genuine People's Party might be able to combat Congress totalitarianism At any rate, so long as the British remain, the common people expect the British to put their foot [down] at the right moment in order to prevent abuse of power, for the English know at least how to play cricket, though he [*sic* for they] may not play it all the time

The influence of the creed of common people and of their deepseated grudge against the sham of Congress nationalism is showing itself off all over the land in the railways, in the factories, in the forests and in the Army It is whispered "Let the British guns go, we cannot swallow this nationalism "

THE SOLUTION

Strange as my views may sound, if the British are in earnest about quitting in 1948, India has every potentiality for becoming another China to reckon with Incidentally, the younger generation of the Army is well qualified for the job It is a question of waiting for the tools—the keys of the arsenal If Pakistan is not conceded, Muslims are out to stake their all The Punjab is giving a foretaste of civil strife which would set in on a magnified scale And, if some modified form of American Constitution is launched, communist influence will lead to civil war Could America finance another nationalist country to prosecute a civil war? Thus, on all fronts, the Congress is a highly vulnerable plight [*sic*]

Whom does the Congress represent to-day? Let us take up figures There was a time when the Congress asserted its representative capacity [sic] for 400 million [persons], out of which Mr Jinnah has sliced off a 100 million clean The States get 130 [million] Out of the balance, the depressed classes, who are fast backing out, constitute 80 [million] strong The remaining persons are hardly three score and ten [70 million], now full of factions Could these be the voice of the nation? What was wrong if Mr Churchill called them "men of straw"? This issue can be judged best by the United Nations, who might be qualified to hold the scales evenly

Let Britain tap the door of the United Nations if she is really anxious to transfer power peacefully, instead of landing India into chaos

[1]This refers to the resignation of T Prakasam, Premier of Madras, and his Cabinet *Civil & Military Gazette*, 15 March 1947

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Habib Bank Ltd , Bombay, to M A Jinnah

F 156/68

MAHOMEDALI ROAD, BOMBAY,
31 March 1947

Dear Sir,

Further to our letter No Sec 2580 dated 24th March 1947,[1] we have to inform you that according to the advices received by us from our Delhi office, there was sufficient balance at credit in the current account of Bihar Relief Fund with them so as to cover the debit of Rs 35,91,511/3/4, cost of 3% 1957 V L [2] [Bonds] purchased by you We are also advised that after debiting this amount, the final balance at credit in the said account remained at Rs 1,46,349 round

Thanking you,

Yours faithfully,
M M PIRANI
Chief Accountant

[1]Not available in *QAP*
[2]Victory Loan

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Habib Bank Ltd , Bombay, to M A Jinnah

F 89/28

MAHOMEDALI ROAD, BOMBAY,
31 March 1947

Dear Sir,

Consequent on the personal talk Mrs Ashrafbai Rajabali P Ebrahim had with you, we are enclosing herewith our pay slip No MPS 5634 for Rs 5,000 in favour of Sind Madressah Girls High School, Karachi, by way of donation on behalf of the Bank with a request to kindly get the same accepted by the authorities concerned, for disbursement towards the construction of their premises, or for other capital expenses, or in any manner that you may deem fit

With our heartfelt thanks in advance,

Yours faithfully,
M M PIRANI
Chief Accountant

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M A Jinnah to Habib Bank Ltd , Delhi

F 156/66

31 March 1947

Dear Sir,

I am enclosing herewith four Demand Drafts totalling Rs 19,393/10/6 (Rupees nineteen thousand three hundred and ninety-three, annas ten and pies six only) which amount please realize and credit to the Bihar Relief Fund Account opened with your Bank and issue receipts direct to the donors as per list of names and addresses enclosed Kindly acknowledge

Yours faithfully,
M A JINNAH

The Agent, Habib Bank Ltd ,
Chandni Chowk,
Delhi

Enclosure to No 261

F 156/67

31 March 1947

1	Mr N M Chowdhary through Habib Bank, Calcutta (Draft on Habib Bank [Ltd])	Rs 10/0/00
2	Being the amount of money orders received by Mr Jinnah for Bihar Relief Fund from November 1946 to March 1947 (Draft on Habib Bank Ltd)	Rs 5,863/9/03
3	Anonymous (withhold receipt till address received) (Draft on Eastern Bank Ltd , Bombay)	Rs 211/7/10
4	The President, the Servants of the All India Muslim League, P O Box 2388, Johannesburg (South Africa) (Draft on Eastern Bank Ltd , Bombay)	Rs 13,218/9/05
	Total[1]	Rs 19,393/10/6

(Rupees nineteen thousand three hundred and ninety-three, annas ten and pies six only)

[1]Items 1 and 2 were credited on 7 April while items 3 and 4 were credited on 25 April 1947

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Qazi Muhammad Saeed to [? Liaquat Ali Khan]
(Copy to M A Jinnah)

F 832/31-32
[Original in Urdu]

[? PATNA],
31 March 1947

Received the cheque The sum of Rs 30,000 is infinitely insufficient You will find from the attached statement[1] of expenses that we stand in immediate need of Rs 80,000 Each jeep costs Rs 3,510 and a weapon carrier costs Rs 5,510 The distribution of vehicles received by us has been shown on a separate paper[2] An order for 12 more vehicles has been sent

The money for three of them has been arranged at the Orient Bank, the price of one has been deposited by us on behalf of the Relief Committee with the Bank If the money were received immediately, we would be saved the payment of excessive profit to the Bank The Rehabilitation Committee have accepted a proposal that arrangements for vehicles should be made in all sub-divisions otherwise the work of rehabilitation will cease I do not know if Mr Yunus could see you or not If he has seen you, you must have come to know everything in detail You might have received a cheque book from him Request Quaid-i-Azam to send money soon inasmuch as the money with us has all been finished

The house of Begum Sharif has been acquired for Muslim Women's Home Its annual rent payable in advance every year is Rs 3,600 The Women's Committee have approved of it and Mr Yunus has settled the terms and conditions Necessary articles for this institution are being provided It would accommodate about 80 women Our industrial school is also progressing We have started a hand-loom factory in Phulwari Sharif Two similar factories are being established at Patna It is hoped that all these institutions will be conducted in a business-like way

The Sub-Division Rehabilitation Committees have been established We have asked them to propose names of suitable villages for pockets in their respective jurisdictions A circular letter is being sent indicating things which will have to be taken into consideration when selecting villages In addition to written answers the members of the Central Committee will occasionally visit the place to have first-hand information and to give advice to the local members The services of engineers and overseers are being obtained We could not yet finish the initial work and the Government have prepared a complete scheme appointing a man for each sub-division with authority to decide all necessary affairs His decision will be final

It is the desire of the Government to close camps in the towns at an early date and force the residents of "sub-divisions" to live in the camp of their "sub-division " If they went there, it would be easy to send them to their respective villages It is the duty of our Committee to give the names of such villages as are going to become pockets at as early a date as practicable A complete picture of the pockets will be sent later on

The promised sum has not yet been paid to the Muslim University We had thought that we would pay Rs 5,000 and the balance of Rs 10,000 will be paid from the Nizam Fund But the Governor of Bihar has rejected the petition of the Muslim University We have now to send the money Better send Rs 15,000 direct to the officiating Vice Chancellor A letter has been received from Obeidullah Sahib[3] asking for a remittance of

at least Rs 5,000 because the Bihar students of the not-affected areas are in great misery If you cannot arrange for an immediate remittance, please inform me by telegram so that I may remit at least Rs 3,000 at once

Jasimuddin Ahmed wrote a letter asking that Rs 2,800 should be immediately paid to the Rehabilitation Committee The Committee could not arrive at any decision The matter will now come before the Relief Committee

You may recall that two companies were started here under the advice of Mr Firoz Khan Noon Both the companies have been registered but owing to lack of capital, no work could be started If the company could make no arrangements, the *zamindari*, agricultural and other properties of the Muslims worth crores of rupees will be sold for *cowries* How can the Muslims of not-affected areas have so much money as to buy shares of the company? And so long as the shares are unsold the company cannot start work The need was that the Relief Committee should buy shares valued at least at Rs 1,00,000 (Rupees one lakh) If no work were started within one month, Muslims will have to face the same misery in connection with cultivation and crops this year also, as they encountered the previous year Something should be done forthwith with the advice of Quaid-i-Azam For this particular work and for other works your presence here is absolutely necessary If you have no time, allow me to come to you for a detailed conversation

Rules and Regulations for the Relief Committee have been framed The MS is to be written fairly A copy will be sent to you as soon as possible Hope you are in best of health

[1]Enclosure 1
[2]Enclosure 2
[3]Correctly, Obaidur Rahman Khan

Enclosure 1 to No 262

F 678/33

		Rs
1	Muslim University for students of affected areas (out of Rs 15,000 sanctioned by the Committee)	5,000
2	Monghyr Muslim High School	5,000
3	Asansole Mohajir Muslim High School	3,000
4	Bihar Muslim Refugees' Rehabilitation Committee	5,000

5	Bihar Rehabiliation Committee (Secretary Jasimuddin Ahmed)	2,800
6	Six Weapon Carriers @ Rs 5,510 each	33,060
7.	Cottage industries for Refugees (out of Rs 50,000)	5,000
8	Technical Institute for Refugees	5,000
9	House rent for Muslim Women's house	3,600
10	Establishment	2,000
11	Volunteers & transport (petrol etc)	5,000
12	Refugees Boys' Hostel	1,000
13	School Fees etc	450
14	Legal Aid	5,000
15	Miscellaneous	500
	Total	81,410

(Rupees Eighty-one thousand, four hundred and ten only)

Enclosure 2 to No 262

F 678/34

DISTRIBUTION OF VEHICLES

	District, Department or Association	Jeep	Weapon Carrier	Total
1	Monghyr	one	-	one
2	Bhagalpur	one	-	one
3	Santhal Pargana	-	one	one
4	Bihar Sharif	one	one	two
5	Hebanabad	-	two	two
6	Provincial Muslim League	one	-	one
7	Muslim National Guard	one	-	one
8	Central Relief Office	one	one	two
9	Ladies Committee	-	one	one
10	Chappra	one	one (temporarily allotted)	two
	Total	Seven	Seven	Fourteen

TWELVE NEW WEAPON CARRIERS TO BE ALLOTTED TO THE FOLLOWING SUB-DIVISIONS OR DISTRICTS

1	Bhagalpur	one	one

2.	Monghyr	one	one
3	Barbigha (Monghyr)	one	one
4	Motihari	one	one
5	Nawadah (Gaya)	one	one
6	Purnea	one	one
7	Muzaffarpur	one	one
8	Darbhanga	one	one
9	Patna City	one	one
10	Relief (for ambulance purposes)	one	one
11	Gaya	one	one
12	Muslim Technical School	one	one
	Total	Twelve	Twelve

263

Anonym to M A Jinnah[1]
[Original in Urdu]

F 862/26

Undated [*March 1947*]

Allah Almighty says "Surely pure religion is of Allah only" Since purity is the essence of faith, it must inhere in every sphere of Man's life My daughter's wedding took place on 27 March 1947 On that occasion, I, instead of spending on traditional ceremonies, saved this paltry sum which, like the old lady of folklore who tried to win her ideal, Yusuf, for an inconsiderable investment, I am contributing to the Muslim League fund Instead of handing it over to local Muslim Leaguers, I am sending it direct to the Quaid-i-Azam with the request that he make use of this humble contribution from a poor Muslim in any manner he deems fit

[1] This is, in fact, an endorsement on a Money Order coupon for Rs 50 The coupon carried no name of the sender nor the name of the place of its origin

264

Report by Anonym on Bombay Riots

F 1116/20

Undated [*March 1947*]

After a lapse of several quiet days, a little riot took place on the night of 28th February 1947 when three Muslims were passing on a

bicycle on the Haines Road where Hindus were playing "Hootoo Hootoo " One of the Hindu boys came in contact with the cycle and both he and the rider fell down and the Hindus started assaulting the Muslims There was stone throwing on both sides and a constable had to fire one round Fortunately not much publicity was given to the incident and as such nothing untoward happened the next day

On the 21st and 22nd March, I and some of my colleagues went round whole of Bombay advising Muslims to observe the Pakistan Day peacefully on the 23rd March and not to get excited even if provoked as was done on the Quaid-i-Azam's birthday when Hindus stoned Muslims at several places but Muslims did not retaliate and as such they could observe the Quaid's birthday for 2 days and 2 nights whereas Hindus behaved so very badly on Subhas Bose's birthday on 26 1 47 that curfew was imposed and they were locked in and as such they could not see the illumination which they had made after seeing the grand illuminations on the Quaid's birthday We also advised Muslims not to erect gates and do decorations or illuminations on the border lines I am glad to record that we received very good response from Muslims Unfortunately, two Muslims were stabbed on 22 3 47 at about 9 p m at Parel and Dadar (one near the Tata C Hospital and the other near Hind Mata Cinema) The Police stated that they were not communal cases and in larger interest of peaceful celebration of Pakistan Day, I acquiesced in it Fortunately, the Pakistan Day was celebrated very peacefully

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Report by Anonym on Communal Tension in Bhatinda

F 1359/57-59

Undated [*March 1947*]

A CHALLENGE—AN APOLOGY
SOMERSAULT OF A *BANIA* CONTRACTOR OF BHATINDA

"Anti-Pakistan Day" was to be observed by the non-Muslims on 11 March 1947 A procession was arranged by Hindus and Sikhs to demonstrate their strength against Muslims The city was infested with all sorts of rumours A breakout of communal disturbance was considered not unlikely With a view to keeping the Railway Colony free from any mishap, and to maintain communal harmony amongst the staff and organise the staff against any outside influence or interference, a

meeting was convened by Mr Abdul Majid, Train Examiner, on 9 March 1947 in the Railway Dramatic Club, Mr P N Bedi, Assistant Traffic Officer 4, Delhi, who happened to be on the station, presided The response to the invitation extended by Mr Majid was encouraging All notable persons participated except Mr Narain Singh, Traffic Inspector, B T I, who, to avoid his presence in the meeting, dexterously evaded signing the invitation and did not come in spite of his being present on the Station This bigoted Traffic Inspector, whose anti-Muslim tendencies are manifest, delivered a speech in the city a few days back where he exhaustively spoke against *Pakistan* and threw venom against Muslim League and Muslims Emulating the Sikh leader Master Tara Singh, he virtually brandished sword to mark his hatred for Muslims We would request the General Manager, Lahore, and Divisional Superintendent, Delhi, to please call for a copy of the proceedings recorded by the C I D, and if our allegations turn [out] to be correct, action must be taken, under Government Servants' Conduct Rules, which expressly prohibit Government servants from taking part in politics in any form or shape This much for Narain Singh. Now we revert to the original topic

In the beginning Mr Majid explained the circumstances which necessitated the calling of the meeting The Chair then explained the gist of the talks he had with State officials An impressive speech was delivered by Mr M A Abbasi, Special Train Examiner Various suggestions were put forward by different members of the staff Everything was going on calmly and smoothly when the *Bania* contractor, Mr Maharaj Singh, who has so frequently been exposed in the *Eastern Times*, got up Addressing in a most arrogant manner he bombasted [*sic*] complete protection to the Muslims provided they "give up the mischief which they had started six months back" (Perhaps he alluded to the numerous articles in the *Eastern Times*, which have upset his equilibrium) This was very much resented by the Muslims There was a great uproar Realising the undesirable effects of the foolish utterances of the *Bania* contractor, the President got up and condemning his remarks he said that this was no place or opportunity for such sarcasm and that he should have better refrained from using this threat The President expressed regrets for what the *Bania* had uttered But the pandemonium would not subside unless the culprit who had the audacity to challenge the Muslim sentiments himself apologised This the shrewd *Bania* did and then the proceedings continued further This incident alone will suffice to convince our readers of the pretentious claims which this *Bania* contractor professes over officers of the Railway We would request Major

Macmillen, Royal Engineers, D S,[1] Delhi, to see that this *Bania* is not allowed to transgress the limit which has been authorised by the administration We will revert to his misdoings at some later stage

Peace Committees, with all Heads of branches as its members, were formed Ward Committees for every locality were also formed Satisfactory voluntary arrangements for the Railway Colony were made by the staff. Police, on a limited scale, also patrolled the Colony The procession was taken out in the city but, thanks to our timely preparations and sustained vigilance, everything passed off peacefully

[1]Divisional Superintendent

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Report by Anonym on Mohmand and Afridi Tribes

F 918/245-246

Undated [March 1947]

THE MOHMANDS

For a full understanding of these reports it is proposed from now onwards to give a brief account of the Tribe concerned

2 The Mohmand is a powerful tribe inhabiting the country to the immediate north of the Kabul River They are very fine guerilla fighters, particularly good in attack and about the best armed of all the Frontier tribes The entire fuel trade of northern India up to Delhi is in the hands of the powerful Musa Khel section of this tribe

3 The Mohmand tribe is divided into the Upper and Lower Mohmands This is a political division made by the British to facilitate aggrandisement The Upper Mohmands have not come under British influence though since 1927 the Musa Khels are being paid an allowance They, however, give no service in return During the last war contacts were made with the Upper Mohmands with a view to gaining their support These were the days when it was expected that the Germans would break through the Caucasus and the Japanese were on the borders of India These contacts are now proving useful The Lower Mohmands consisting of the Halimzais and the Tarakzais have been under British influence for about half a century Their *Maliks* possess rich lands in Peshawar district in the area known as the Mohmand Jagir The Lower Mohmands have not got the character of the Upper Mohmands and are frightened of them The Congress do

continuous propaganda that the Mohmands are with them This is not really a fact The Congress are spending money amongst the Lower Mohmands through Arbab Abdur Rehman MLA who is related to Malik Aziz Tarakzai But even in the Lower Mohmands , I am confident that when the time comes 95% [of them] will be with us and the remaining 5%, including Malik Aziz, will be liquidated Any propaganda amongst the Lower Mohmands will probably be done by

(i) Malik Aziz Tarakzai
(ii) Malik Atta Khan Halimzai and
(iii) Malik Samar Khan

4 Nos (ii) and (iii) are gamblers and scoundrels We have the two most powerful *Maliks* of the Lower Mohmands with us—Malik Shahzada and Malik Abdullah The Isa Khel and the Burhan Khel subsections of the Lower Mohmands and the Utamzais are also with us To sum up, there need be no anxiety in regard to the Lower Mohmands The Congress propaganda and publicity should cause us no worry But it is essential that we don't go to sleep and [should] keep in close touch

5 We have contacted the following leading *Maliks*

(a) Malik Abdullah Jan, Sahib Kor sub-section of the Musa Khels
(b) Malik Nadir Khan, Qasim Khel sub-section of the Musa Khels
(c) Malik Habib and Syed Ahmed Gul, Jabbar Kor sub-section of the Musa Khels and
(d) Malik Nur Jehan, Malik Maston, Malik Dilbar, Malik Ghulam, Rahmat Kor sub-section of the Musa Khels

All the above leaders of the Musa Khels have sworn loyalty to the cause of Islam in India Between them they can raise a *lashkar* of 50,000 men armed with modern rifles, in case we proclaim *Jihad*

6 We have also contacted the leading *Maliks* of the Usman Khels and taken promises of help and support The Usman Khels too, have a fighting strength of about 50,000 men These *Maliks* are

(i) Malik Sherdad Khan
(ii) Malik Fakir, and
(iii) Malik Abdul Khaliq

7 The Khawazais, another important Upper Mohmand tribe who live on the Afghan border, are with us though we have not yet contacted their *Maliks*

8 The Pathans have composed songs and poems on the Bihar tragedy and these have an effect on the tribesmen We hope to increase this type of propaganda

9. We are gradually increasing the number of Musa Khels (Mohmands) in Peshawar and in the Punjab To-day they number about 1,000 men They have arms in secret places The advantage of having Musa Khels in the Punjab is that they earn their living by trading in fuel and at the same time study the geography and topography of the country Our scheme is to increase the strength of the Mohmands in the Punjab If we succeed in our scheme we ought to have about 20,000 men all around in the Punjab who on action day will disrupt communications, seize strategic points and create as much trouble as possible and above all support the Punjab Muslims Malik Abdullah Jan and Malik Nadir Khan, Musa Khel, are our principal executants of this scheme to which we attach very great importance

THE AFRIDIS

10 The main sections of the Afridis are
- (a) Malekdin Khel
- (b) Qamber Khel
- (c) Kuki Khel
- (d) Zakka Khel, and
- (e) Sepak

The Afridis are considered the key tribe of the Frontier The Khyber Pass goes through their country The Afridis are very clever, cunning and great bargainers They are well known for their fondness for money The leading *Maliks* get large allowances from the British and live mostly in the city of Peshawar The *Maliks* are liable to go to whichever side pays more The pity is that they have no longer a man of the calibre of the late Nawab Mohammad Zaman Khan to guide them The tribesmen, however, are free from the influence of the *Maliks* and they attribute the loss of Khajuri Plain to the Congress Their militant leaders are Khushal Khan and Mullah Bhutan We are in close touch with both

11 The Afridis can produce about 1,00,000 well armed and skilful fighters but controlling them will be a big headache The Congress are trying hard to give money to the Afridi *Maliks* but so far they have refused to touch their money This unfortunately cannot last long

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M Abdul Aziz to Mir Ghulam Ali Khan Talpur
(Copy to M A Jinnah)

F 908/73-75

BUNDER ROAD, KARACHI,
Undated [*March 1947*]

Dear Sir,

Re Muslim Trade

I hope you will agree with me that in these days when the struggle for existence is getting more acute for nations, no nation can ever survive if it is commercially and economically bankrupt The backwardness of the Muslims in trade, particularly in Sind, is too well-known to be explained Pity to say that we Muslims are known and dubbed *Jats* Justified they are to call us so because we have lost everything and have been losing land, money and prestige The hunters became the hunted

Now is the time when the Muslim League Ministry that is in power can do a lot for the downtrodden Muslim masses who are backward in every sphere of life In trade their share is practically zero

The Muslim businessman is experiencing a lot of difficulties There is none to finance him For the Hindus, their banks are open and individual bankers are ready to help them at any time For the Muslim traders, their doors are practically closed The recent communal riots in the country dealt double blows to the Muslims The Hindu bankers have practically closed their doors upon them and the poor Muslim traders are left in the lurch

May I, Sir, in the interest of Muslim traders, suggest to you the following practical methods

1 *A Muslim Co-operative Bank* [be established] with its branches all over Sind, to be run by an efficient management Its chief aim [should be] to help Muslim traders in every possible way
2 *A Muslim Trade Propaganda Officer*, one who knows trade and has himself at least 10 years' practical experience in retail and wholesale lines, be appointed by the Government He should tour throughout Sind, organizing Muslim traders and suggesting to them ways and methods of encouraging Muslim trade
3 *Chain Stores of Cloth, Foodgrains*, at least 20, in this city be started by the Government or by the Muslim League itself or by some

private sympathetic Muslim traders with a view to help young Muslims, giving them excellent training in trade and commerce and investing capital free of interest Muslim youths be given commission according to their labour and efficiency There should be regular schools and classes for the following trades

a Salesmanship
b Retail trade
c Wholesale trade
d Book-keeping necessary for business
e Canvassing
f Technique of advertisement
g Import and export
h Clearing and forwarding agency etc , etc

4 *Muslim Trade Encouragement Fund* Enough amount be set aside with a view to opening shops for promising Muslim youths, with a written binding that after some years the shops would be handed over to them after the capital is taken out in easy instalments and shops be run under strict instructions and guidance of efficient persons

5 *Proper Share in Syndicates* [be allotted] to those Muslims who are actually doing some business and intend to deal in the same line even after the controls are over These Muslim aspirants would get some practical experience and might take to it On their behalf the Government or private bodies can invest because there is no risk of loss For instance, in the Karachi Fodder Supply Board the most influential Muslims have become shareholders with investment or no investment but are earning safest monthly incomes of nearly one thousand rupees The Secretary of the same syndicate, being a non-Muslim (Sikh), with a smattering knowledge [*sic*] of Urdu and no English, is earning more than Rs 10,000 per month from the same Board Several Musalmans can be given training and support in this way

6 *More Suggestions if These are Heeded* The poor Muslim traders are running hither and thither for help, the Hindus who were helping them have shut their doors upon them and I, on their behalf, am knocking at your door to come to their rescue God gave you [power], why don't you retain your power to help your Muslim brethren?

Hoping that something useful will be done for the poor Muslim traders,

Yours faithfully,
M ABDUL AZIZ
B A, B T
President, Ration Merchants Union,
Vice-President, Muslim Merchants Association

Honourable Mir Ghulam Ali Talpur,
Minister of Civil Supplies, Sind,
Karachi

Copy to
1 Quaid-i-Azam
2 Hon'ble Pir Ilahi Bux
3 Hon'ble Mir Bundeh Ali Khan
4 Hon'ble Pirzada Abdus Sattar
5 Hon'ble K B Mohammad Ayub Khuhro
6 Seth Yusuf Haroon
7-10 Muslim League, Punjab, Bengal, Peshawar and Delhi
11 Muslim Chamber of Commerce

268

Bihar Muslim League Central Relief Committee, Patna Statement of Receipt and Expenditure from 2 11 1946 to 28 2 1947

F 678/35-37

GULAB BAGH, BANKIPORE, PATNA,
Undated [March 1947]

RECEIPTS

Particulars	Rs /as /ps
Donations received direct by the Central Relief Committee	1,08,299-02-03
Amount received from Quaid-i-Azam's Fund through the President of the Relief Committee	2,10,000-00-00
Total received	3,18,299-02-03

EXPENDITURE

1	Feeding charges of volunteers who came from all the various provinces of India as well as local volunteers	46,278-15-09
2	Feeding charges of refugees almost all incurred by Government supplemented by the Central Relief Committee in local camps and feeding charges at Patna Junction Railway Station for injured brought to Patna and for refugees going out of Patna	14,443-04-00
3	Travelling expenditure incurred on exodus of refugees from Patna Junction to Asansol, Burdwan, Calcutta, Lahore, etc , and movement expenses of volunteers	19,431-02-06
4	Medical aid given to refugees in providing such medicines and implements as were not available in stock donated by various agencies	2,180-13-00
5	Transportation including the purchase of 8 jeeps, 6 weapon carriers, cycles, registration of the above, and petrol and local rickshaw hire [charges] (purchase price of weapon carriers, jeeps and cycles amounts to Rs 70,000)	80,152-12-06
6	Press and publicity	1,044-07-03
7	Legal aid rendered to refugees	6,366-09-09
8	Educational aid given to students rendered destitute and homeless, in the form of school fees and provision of books	6,738-02-03
9	Purchase of *dhotis* and *sarees* not available in free donation of clothes and railway freight charges of clothes sent by donors from various provinces with freight unpaid	13,689-01-06
10	Establishment charges of all Departments instituted under the auspices of the Bihar Muslim League Central Relief Committee	3,638-02-03
11	Information and Statistical Bureau for the collection of information regarding deaths, injured, number of houses burnt, cases of looted and damaged properties as well as the number of refugees who left for various destinations outside the province	1,481-02-09
12	Post, Telephone and Telegrams	4,750-04-00
13	Grants to districts for purposes of rendering relief in all camps situated outside Patna town	47,260-05-03

14. Muslim technical institutes opened for the purpose of training of refugees as carpenters and blacksmiths and for the construction of handlooms etc	1,975-00-00
15 Miscellaneous expenditure incurred on all items including burial charges of deceased refugees, stationery, individual aid, hire charges of tents and crockery, printing charges, electrical charges and equipment	15,698-10-03
Grand total[1]	2,82,327-15-09
Balance in hand on 28 2 1947	35,971-02-06

Submitted by
N M KHAN (Frontier)
M B, C L B, D T M
Treasurer
S M SHAREEF,
Controller of Finance

[1]According to our calculation, the Grand total comes to Rs 2,65,128-13-00 and not Rs 2,82,327-15-09, as given in the document, thus leaving a balance of Rs 53,170-05-03 and not Rs 35,971-02-06

269

M M Burhanul Haq to R S Shukla
(Copy to M A Jinnah)

F 832/17

JUBBULPORE,
Undated [March 1947]

We are constrained and compelled to bring to your notice that aggressions of very heinous and criminal type are being committed by the Hindus of Jubbulpore Town You have repeatedly and with vociferous voice on platforms and in press announced that you would take strong measures [against those] who would commit acts of violence [and that] you would do your best to suppress it and would not spare any community who takes the law into its own hands

2 You have imposed Punitive Police Tax upon the Muslims at Burhanpur very recently because some trifling injuries are said to have

been caused to some individual Hindus You also did not spare this town of Burhanpur even in your days of Ministry in 1939 You also immediately, within a week, levied this Police Punitive Tax on 24 3 1939 against the Muslims of Biswa Chandore because one Congressman was alleged to have been murdered by Muslims, which was not found to be a fact later on by the court of law and you had to return back [*sic*] the amounts of Punitive Tax to the persons from whom it was collected

3 All these measures, it seems, were only for the Muslim community and not for the Hindus With what difficulty we are maintaining peace in Jubbulpore, you have no idea of it Your Congress Government is meant only, it seems, to find fault with the Muslims by taxing [*sic* for imposing] the Punitive Tax only on the Muslim community Though there were many aggressions in your days of previous government at Jubbulpore in which lives of Muslims were lost [*sic*] by the Hindus but you never levied the Punitive Tax against the Hindus who were ever the aggressors at Jubbulpore

4 If you really mean what you say for the strong measures against the community, we want to bring to your notice that at Jubbulpore, on 1 3 1947, one Hindu, under a conspiracy, assaulted with a dagger four Muslims and one of them has succumbed to the injuries This locality is a purely Hindu locality from Kamania Gate to Nimbard Ganj These four fatal assaults were made during the day in a business locality, within a distance of two furlongs, completely populated by the Hindu community The assailant was not even caught, when he continuously committed the assaults by dagger, by the Hindu community This proves how far the Hindus are aggressors in the matter

5 We approached, in a deputation, the District Magistrate of Jubbulpore to press upon him [the need] to take strong measures, like Punitive Tax, against the members of the aggressive community He only laughed and by-passed [*sic*] us It seems that he is here only to protect the Hindus and not the Muslims because he may be thinking that his masters belong to the aggressive community

6 The result of this, by not taking strong measures against the Hindus, is that another brutal assault was made on the night of 18th March 1947 at about 10 p m on the *Pesh Imam* Hafiz Qudrat Ali Siddiqui of the Jehangirabad Mosque at Jubbulpore This place is also in a Hindu locality It is just close to the *gurduara* of the Sikhs The assailants are most coward *goondas* of the Hindu community, who, timidly, under a conspiracy, assaulted a religious head of the Muslims It is very difficult, even for the Police, to trace out the assailants because the assault is made under the conspiracy of the Hindu community

7 If you are true to your word and mean what you say, you would be pleased to take strong measures against the aggressors of the Hindu community of the locality concerned so that the contagion may not spread into a conflagration If it happens so, you and your Congress Government will be responsible for it

M M BURHANUL HAQ
MLA
President,
City & District Muslim League

Hon'ble Mr Shukla,
Premier, C P & Berar,
Nagpur

270

Note by Abdul Hameed on Tribal Areas of N W F P

F 722/34-37

Undated [*March* 1947]

Quite recently all the tribes warned Patel's Advisory Sub-Committee on Tribal Areas[1] not to commit a blunder by visiting their country unless they would come to an agreement with the Muslim League In one of their important *Jirgas*, they declared that they would fight to the last if "Hindu *Hakumat*" was installed at the centre

The tribesmen have shown their full sympathy with the Indian Muslims in the true sense Has the Muslim League made any response to them? No, except a few tours by Pir Manki Sharif and that too for gaining their support for us The All India Muslim League should be in close touch with the tribesmen to understand their problems. Right from now, the Muslim League should ask them to prepare themselves to negotiate with the fact-finding commission appointed by the Pakistan Constituent Assembly

The problem of the tribal country of deep valleys and inaccessible mountains, peopled with different tribes having a mysterious origin, is the most important one Once Sir John Simon remarked that the Frontier Province including the Tribal Territory was a gunpowder magazine

To understand it, one must keep two facts in mind First, the tribesmen desire to be left alone They prefer independence to death Secondly, their country at present is so poor and undeveloped that they cannot make their both ends meet The population is multiplying, but the

country's yield is insufficient to maintain it What is the result? They come down from the mountains and go as far as the Punjab for plunder

The British implemented no concrete schemes by which the tribes should have become self-sufficient and civilized When Pakistan is achieved, immediate attention should be diverted to the North-West so as to have strong Pakistan So to be friendly with them [tribesmen] is to put a rigid defence to Pakistan

The Pakistan Government must recognise their freedom, but will it be prepared to solve their aggravated economic problem? If it followed the same policies of "Forward", "Close Border" and "Inducement" in the tribal country as the British did,[2] it will be bankrupt before long and her peaceful population will be ceaselessly terrorized by the tribesmen

You will have no difficulty in providing solutions to the Punjab and Sindh but you will have a tussle while dealing with the Frontier and Baluchistan, because there is widespread jealousy among the Khans and Nawabs To-day in the Frontier, the Khans are conducting the League's campaign of civil disobedience,[3] some of them half-heartedly Tomorrow, if the elections are held, a large number of applications to contest the elections will pour in, every candidate thinking himself to be more deserving We pray that this sort of spirit may go root and branch Unity among the Khans of the Frontier and Baluchistan can only be achieved if you stay for a considerable time in these two parts of Pakistan

The British could alone maintain their prestige gradually in the tribal country Their morale was high and their efforts were strong

If the Pakistan Government promises to solve their aggravated economic problem, so much the better, otherwise the Government must be prepared to keep them off the settled districts

There are many solutions to it The first is to give them land in Pakistan The North-West Frontier Province is practically without manufactures The population depends entirely on agriculture The cultivated area of the land amounts to 25% If half or more than half of the uncultivated land is not placed at their disposal after mutual understanding, they will either usurp it or paralyse the irrigation system of the Frontier

The British gave them land in the settled districts and in the Punjab in recognition of their services to the British in odd circumstances As a result many families became prosperous This induced them and others to establish their colonies in the Frontier and the Punjab

There are some valleys in their country which are cultivable These

are the Wana Plain, Tochi Valley, the Kohat Valley, Mohmand Valley and the Kurram Valley These Valleys remain evergreen and abound in fruits, and the produce of the land can be doubled and tripled if better methods of cultivation are used

The second task for the Pakistan Government should be to fight illiteracy out of their land Technical education should be imparted to them so as to enable them to chalk out their career for themselves They should be taught better methods of cultivation, the use of improved implements and the control of crop diseases caused by insects and fungi

Next comes the exploitation of mineral resources The country is rich in iron, coal, petroleum and many other useful elements If Pakistan shows speedy development in the field of industry the tribal country will be a jewel in Pakistan Till the discovery of mineral resources is not [*sic*] effected, we must encourage their cottage industry

Lastly, the tribesmen, particularly the Afridis who behave like well-disciplined soldiers in and out of the field, may be given a fair chance in the Pakistan Army They will also prove efficient and quick pilots in the Air Force, as they are first-rate drivers and mechanics

The Pakistan Government must also help the Muslim States by supplying them recruits from the tribal country Bhopal and Hyderabad will welcome such a contract

There are many other solutions to the Frontier and tribal areas and this should be the business of a commission appointed by the Pakistan Constituent Assembly to fish them out one by one

ABDUL HAMEED
Ex-Secretary,
Muslim Students Federation,
Forman Christian College, Lahore,
and District M S F , Dera Ismail Khan

[1]See No 99, note

[2]The "Close Border" policy (1849-1889) marks the initial phase of British policy on the Indian North-West frontier Its main feature was to closely guard the border in order to minimise any tribal raids and reprisals thereto The avowed objective was non-aggression on tribal territory and non-interference in tribal affairs Following the Russian expansion in Central Asia, the "Close Border" policy was abandoned in favour of the "Forward" policy of 1890s This involved control of passes in the North-Western hills, improved communications along the border and setting up of advance military posts in tribal areas For this purpose a number of "inducements' were offered to the *Maliks* and *Khassadars* Lal Baha, *NWFP Administration under British Rule, 1901-1919*, Lahore, 1978, pp 5-6

[3]See Appendix VIII

271

Azizuddin Kakroo to K H Khurshid

F 366/30

SARAI BAZAR, BARAMULA, KASHMIR,
Undated [March 1947]

My dear Khurshid,

Kindly communicate my deep affection to my beloved Quaid-i-Azam Our love and affection is so much [are so great] with his august personality that we can't tolerate anything bad about him Recently, we heard that his health was not good No bulletin has been issued by you so far This has created much anxiety in our circles We solemnly pray to God for his long life

The Kashmiri Musalman is deeply concerned with [*sic*] him Every now and then we make enquiries from his friends who are in close touch with him. But disappointment prevails in our circles when announcements are made that the Muslim League has nothing to do with the States This policy of the All India Muslim League should, in my opinion, change now, as time has matured [is ripe for it] The Musalmans in the States are in an awful condition Tyrannical monarchs have bewildered them Civil liberties are snatched away from them They are left so destitute that gloom and sorrowfulness are visible on their faces

Kashmir has repeated its old tale now Here, the predominancy [*sic* for predominance] is of the Musalmans The Musalman is in a terrible condition He is frightened too much with inaudible tactics [*sic*] Martial Laws have become the routine laws here. Extremity has reached when the Quaid-i-Azam should interfere [*sic*], if circumstances permit No doubt our bad leaders have misguided us They have dragged us into it without our knowing the consequences We remember well the words of our beloved saviour (may he live long) when he announced "Kashmir is in my pocket" The ray of hope is this simple sentence of our Quaid

Now I suggest to you that if you have an opportunity to talk to him about Kashmir, please induce him to change the policy immediately before we get spoiled [*sic*].

Kindly acknowledge and reply

Yours sincerely,
AZIZUDDIN KAKROO
C/O ABDUL RAHMAN GANAI, SHOPKEEPER

272

Sheikh Sher Mohammad Khan to M A Jinnah

F 156/70

ZAHIDAN, EAST IRAN,
Undated [*March 1947*]

Respected Quaid-i-Azam Sahib,

In response to your stirring appeal for contributions for the relief of the sufferers of Bengal and Bihar tragedies, the Indian Muslims of Zahidan, Iran, have collected funds and a sum of ten thousand rupees as the first instalment of these donations has been sent to-day to the Habib Bank Ltd , Delhi, for crediting to the account of Jinnah [Bihar] Relief Fund A list of donators [*sic*] is submitted herewith for your information

One particular point to be brought to your notice is this that in collecting these funds not only the Indian Muslims but the *Iranian*[1] Muslims too have taken a leading part and have contributed generously In order to give them further encouragement and to make them sure of the fact that their generosity has not gone waste, it will be of great value if a letter from Quaid-i-Azam is addressed to the Iranian traders of Zahidan, through Aghai Razzaq Zadeh, appreciating the help they have voluntarily offered to their brethren in Bengal and Bihar A few words of appreciation from the leader of the Muslims of India will help a good deal in bringing the Indian and Iranian Muslims nearer to each other in their future relations

Yours faithfully,
SH SHER MOHD
K B
President,
Muslim Association of Zahidan,
East Iran

[1]Emphasis in the original

Enclosure to No 272

F 156/71

[*The list of 24 donors not printed*]

273

Firoz Khan Noon to M A Jinnah

F 399/201

24 AKBAR ROAD, NEW DELHI,
Undated [March 1947]

Dear Mr Jinnah,

A few points regarding the area round the Sutlej river

(i) If a notional division comes about, the police will go into the hands of a non-Muslim Government I mentioned to H E Jenkins the disturbing factor that in Kasur and Lahore, out of 55 Sub-Inspectors of Police, only 4 or 5 were reported to be Muslims and transfers had taken place recently They might play the same trick in the Plebiscite areas But if we went on the 1941 Census figures, the above difficulty will not arise The danger of a pogrom when police is in their hands, and of exodus of Muslim population, should also be kept in view

(ii) There may be quite a number of Sikhs in Eastern Punjab who may not want to leave Pakistan since many will own lands in Pakistan even though their original homes are in the East Therefore, the non-Muslims may also be given a chance to vote for Pakistan This will mean that predominantly Muslim areas should come to us automatically, and where we are not 50% but are above 20% in contiguous areas there should be a plebiscite for all, including Christians, Scheduled Castes and Sikhs

(iii) The plebiscite throughout the rest of Jullundur Division, i e in non-Muslim areas

(iv) The Kangra District, though it is 95% Hindu, is vital for our irrigation and hydro-electric purposes and must remain in Pakistan, as well as the Sutlej Basin right up to its source, if possible All territory west of the Sutlej throughout its course and ten miles strip along its east bank will be a good boundary

Yours sincerely,
FIROZ NOON

274

Muhammad Saieed to Habib Bank Ltd , Delhi
(Copy to M A Jinnah)

F 679/64

ACCOUNTING OFFICE, ARAMCO, DHARAN,
SAUDI ARABIA,
Undated [March 1947]

Sir,

The Eastern Bank Ltd , Bahrein, inform us that they have issued in your favour a draft of Rs 679/8/0 on the Imperial Bank of India, Delhi, on our behalf and mailed it direct to you (per our advice) This is for credit to Quaid-i-Azam M A Jinnah [Bihar] Relief Fund

Please acknowledge if you have received it

Thanks

Yours truly,
MD SAIEED
for Indian Muslim Aramco Employees

The Manager,
Habib Bank [Ltd], Chandni Chowk,
Delhi

Copy to

Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, President, All India Muslim League, Delhi, in continuation of my letter dated January 30, 1947, addressed to you and forwarded to Old Government House, Karachi

275

Dur Muhammad Usto to M A Jinnah

F 832/33

JACOBABAD, SIND,
Undated [March 1947][1]

Respected Sir,

Most respectfully I beg to submit that we are holding our District Muslim League Conference at Jacobabad (Sind) on 4th and 5th April

1947 for which we have requested the Hon'ble Raja Ghazanfar Ali Sahib to preside over our conference

We, the Muslims of Jacobabad District, will consider it a great favour from the Quaid-i-Azam if he sends us his kind message for the conference

I beg to remain, Quaid-i-Azam,
Your obedient servant,
DUR MOHD USTO
General Secretary,
District Muslim League

[1]The letter is undated, but since the letter requests a message for a conference which was to be held on 4 and 5 of April 1947, the letter must have been written towards the end of March 1947 at the latest

276

Nawab of Bhopal to Jawaharlal Nehru
(Copy to M A Jinnah)

F 238/27

TAJ MAHAL HOTEL, BOMBAY,
1 April 1947

My dear Panditji,

I propose to place before the General Conference of Rulers and Representatives for ratification, as contemplated, the general understanding reached between the two Negotiating Committees in regard to the allocation of States' quota of seats and the method of selection of their representatives in the Constituent Assembly and the fundamental points discussed at the meetings held on the 8th and 9th February[1] and 1st and 2nd March, 1947[2] I am desired by the Standing Committee of Princes to request that you may kindly intimate to me as early as convenient the acceptance by the Constituent Assembly of the aforesaid general understanding reached between the two Negotiating Committees on all these three matters

A list of the Princes present at the meeting of the Standing Committee is appended[3]

Yours sincerely,
HAMIDULLAH

The Hon'ble
Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru,
New Delhi

[1]In February 1947, the States' Negotiating Committee set up by the Chamber of Princes and the corresponding Committee of the Constituent Assembly decided to draw up proposals for the allocation of the States quota of 93 seats as well as the method of their representation in the Constituent Assembly See *TP* IX, Nos 374 and 375, pp 664-665

[2]In March 1947, the Negotiating Committees agreed that at least 50 per cent of the 93 seats be filled by election and that a joint committee of members be set up to consider any points of detail It was also decided that the issue of the States' participation in the Constituent Assembly be considered in the light of the British Government's Statement of 20 February, by the General Conference of the Rulers scheduled for 2 April 1947 See *TP*, IX, Nos 485 and 486, pp 855-856

[3]Not available in *QAP* However, it has been reproduced from *TP* See Annex

Annex to No 276
IOR, R/1/30/40 f 63[1]

List of Princes present at the Standing Committee Meeting

1 His Highness the Chancellor (in the Chair)
2 His Highness the Maharaja Scindia of Gwalior
3 His Highness the Maharaja Holkar of Indore
4 His Highness the Maharaja Saheb of Bikaner
5 His Highness the Maharao Raja Saheb of Bundi
6 His Highness the Maharaja Saheb of Rewa
7 His Highness the Maharaja Saheb of Alwar
8 His Highness the Maharaja Saheb of Dewas Junior
9 His Highness the Maharaj-Rana Saheb of Dholpur
10 His Highness the Maharawal Saheb of Dungarpur
11 His Highness the Maharaja Saheb of Nabha
12 His Highness the Maharaja Saheb of Nawanagar
13 His Highness the Maharaja Saheb of Tehri-Garhwal
14 His Highness the Raja Saheb of Khilchipur
15 His Highness the Raja Saheb of Maihar
16 His Highness the Maharaja Saheb of Patna
17 His Highness the Raja Saheb of Khairagarh
18 His Highness the Raja Saheb of Baghat

Observers

19 His Highness the Maharaja Saheb of Bharatpur, and
20 His Highness the Raja Saheb of Bhor
attended by special invitation

[1]*TP*, X, Enclosure to No 44, p 64

277

M A Jinnah to Habibullah Bahar

Telegram, F 566/45

1 April 1947

Habibullah Bahar, Secretary Bengal Muslim League, Calcutta

Your letter twentyeighth March[1] and enclosed statement Strongly advise remain united at this critical moment Will try attend matter and if necessary will go Bengal

JINNAH

[1]No 251

278

Kassim A Mahomed to M A Jinnah

F 156/69

CLIVE ROW, CALCUTTA,
1 April 1947

Dear Sir,

I have much pleasure in presenting you herewith a cheque for Rs 1,20,000 being this Chamber's contribution to the Bihar Relief Fund

Yours faithfully,
KASSIM A MAHOMED
Acting President,
The Muslim Chamber of Commerce

279

M Sheikh Hussain to M A Jinnah

F 886/191-194

[*Original in Urdu*]

ADONI,
2 April 1947

Quaid-i-Azam *Zindabad*!

Respected and revered Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, may your glory ever remain in the ascendant!

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

I humbly submit that I have the honour to write this letter to your good self after much deliberation I hope that Quaid-i-Azam would be interested to read my letter and bring about peace between two large parties of Muslims and thus enhance the glory of Islam, and save the 80 thousand Muslim League brothers of the Bellary District from destruction, bloodshed and humiliation in the eyes of the enemies of Muslims Since I have complete faith in Quaid-i-Azam, I am submitting this letter to him I hope Quaid-i-Azam would accept my humble suggestions in the light of the critical nature of the present time I assure Quaid-i-Azam that I, a humble servant, swear by God, the

Omnipresent, that each and every word that I say is true, and if there is anything wrong or false in my statement, may I be deprived of the blessings of Muhammad on the Day of Judgement

The real story is this that two months ago, owing to the sudden demise of Mr Abdur Rauf Khan, B A, LL B, MLA, in Bellary, a by-election for his seat in the Madras Assembly fell due and a date for it was fixed Nomination papers were filed by Mr S Abdur Razzaq, Municipal Chairman and President of the Muslim League, and Haji Muhammad Ismail from the Bellary District, while Mr D Abdur Rahim submitted his nomination papers from Adoni However, the Muslim League Parliamentary Board decided in favour of Haji Muhammad Ismail on 6 January 1947, which sent a wave of restlessness amongst all the Muslims of the Bellary District because 80,000 eyes were fixed only on Mr Abdur Razzaq who is a true servant of the Muslim community and has been sincerely serving the Muslim League for the last ten years Every Muslim here is just as deeply impressed by his honesty, integrity and fair-mindedness as one hundred million Muslims of India are deeply impressed by you Being disgusted by the decision of the Madras Parliamentary Board, all the Muslims of the District have compelled Mr Abdur Razzaq not to give up his right and, by standing against Haji Muhammad Ismail, to prove that the decision of the Parliamentary Board was wrong Therefore, Mr Abdur Razzaq is contesting to defeat Haji Muhammad Ismail, the official Muslim League candidate

The election is scheduled for 10 April 1947 I can affirm from my personal experience that Mr Abdur Razzaq will surely win the election, for, as one who has been appointed to work for the Muslim League candidate, wherever I go I find that although the ticket has been given to the Muslim League candidate, the voters favour Mr Abdur Razzaq Previously, whenever I used to go to the people on behalf of the Muslim League, I was greatly honoured But this time I am very disappointed to see a different situation If this election is held, it will blot the fair name of the Muslim League as everywhere slogans are being raised in favour of Mr Abdur Razzaq Insincere Muslims are taking advantage of this situation by visiting each and every house ostensibly to work for the Muslim League, whereas these people are friends of neither the Muslim League nor the Congress These selfish people are only lovers of money and enemies of the Muslim League Our Muslim League candidate, Haji Muhammad Ismail, is merely a puppet in their hands I pray to God to grant our Muslim League candidate the disposition to do good deeds and save him from his enemies

These people have already squandered about ten thousand rupees of the League candidate and they have not been able to secure even one hundred votes for him I really pity the League candidate for his gentle nature That is why I am compelled to write this letter to you I have great trust in God and I am confident that Quaid-i-Azam would recognise what is right and, in making his decision, will side with it Your decision will be cheerfully accepted by Mr Abdur Razzaq as well as Mr Muhammad Ismail Now, I humbly request the respectable Quaid-i-Azam to persuade Mr Abdur Razzaq, the President of Bellary Muslim League, to withdraw his name for God's sake, for the Prophet of God, for the Holy *Qur'an*, for the *Millat*, for the Muslim League and for Pakistan, or order him through a letter not to contest the election against the Muslim League candidate I am fully confident that Mr Abdur Razzaq will obey your orders

My Quaid-i-Azam, God is my witness, what we hundred million Muslims cannot do, your one word can do Emperor of Pakistan, you have devoted your entire life to us poor Muslims You will certainly do this thing because I have great confidence in you When I, a humble volunteer, am doing my duty, will you, a leader of one hundred million Muslims, not do it? No, my Quaid-i-Azam will certainly perform his duty

Please order Mr Abdur Razzaq to withdraw his candidature in favour of the Muslim League candidate and immediately write to him saying

"These are my orders and I will be glad and proud if by obeying my orders you will prove your loyalty to the Muslim League and show to the world that we will achieve Pakistan

Yours etc ,
M A JINNAH"

Quaid-i-Azam, believe me, by doing so, you will ensure victory for the Muslim League May God help you Amen

The address of the President of the Bellary Muslim League is as follows

S Abdur Razzaq Sahib Bahadur
President, The Bellary District Muslim League, and
Chairman, Bellary Municipal Corporation

Yours sincerely,
M SHEIKH HUSSAIN
Captain, Muslim National Guards,
Adoni, Bellary District

PS Dear Brother Khurshid, bring it to the notice of Quaid-i-Azam God will reward you for this service *Assalaamo 'Alaikum*

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M A. Jinnah to Sheikh Sher Muhammad Khan

F 156/72

2 April 1947

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter without date[1] and thank you and all those who have so generously contributed for the relief of the sufferers of Bengal and Bihar tragedies, and I note that you have collected Rs 10,000 and sent the amount directly to Habib Bank Ltd , Delhi, to be credited to the account of Bihar Relief Fund I notice that our brethren, the Iranian Muslims, have made contributions and figure very prominently in the list of donors that you have sent me I am grateful to the Indian Muslims and particularly to the Iranian Muslims who have so generously helped us in our distress

I am also writing a separate letter to the Iranian traders, through Agha Razzaq Zadeh thanking them for the voluntary contributions made by the Iranian Muslims and I do hope that, in the near future, we shall all work together and establish closer and closer relationship with them

I hope that you have received the acknowledgement and proper receipt from the Habib Bank Ltd , Delhi

Yours faithfully,
M A JINNAH

Sheikh Sher Muhammad Khan, Esq ,
President, Muslim Association,
Zahidan, East Iran

[1] No 272

281

M A Jinnah to Agha Razzaq Zadeh

F 156/732

2 April 1947

Dear Sir,

I have received a letter[1] from Sheikh Sher Muhammad Khan Esq ,

President, Muslim Association of Zahidan, informing me that our Iranian Muslim brethren were good enough to make generous contributions to the Bihar Relief Fund, thereby showing their deep sympathy and concern for the sufferers [sic] of the Musalmans owing to the Bihar tragedies, and I am extremely greatful [sic] to you and to all others who have made their contributions in our distress towards the relief of sufferers

I am sure that Muslims will appreciate this brotherly existence, and I have no doubt that it will lead us to closer and closer contact in the future and bring us nearer and nearer to each other to establish strong permanent relations

Thanking you again and those who have made contributions,

Yours faithfully,
M A JINNAH

Agha Razzaq Zadeh Esq,
Zahidan

[1] No 272

282

M A Jinnah to Mir Ghulam Ali

F 462/12

3 April 1947

My dear Mir Ghulam Ali,

I have been waiting all this time to hear from you, firstly, with regard to your promise about your recent visit to the Middle East and secondly from you [sic] as to what you have done regarding the fund, for which your Committee was appointed just before I left Karachi

Please do inform me as to what progress you have made in this connection

Hoping you [are] well and with best regards,

Yours sincerely,
M A JINNAH

Honourable Mir Ghulam Ali,
Minister, Sind Government,
Karachi

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M A Jinnah to Mian Amiruddin

F 224/9

3 April 1947

Dear Mr Amiruddin,

I have been waiting all this time to hear with regard to two matters First, that the members of the Punjab Assembly Party had subscribed Rs 100 each and the amount realised thus, as I understand, is with you now As this was subscribed for the League Fund, I hope you will send the amount to me without any delay Secondly, the money that was given to the Provincial Muslim League by me as help towards the last election of the Provincial Assembly, I understand that you hold a balance amounting to about Rs 30,000 This amount [which] is now lying with you should also be sent to me as soon as possible, with all the accounts and vouchers for the amount that you have spent for the election purposes out of the total sum

If you happen to come to Delhi I shall be pleased to see you

Hoping you [are] well,

Yours sincerely,
M A JINNAH

Mian Amiruddin,
Mayor of Lahore,
Barudkhana,
Lahore

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M A Jinnah to Abdul Rahman Azzam

F 478/14

3 April 1947

My dear Azzam Pasha,[1]

Many thanks for your letter of 19th March,[2] received by me today, and I hasten to acknowledge it and appreciate your very cordial letter

I need hardly say that I reciprocate fully, on behalf of Muslim India, what you have said in your letter

As regards your having sent a Delegation of Observers to the Inter-Asian Peoples Conference,[3] I need not now go into it Your Observers,

I hope, will make a faithful report to you of the situation as they saw and the reality The only regret is that a certain amount of handle was given to the Hindu Congress to make capital out of it and I find that they have miserably failed Many of the people who came were completely misled and some of them are still not free from the various efforts that are being made to dupe them However, we shall survive this much-advertised move, as our cause is a righteous one

I am glad to say that I am now quite well and I was very happy to hear that you are much better I do hope that you will be quite fit very soon

Yes, I carry very pleasant memories of our meetings on the occasion of my visit to Cairo It has undoubtedly riveted an unbreakable bond and together we shall be able to realize our aspirations in both India and the Middle East

With kind regards and best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
M A JINNAH

General Abdul Rahman Azzam Pasha,
Secretary-General,
The League of the Arab States,
Cairo

[1]Abdul Rahman Azzam himself did not use the title of Pasha with his name but he was popularly known and referred to as Azzam Pasha

[2]No 154

[3]This Conference, correctly titled the "Inter-Asian Relations Conference", was sponsored by the Indian Council of World Affairs and was inaugurated by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru on 23 March 1947 at New Delhi It was attended by 230 delegates from more than 30 countries The AIML viewed the Conference with disfavour and declined the invitation to it In a statement issued by the ML Party in the Central Legislature, the Conference was denounced as "a thinly disguised attempt on the part of the Hindu Congress to boost itself politically as the prospective leader of the Asiatic Peoples" *Pakistan Times*, 21, 25 & 29 March 1947

285

M A Jinnah to Sheikh Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah

F 286/33

3 April 1947

Dear Mr Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah,

With reference to your letters of 22nd and 25th of March,[1] I have thought over your suggestion that Hon'ble Mr Abdus Sattar Pirzada should also be asked to attend the meeting of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League

I find it rather difficult to do that because other Ministers and prominent leaders also, at least [some] of them, would press their claims to be invited to the Working Committee meeting Of course, you will be invited, in accordance with the precedent that has been created, as the Premier of Sind, and so will be Suhrawardy, or any other League Premier in any other province, but this need not come in the way if you really want to be practical and do our work. You can certainly bring Mr Pirzada with you and, of course, I shall always be glad to see him and so will be the members of the Working Committee In fact we want the help of everyone, but the only point is whether he should be allowed, or for that matter anybody else should be allowed to take part in the deliberations of the Working Committee as a recognised invitee

I hope you understand my difficulties and these can easily be got over for all practical purposes as far as this matter is concerned

As regards your letter of 25th March, we will talk over it when we meet in Delhi I am leaving tomorrow, Friday, by air for Delhi and you will get due intimation of the meeting of the Working Committee when the date is fixed

Hoping you are well, and with kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M A JINNAH

Honourable Sheikh Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah,
Premier of Sind,
Karachi

[1]Nos 185 and 227

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M A Jinnah to Maulana Mohammad Hifzur Rahman

F 672/1

3 April 1947

Dear Sir,

I have received the text of your Resolution and your letter dated March 25, 1947[1] and I thank you for it

In view of the new situation that has arisen by virtue of the White Paper published by the British Government on 20th February, 1947,[2] and having regard to the grave issues which we have to face immediately, I agree with you that complete unity amongst the Musalmans is

necessary and I have emphasised that more than once, particularly in the course of the last two or three weeks, and I have appealed to every Musalman to join the Muslim League

This is not the moment for us to raise any issues concerning domestic differences and it should be for us to settle them as an organized body, according to our Constitution and rules This is not the moment for us to be involved in the solution of our domestic problems when the external danger is facing us I, therefore, most earnestly appeal to you to join the Muslim League without delay and make your contribution to Muslim national cause for the achievement of the cherished goal of Pakistan That can only be done by unity amongst ourselves and by loyally supporting the Muslim League, which is the only authoritative, representative organization of Muslims of India

I have made it clear that any Muslim who is willing to join the League, whatever may have been his views in the past, is welcome and I would welcome every one of the members of the Jam'iyyat al-'Ulama-i-Hind

I do hope that this will receive your very earnest attention as I really don't see any difficulty, in the light of the new developments that have taken place and the attitude of the various important political Hindu organizations, in your responding to my appeal, as I note that you have emphasised and appreciate how important it is for us at this critical moment to stand together unitedly

Yours faithfully,
M A JINNAH

Maulana Mohammad Hifzur Rahman,
Jam'iyyat al-'Ulama-i-Hind,
Delhi

[1]No 236 [2]No 1

287

M A Jinnah to S M Jamil

F 908/69

3 April 1947

Dear Mr Jamil,

I am in receipt of your letter of 26th March, 1947 [1] In your last paragraph you say that you sought the interview with me as you had a proposal in your mind, which you thought would bring the Federation

of Muslim Chambers and your Chamber in closer contact so that both these organizations could exist and work for a common objective This is the very point which I have already made clear to you that I cannot entertain any proposals or discuss on the basis of there being two bodies I am definitely of the opinion that there should be one and only one Provincial Muslim Chamber of Commerce affiliated to the Federation of Muslim Chambers of Commerce and Industry [2]

I am glad when you later on say in your letter that you entirely agree with me that Muslims should stand united and you further give me the assurance that "we will stand united" The sooner it is accomplished the better in our interests Therefore, unless your Chamber makes up its mind and is willing to give up its separate entity no useful purpose will be served by my discussing matters with you

Yours sincerely,
M A JINNAH

S M Jamil, Esq ,
371 Hornby Road,
Bombay

[1]No 241
[2]This Federation was probably formed in October-November 1943 See Z H Zaidi, ed , *M A Jinnah-Ispahani Correspondence, 1936-1948*, Karachi, 1976, p 369

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M A Jinnah to Sher Badshah Khan Mahsud

F 574/29

3 April 1947

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter dated 21st March, 1947[1] and I thank you for it

I have noted with great satisfaction that the Tribal Pathans are realizing the significance of the Pakistan demand Please convey my cordial thanks to them for their powerful support which they have lent to the establishment of Pakistan

I have also noted what you say in your letter The Muslim League has already made it clear that the Constituent Assembly and the Sub-Committees or Committees that may have been appointed by them,

are invalid[2] and it is nothing but only a Hindu Congress show

Yours sincerely,
M A JINNAH

Lieut Sher Badshah Khan Mahsud,
Office Secretary,
Waziristan Muslim League,
Tank (N W F P)

[1]No 175
[2]On 1 February 1947, the AIML Working Committee had passed a resolution terming the election and the summoning of the Constituent Assembly "void, invalid and illegal" and its proceedings and decisions *"ultra vires*, invalid and illegal" *Pakistan Times*, 4 February 1947

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M A Jinnah to Firoz Khan Noon

F 399/161

3 April 1947

Dear Mr Noon,

I am in receipt of your letter of 22nd March, 1947[1] and the Urdu letter[2] which you have enclosed The version given in the Urdu letter of my talk with Akhtar Ali Khan and one or two others who came with him, when he referred to the leadership of the Punjab Assembly League Party, is entirely incorrect As a matter of fact, when Mr Akhtar Ali Khan started saying that you should be elected as leader of the Party and not Mamdot, I told him that he was living behind time and was entirely ignorant of what had already taken place, and that my information was that the Party had already elected Mamdot unanimously and that you had proposed his name I told him that that sort of misinformed talk did not do any good and that now all must loyally work with their leader who had been unanimously elected and stop all this loose talk You can see from the date of the interview that he had with me that it was after the Party had decided unanimously to elect Mamdot as leader and I advised them all, including Mr Akhtar Ali Khan, to work in a team and with unity which was most essential at this critical time that we are facing [*sic*]

I think you are unduly sensitive Please dismiss from your mind that after what happened in Delhi when we had a frank talk, I have any doubt now left in my mind about your earnestness and desire to work in a team That is the only way in which we shall succeed

I have noted what you say with regard to the Rawalpindi situation and I shall be very glad to discuss the matter when I reach Delhi I am leaving on Friday by air and hope to be there the same afternoon

Yours sincerely,
M A JINNAH

Malik Firoz Khan Noon,
Faletti's Hotel,
Lahore

[1]No 192
[2]Not available in *QAP*

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Mohammed A Khilji to M A Jinnah

F 908/76

BEAUMONT CHAMBERS, MEADOWS STREET,
FORT, BOMBAY,
3 April 1947

Janab Quaid-i-Azam,
Assalaamo 'Alaikum

Re your kind message

We beg to request you to kindly give a message on the occasion of an industrial function to be held by the above Company, under the Presidentship of Mr Hassan A Sheikh, the President of the City Muslim League, on 9th April, 1947, at Beg Mohammed Park Hall

The object of the function is to invite the attention of Muslim merchants and industrialists to capture the film industry in order to serve the purpose of Islam and the Muslim nation by propagating through the picturised medium

Hope to receive your kind message and good wishes for our success in the cause of service to our Muslim nation—Pakistan

We beg to remain, Dear Sir,
Yours very sincerely,
MOHAMMED A KHILJI
Director,
Society Pictures Limited,
Motion Picture Producers & Distributors

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Muddassir Ali Shamsee to M A Jinnah

F 955/26-29

500 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK 27, N Y ,
3 April 1947

Dear Mr Jinnah,

I am writing this about the proposed Indian Muslim Information Centre in New York Since Mr Ispahani[1] is on tour in the Near East, and I do not know when he will be back, I am submitting directly for your perusal the problems confronting us here This step, I hope, will expedite matters a great deal

During Mr Ispahani's stay in New York, it seemed the only difficulty we had to face was obtaining office space Later investigation into the matter has given us an entirely different picture Fully satisfactory office room is indeed hard to find, but acceptable places can be obtained without much difficulty The question is in whose name the lease would be signed and who would pay for it Mr Ispahani's agent in the U S , Mr Shimp, is unwilling to associate himself with Indian politics, as you probably know In fact, he has asked me in his letter of February 3, 1947

> "Our activities have been so diversified recently, there has been no time available to permit the writer to offer assistance It seems the location of space, incorporation of Center, etc , etc , must entirely fall upon you "

For that purpose I need instructions from the League to act and assume legal responsibilities

So much for the office space Now, our more serious problems are the following

I TRANSFER OF FUNDS

Mr Ispahani had planned to get funds for our work through Mr Shimp, whose position I have already indicated However, he can still assist us without associating himself with our Centre I have consulted a lawyer on the matter He is of the opinion that Mr Shimp, and for that matter any person, can open an account in a New York bank in the name of Mr Ispahani, who can issue cheques, when necessary, to the Centre, on a cheque-book that could be flown over to him to India According to this procedure Mr Shimp would be acting on the advice of his Indian principal in opening an account in the latter's name, without assuming responsibility for what Mr Ispahani does with his money According to this

lawyer, this procedure provides a measure of safety for our work, as we do not have to depend upon one source of financial aid for the Centre

In one of his letters to Mr Shimp, Mr Ispahani has indicated that he has written to the Finance Minister requesting release of dollars for the League office in New York I hope we succeed in getting a dollar-exchange permit, that will be the best solution of the financial problem

II OUR STATUS IN THE U S

Another equally important problem is of the legal status of our workers Muslim students will surely lend a hand in our work, but at least one person has to be registered as legally responsible for our activities Although I have lived in America for six years, the better part of which was spent in U S war services, I am legally a student The student visa is granted "solely for the purpose of studies" A work permit may be issued by the Immigration authorities provided the university agrees that the part-time work undertaken by its student will not hamper his studies After all these ifs and buts, the student shall leave U S immediately after his studies terminate Therefore, it is necessary to change the student status into one that will allow full-time work, without the censorship of a university

I have contacted the Immigration Office They refuse to commit themselves in conversation They have asked me to apply for a change of status, stating full particulars, including the nature of my work and why I want to do it Only then will they determine if they could grant a change of status, and of what kind Naturally, I must submit with my application some papers issued by the League asking me to take up this work in the interest of "better understanding of the two peoples, etc ", and for that purpose comply with the requirements of U S Government On receipt of such papers I shall immediately apply for a change of visa and registration as a Foreign Agent, also, I can go to Washington and see the authorities concerned, if necessary

It will not be a bad idea if someone on behalf of the League would contact the American Embassy in India to find out if they could be of any assistance in facilitating our operations in U S Their response will indicate, at least, the attitude the American Government might take toward our work I should not be surprised if a direct letter from you or Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan to the U S Secretary of State might yield some results I understand, however, that the permission of the Department of State is not a prerequisite of starting an Information Centre, although their friendly attitude can be helpful if our adversaries ever try to push us into a tight corner

While it is necessary to have a paper from the League, authorising me to

start the Centre, it would be of further assistance in the performance of my duties if I am also designated a foreign correspondent of some Muslim newspaper It has several advantages For one thing, it can take me to all the press conferences of the U S and U N, which are not open to a Director of an Information Service Secondly, it is one of our objectives to make U S press friendly to our cause, and you can always contact the press better as a colleague than as an information-issuing agency It is for such purposes that J J Singh, President of India League of America, and Anup Singh, Secretary of National Committee for India's Liberation, both Congressites, are correspondents for the *Tribune* and the *National Herald*, respectively

Further, I would be in a better position to ask for a change of status from the Immigration Office if I give them the alternative of granting me either a business or a correspondent's visa May I add that I shall perform the usual functions of a correspondent also, and transmit American news to India

When I was in India last time, in U S uniform, I met Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan at Delhi in March 1945 He had asked me to act as a correspondent of the *Dawn* in the U S A similar offer was made by Mr Abdul Rahman Siddiqi for his *Morning News*, Calcutta Those plans could not materialise as I wanted to devote all my time to the completion of my academic work

I very much hope we are able to function in full force by the summer Ever so often we see a Muslim-by-name being called to speak for the Indian Muslims Later inquiry shows, as we should expect, that the American institutions and newspapers do not know where to turn when they want to hear the Muslim point of view

Wishing you the finest of health, and best victories to the Muslim League,

Yours very sincerely,
MUDDASSIR ALI SHAMSEE

PS Kindly allow me to add a note of introduction about myself I have been active in the Pakistan Movement since 1938, with Dr Syed Zafrul Hassan and Dr Afzal Qadri, both Professors at Aligarh Then I was a lecturer in Psychology at Aligarh In those days I had the privilege of seeing you at Aligarh and Bombay I came to the U S in 1941 to do research in Psychology at Columbia University Soon the U S entered the War, and I with her, not for the same reasons, of course During the War I worked with the U S Office of War Information, first as Chief of Indian Desk in

New York, then as Communication Analyst with their Bureau of Overseas Intelligence, in Washington Later I worked with the U.S Office of Strategic Services in the Psychological Warfare Branch, and was sent to India-Burma theatre in the American uniform

MUDDASSIR ALI SHAMSEE

Copy forwarded to Mr Ispahani

[1]Hassan Ispahani

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Firoz Khan Noon to M A Jinnah

F 399/162

FALETTI'S HOTEL, LAHORE,
4 April 1947

Dear Mr Jinnah,

The following may be useful to you in your talks with the Viceroy

1 A division of the Punjab can only be demanded by the Sikhs[1] The Hindus cannot object to living with a Muslim majority because we live in U P, Bihar, etc
2 The Sikhs can only claim special consideration if they are a separate community from the Hindus
3 Seen as a separate community, the Sikhs do not predominate in any *tehsil* in any of the districts in the Punjab except in only the following few

	M[uslims]	S[ikhs]
(a) Ambala District		
Tehsil Kharar	39,156	68,508
Tehsil Rupar	52,400	61,847
(b) Hoshiarpur District		
Tehsil Garh Shankar	67,584	70,310
(c) Ludhiana District		
Tehsil Jagraon	81,380	1,10,061
Tehsil Samrala	49,620	63,103
(d) Ferozepore District		
Tehsil Moga	66,855	1,81,458
(e) Amritsar District		
Tehsil Tarntaran	1,57,731	1,99,562

You will see how far apart these places are and how few There is a move to create a federation of all the Sikh States These almost adjoin except Kapurthala Patiala, Jind, Nabha and Faridkot are almost limitrophe (Malirkotla is a Muslim State) The Sikhs, if they were unhappy in the Br[itish] Punjab as it exists today, they could move into these Sikh Kingdoms

Yours sincerely,
FIROZ NOON

[1] For details see Annex to No 124, Resolution No 3

293

M A Hassan Ispahani to M A Jinnah

F 309/328-330

INDIAN TRADE DELEGATION TO THE MIDDLE EAST,
CAMP DAMASCUS,
5 April 1947

My dear Mr Jinnah,

I am glad to report to you that everyone of us is playing his part to the best of his ability, and I am more than satisfied with the work that has been done since we left Karachi We met not only the topmost men but also renowned workers and journalists of all classes and shades of opinion During our trip, I have found the Syrian to be the most enlightened of all the people we have so far met He knows our case and appreciates our demands He is with us, and even the strongest Nationalists who do not differentiate between religions but shout for unity, do not take up that attitude when it comes to the case of Muslim India

I met Amir Abdul Elah, the Regent of Iraq I conveyed to him your compliments and the greetings of the one hundred million Muslims that you represent We had a long and cordial conversation in the course of which I covered almost the entire ground He heard with patience and expressed deep sympathy and concern, and said that the strength of the faith of our religion will enable us to overcome all these difficulties and hardships if we hung on to the "Rope of Allah"[1] and maintained unity and a determined front He further realised that if the Muslims were to enjoy any position of honour in this world, they had to unite and stand four-square, otherwise interested forces would completely sweep them off

their feet He particularly asked me to convey his very best regards to you and regretted that you were unable to touch Baghdad on your way back to India from Cairo The Arabs here looked forward to meeting you, he said, and it would have also been a privilege and pleasure for him to make your personal acquaintance He stressed the point that in the world of today there is nothing better than personal contact One meeting of 15 minutes produces better results than a year's correspondence He expressed the hope that it will not be long before he meets you, as he [has] heard so much about you and of the services that you are rendering to our people in India

In Iran, too, we all utilised every moment that we could spare in doing our important work We have met quite a lot who count in the political life of the country I was asked by the Prime Minister, Qawam-us-Saltaneh, to see him before I left Iran I motored all the way up to Lahijan in Northern Iran where he had gone to spend his *Nawruz* holidays I may tell you that Qawam-us-Saltaneh is the all-powerful man of Iran today, and as such, in the real oriental style, rarely meets people except on very important business of State I spent two hours with him He started most cautiously and would not play at all All my submissions at the beginning were met by platitudes on his part Gradually the old man was worked up to fever heat and then all was well The conversation was very long which I shall report to you in person In brief, he was impressed by our demand and agreed with me that there was no other way out for the one hundred million Muslims of India He asked me to convey his best regards to you and expressed the hope that before he dies he would have the pleasure of meeting you He wished you Godspeed in your great service and said that every Muslim cannot but wish you this

I also talked to him about the report that very shortly Ambassadors would be exchanged between India and Iran, and told him how such an act would discourage his brethren in India and how it would hold up Muslim India in bad light He was impressed with my arguments to such an extent that he made me understand in a roundabout way that such an appointment would not take place until the political situation in India crystallized I did not hold back all the acts of the Congress including the gigantic massacres that would have even put to shame Halaku Khan I was asked to see the Shah, but unfortunately as the day before my departure was the thirteenth day of the New Year and a day of holiday and rejoicing, it was not possible for the Ministers to arrange an audience I, however, intend to return to India via Iran and shall certainly see the Shah

I must also tell you that we avail ourselves of every opportunity to tell people wherever we go that the Asian Conference that is being held in Delhi[2] is boycotted by the Muslim Nation in India and that such conferences should not be given official recognition by Muslim States

Mr Hikmat, who is in India, is not the representative of the Iranian Government, but has gone as a member of the Indo-Iranian Cultural Society The Arab States have not sent an official representative, but the Arab League has sent a person to be an observer at the Conference I hope the Muslim Leaguers in Delhi, particularly Members of the Interim Government, have taken the opportunity of contacting all Muslims, official or non-official, who have gathered from foreign countries for the Asiatic Conference

The more I travel the more I realize that there is nothing like personal contact If personal contact can be improved with entertainment, it is very much better Congress has learned this art, and if we are to play a part worthy of our Nation, we too should wake up, get out of our shells and do our stuff

Since leaving Karachi I have not read more than one or two newspapers in English News concerning India is extremely sparse, and atmospherics were so dreadful in Tehran that even when we had the time to tune in to Delhi, we could not hear a word We know that you are meeting Mountbatten I am sure God in His Greatness and Mercy will help us in this hour of need and will guide us from disaster to peace, safety and independence through you

Please look after yourself and do not overwork As I have repeatedly written to you in the past, the Muslim nation needs you Your life is priceless

With kind regards,

Very sincerely yours,
HASSAN

[1]Refers to an *Aya* of *al-Qur an*
[2]For the Inter-Asian Relations Conference see No 284, note 3

294

Ali Asadullah Khan to various newspapers
(Copy to M A Jinnah)

F 561/98-100

1399 KOOCHA HABIB MOHD,
OLD MALAKPET, HYDERABAD, [DECCAN]
5 April 1947

THE PARTITION OF BENGAL AND THE PUNJAB

The Hindu Congress by her resolution on the partition of the Punjab has again given another proof of her being ruled by the communal orthodoxy, short-sightedness and narrow-mindedness The Indian National Congress is in fact a communal body, more communal than the others It obstructs the progress of the different nationalities living in India

The solution of the communal and political problem is admirable as it complicates the problem even more The Congress realizes the right of self-determination and grants this right at once when the Hindus of the Punjab demand The *banyas* see a profit an increase in Hindustan and decrease in Pakistan areas The Muslims are ever so broad-minded and fair dealers that they would never hesitate to agree to a right thing The partition of the Punjab and Bengal is right but I would like to remind the Congress, what, if on the same principle of safety and self-determination the Muslims demand separate sovereign states all over India whenever they form or will form a majority Would it like an India torn to thousands of pieces like that?

Alternatively, if one coolly thinks over the proposal of Pakistan consisting of the Kashmir, the N W F P, the Punjab, Sind, Baluchistan and Bengal-Assam with their present boundaries, it would be clear that this proposal is most easy and practicable There would be no headache of going through the unpleasant disputes of partitioning The Muslims would never ask the non-Muslims to go out of Pakistan On the contrary, they would welcome any newcomer for safety The Muslims believe that the land belongs to God and every man—God's beloved creation—should have every right in it They would give every non-Muslim full equality and complete liberty to their satisfaction However, the Muslims would not object to or hinder their migration if they liked Similarly if the Muslims will be satisfied in Hindustan, naturally they would not leave it But if they liked they would come to Pakistan

Such a state of affairs will result in very cordial and friendly relations between Pakistan and Hindustan There is no reason for being afraid of Pakistan lest it should later on become aggressive and trample over Hindustan Times of such aggression and injustice have gone The aggressors will soon be taken to task and doomed to their destiny There is yet time that the Hindus gladly agree to the establishment of Pakistan as soon as possible This friendly settlement will ensure their future cordial and friendly relations even with the possibility of a united centre (of course diluted)

If the Hindus pay heed to this, they must realize clearly and fully that the Muslims have now seriously decided to establish Pakistan, at any cost and as soon as possible, without caring whether the Hindus, Sikhs, English or the U N O agree to it or not. The Muslims are sure that they are doing right They would [neither] care nor ask for the help of the Englishmen, the Americans, the Russians or even the Muslim States They are strictly forbidden to commit such a cowardly act They pray for help from God God helps those who are right If the Hindus fail to accept the Muslims friendly offer, no centre dreamed of will be possible and future relations are bound to be unpleasant and disastrous

The Hindu Congress is very anxious to safeguard their wards, the Sikhs I may be excused for reproducing the general impression As far as the Sikhs are concerned, their desire for self-preservation is appreciable The Muslims too support them But the Hindus as usual befooled them like the Harijans They have used them as tools sometimes making them their husbands [*sic*] induced them to fight for them like buffers [*sic*] I wonder why Hindus and Sikhs are so cowardly as though guilty at heart (of illegitimate fears) that avoid free and friendly settlement with the Muslims

As regards *Sikhistan* there exists a *Sikhistan* already, i e the Patiala State What more do they want? If they do not want to live in Pakistan they can go to Patiala The other States—Pakistan, Hindustan, *Harijanistan* and the native States will of course recognise it as *Sikhistan* and treat it according to international law

A few words about *Harijanistan* In my opinion the Harijans should try to establish a sovereign States of their own In case this be quite impossible, they should by all means try to secure separate representation lest their slavery be perpetuated to eternity Their satisfaction at the bones thrown to them proves their depression

ALI ASADULLAH KHAN

295

Ali Asadullah Khan to various newspapers
(Copy to M A Jinnah)

F 561/101

1399 KOOCHA HABIB MOHD,
OLD MALAKPET, HYDERABAD, [DECCAN]
5 April 1947

N W F P 'S GOVERNOR SLEEPING

The present circumstances prevalent in the N W F P are undoubtedly serious The majority of the electorate [has] declared no-confidence in the usurping Ministry It was the duty of the Ministry to have resigned and if there exists any Governor, it was his duty to take over the administration into his own hands and to hold fresh elections to ascertain the will of the people

This is the constitutional solution But if the Ministry, along with the Governor, resorts to the unconstitutional act of continuing such illegal Government, the other party and the main and sovereign party, the people, will also resort to the natural counteraction by replacing the Government by a constitutional one representing the will of the people The Governor and the quisling Ministry will be solely responsible for the loss of lives and property for which they should be prosecuted

I am sure that I am right Therefore, I would like to see that every one realizes his duty and promptly acts accordingly

ALI ASADULLAH KHAN

296

A S Khan to M A Jinnah

F 886/197

AJMERI GATE, DELHI,
5 April 1947

The Honoured Leader of Muslim India[1]
Respected Sir,

It is to requested [*sic*] that the staff employed on this farm is totally comprised of [*sic*] Muslims and the Islamic way of cleanliness is

specially kept in view in the preparation of the products

With a view to giving a rise [sic] to the newly opened Muslim farm, we earnestly request you to place your orders with us for the supply of milk, cream, butter or ghee, whichever may be required by you

Hoping for your sympathy, we pray to Allah for your success to achieve our freedom

I beg to remain, Sir,
Your most obedient soldier,
A S KHAN
Manager,
General Dairy Farm of India

297

Maqbool Mahmud to M A Jinnah

F 10/11

DELHI,
6 April 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

My notes, which I mentioned in Bombay, are under preparation and will follow shortly Meantime, I submit a few points which may be of some assistance to you in the recent [sic] talks I regret that due to urgency and slight temperature I cannot get them carefully vetted and typed

Devoted,
MAQBOOL

Enclosure to No 297

F 10/12-14

MEMORANDUM BY MAQBOOL MAHMUD

1 The Cabinet Mission Plan cannot now be acceptable even if the Congress removed all reservations, because after Bihar experience (Bihar riots of 1946-1947), no scheme of a *joint*[1] defence could work or inspire confidence This does not, however, exclude the possibility of a separate but co-ordinated defence for the India of the future

A blueprint of *co-ordination* of Defence in free India is appended It

is only the first draft, intended merely as a basis of discussion It would require revision in the light of further consideration A further note is under preparation as to how the existing Indian army could be split up into various Indias, along with the equipment

2 Muslims are prepared to provide for the necessary measure of *co-ordination* in Defence, Communication, etc , through *treaty* or *treaties* with other Indias and with the British Commonwealth and others The stage of working under one Constitution as a single country or government, howsoever limited, is over The sooner it is made clear, the better The present suspense is the cause of communal murders and arson Hindus are trying to coerce Muslims into a united India, and the Muslims are determined to resist it by every possible means This phase of politics can change only when it is declared finally, as is now implied in H M G 's statement and various Congress resolutions, that there shall be more than one India Then all the forces which are now creating disruption will work, as in the U S A and Canada, to emphasize that the interests of these Indias are linked together in defence and other matters, and they must create a new tradition of neighbourly goodwill Lord Mountbatten could immortalize himself and help India by initiating this new tradition Delay is already proving dangerous

3 Why must the Hindu insist on forcing the "Muslim India" into an unwilling Union when the Muslims are prepared to ensure the desired co-ordination by treaty, which is essential for the transfer of power? The plan for the future may provide for joint Boards of representatives of various Governments in the future India to regulate various joint matters and policies by agreement, as has successfully been done by various independent nations in the past

Instances German Customs Union (1833-71), Latin Monetary and Currency Union (1563-1914), International Commissions for interstate rivers such as the Danube, International Postal Union, International Bank and Monetary Fund (1945), Offensive and Defensive Alliance between the U K and the U S A (1941-45), British Commonwealth of Nations Further details can be supplied if desired

4 Future possible lines of approach bearing in mind the co-ordination which may be necessary in the next ten years or so immediately after the transfer of power—N W & N E Muslim areas to be separate independent States—thereafter the following might be possible for ten years in the first instance by agreement and treaty

(i) Indian Commonwealth of Nations on the lines of the British Commonwealth of Nations with freedom for members to secede and to enter into alliance with the British Commonwealth, the

Muslim countries and others (e g Canada and U S A)
(ii) The co-ordinated Dominions of India
(iii) The co-ordinated States of India

5 Points on the proposed partition of the Punjab and Bengal

(i) Even if partition was accepted in principle, it will take years to be effected Therefore let the preliminary divisions of India be on the basis of existing groupings or sections of the Cabinet Mission Plan—with the right of opting out later on an agreed basis
(ii) If Bengal and the Punjab are agreed on being partitioned, portions of U P (where Muslims have the same percentage as Sikhs in the Punjab) and of Madras (where non-Brahmins may be likewise) and other elsewhere may have to be similarly partitioned
(iii) Due protection to special minorities could be provided by effective safeguards and also, if necessary, by setting up sub-provinces within the existing provinces, as suggested by Sir B N Rau
(iv) If partition is considered unsuitable, the line of approach should be that the existing boundaries of the provinces remain as at present and such contiguous areas wherein non-Muslims (if possible, excluding Scheduled Castes) are not less than 60% may be considered for separate treatment, provided it is economically, administratively and otherwise possible, without prejudice to the economic and other interests of the main province
(v) In various districts of the Punjab (list already submitted at the time of Gandhi-Jinnah talks), Muslims are a clear majority in a number of *tehsils* (sub-districts), even though they are a minority in the district
(vi) Three important districts of the Punjab have percentages of communal representation as follows

	Muslims	Scheduled Castes	Christians	Hindus & Sikhs
Jullundur	45 2	13 7	-	41 1
Ferozepore	45 1	5 1	-	49 0
Amritsar	46 5	1 9	1 9	49 9

The latest Congress Working Committee resolution[1] speaks of separation of predominantly Muslim areas from predominantly non-Muslim areas These districts do not constitute predominantly non-Muslim areas

(vii) Special cultural and religious interests of the Sikhs could be met by a separate sub-province within the Punjab and/or by setting up a Sikh religious centre at Amritsar like the Vatican in Rome (Details can be supplied if so desired)

(viii) In the last resort Ambala Division may be separated

(ix) Similarly, in Bengal, in the following important districts around Calcutta, the Muslims plus Scheduled Castes constitute majority (Mr Mandal and Mr Suhrawardy should be set on work to ensure support of these Scheduled Castes from now on in the event of a future plebiscite)

	Percentage of Muslims	Percentage of Scheduled Castes
Birbhum	27 4	28 7
24-Parganas	32 5	21 0
Khulna	29 4	24 2
Jalpaiguri	29 1	29 9

(x) In contiguous districts and *tehsils*, where the Caste Hindus and Sikhs are 60% or more, they may be separated from the Punjab and Bengal, the rest to constitute independent States within the Punjab, Bengal and other Muslim areas The demarcation of any doubtful area intervening between the Muslim and non-Muslim areas may be referred to an independent Commission A separate note will follow, if desired, on the basis of such demarcation in Ireland and Central Europe

6 The next move should be an RTC to work out an agreed basis of transfer of power separately to various Indias on a treaty-co-ordinated basis as indicated above.

[1]Annex to No 124, Resolution No 3

Annexure to Enclosure to No 297

F 10/15-18

A BLUEPRINT OF CO-ORDINATION OF DEFENCE IN FREE INDIAS

1 This defence co-ordination scheme is intended to ensure security of free Indias, and to provide for the land, sea and air requirements of frontier, coast and external defence, in emergency conditions of major and minor danger

2 The contracting parties of defence co-ordination scheme will be (roughly) the sovereign States mentioned below

(i) Non-Muslim-majority area or areas

(ii) Muslim-majority area or areas

(iii) Indian States, collectively

(iv) Areas in Indias' neighbourhood (such as Burma and Malaya) which may decide to join the scheme

3 A Defence Co-ordination Council will be set up by agreement of the participating States, and will, in peacetime, consist of their Defence Ministers

Note Each sovereign State may decide to have a separate consultative committee in its own area, consisting of its nominees or members of its legislatures, to assist its Defence Minister, but that provision is outside the scope of this scheme

4 In emergency conditions of a major danger, further additions to the membership of the Defence Co-ordination Council may be made by agreement of the participating States

5 Powers and procedure of the Defence Co-ordination Council in (a) peace and (b) emergency conditions will be settled by formal agreement For the period of major-danger emergency, delegation of extra powers will be provided to enable the Council to intensify the war effort, and pool the road, rail, air and sea transport services

6 Each sovereign State will maintain security under the superintendence, direction and control of its own General Staff, and will meet the whole maintenance costs of its Forces

Note

(i) Needless to say, each State will exercise, in respect of its Defence administration, the same authority and functions as it exercises in respect of its other departments

(ii) States possessing adequate resources will manufacture armament and, if willing, will supply it on agreed conditions to other areas

7(a) Responsible to the Defence Co-ordination Council and functioning under its orders, will be "Combined Advisory Staff"

(b) The Combined Advisory Staff will consist of officers of land, sea and air services and of technical qualifications, deputed by the participating States on an agreed plan, and will function under an officer known as Chief of Combined Advisory Staff or Advisor-in-Chief

(c) Expenditure on Combined Advisory Staff will be shared by the participating States on an agreed basis

(d) The Combined Advisory Staff will assist and advise the participating States in

(i) Planning, organising and developing measures for provision of forces of all arms, equipment, mechanisation, and supplies for land, sea and air services

(ii) Organising and training all arms of land, sea and air services

8 The Combined Advisory Staff will, in peacetime, function in

relation to the participating States and their General Staffs, much as the Military Advisory Staff of the Indian States Forces has hitherto functioned in relation to the Indian States and their Forces

9 The Combined Advisory Staff will report to the Defence Co-ordination Council, who will forward reports and recommendations to the States concerned, on the lines of the procedure now followed by the Political Department in regard to Indian States Forces

10(i) Recommendations of the Combined Advisory Staff, calling for a decision of the Defence Co-ordination Council, will be dealt with by the latter on the basis of the powers delegated to it

(ii) Reports and recommendations calling for the decision of an individual State will be dealt with by the State concerned

EMERGENCY CONDITIONS

11(a) Minor Danger

(i) In Minor Danger conditions, the State concerned may not need any assistance from other States to meet all the requirements, but the advice and assistance of Combined Advisory Staff will all along be available

(ii) Matters involving assistance from one State to another will be dealt with by the Defence Co-ordination Council to help the co-operation required

(b) Major Danger

In a period of major danger, when the problem of defence would raise wide strategic issues, it would be of undeniable advantage to fit in plans with the defence system of the British Commonwealth, and the American plan of action in the Pacific For this Staff consultations will be necessary in peacetime Under this scheme the Defence Co-ordination Council will, in peacetime, utilise the services of Combined Advisory Staff as an advisory body, while the executive side of defence administration, i e superintendence, direction and control mentioned in para 6 above, will be the responsibility of each State's General Staff But in a major danger emergency it will be necessary to establish intimate liaison between the General Staffs of the participating States, inasmuch as the land, sea and air services of one State may be called upon to operate in the area of another State Formations can, in such conditions, operate under separate General Staffs of their own, and the questions of high policy, strategy and mobilisation of resources decided at a higher level It may, however, in certain contingencies, be considered desirable

to create a High Command or Joint General Staff, but this is a matter to which much thought will have to be devoted by the participating States under expert advice in the practical conditions emerging after the needed set-up of the defence machinery The movements of armed forces from one area to another should present no insuperable difficulty, and all problems of co-ordination and administration relating to the joint war effort can be faced with confidence in the light of the experience gained as a result of the co-ordinated movement of Armies on the Western Front in Europe

Note It is considered premature to go into details in a bare outline of the Indian defence scheme at this preliminary stage It is needless to add that a joint war effort implies such dovetailing of essential factors as would ensure complete unity of the participating States in foreign, economic and industrial policy for the time being

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Fazlur Rahman to M A Jinnah

F 680/99

C P W D OFFICE, 14 MADAM STREET,
CALCUTTA,
8 April 1947

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I sent a draft from Habib Bank Limited, Calcutta, amounting to Rs 28 by registered post on 13th November 1946 under postal receipt No 171 from Esplanade Post Office, Calcutta, and also a money order amounting to Rs 10 on 18th November 1946 under postal receipt No 3791 from Esplanade Post Office, Calcutta, to the Agent, Habib Bank Ltd , Chandni Chawk, Delhi, but regret to inform you that I have not received *pucca* receipt of none [*sic*]

May I, therefore, request you now to inform me whether these have been duly received If received, *pucca* receipts may kindly be furnished to me at an early date

Yours faithfully,
FAZLUR RAHMAN

299

Muhammad Ali to M A Jinnah

F 822/17-18

[*Original in Urau*]

PARACHINAR,
KURRAM AGENCY, N W F P,
8 April 1947

Highly respected Sir,

May your noble shadow be everlasting and may peace and Allah's Blessings and Favours be upon you!

A meeting of the Working Committee of the All Kurram Muslim League was held today, the 5th of April 1947, under the presidentship of Syed Jan Husain Mian, the *Rais-i-Azam* of Kurram, at the grand building of the *Matam Khana* in Parachinar The President briefly appealed to the audience to devote themselves to the defence of Islam Everyone in the audience pledged to render all sorts of sacrifices for this great cause After that, Muhammad Ali, General Secretary, made an enthusiastic speech and threw light on the politics of the Punjab and the Frontier In this speech he said, "One hundred million Muslims of India are being organized The Commander of the Indian Muslims, *Hazrat* Quaid-i-Azam, is leading them with courage and political acumen to the great destination of Pakistan He is advancing towards his goal like a lion, trampling upon all the hurdles placed by the enemy in his way He is the defender and custodian of the Muslims of all the provinces of India As such, we, too, should submit our demands to him so that the interests of the people of the Kurram Agency may be properly safeguarded and we are not deprived of our rights " Thereupon, with the consensus of the audience, the following resolution was passed

"We, the Muslims of the Kurram Agency, very humbly submit to the most revered *Hazrat* Quaid-i-Azam that a member of our Agency should be elected to the All India Muslim League Working Committee to discuss and take care of the interests and rights of the Muslims of the Kurram Agency For this purpose they have proposed the name of Mr Ghulam Nabi Khan, President of the Muslim League Working Committee of the All Kurram Agency, because he is one of the most famous, educated and influential politicians of the Kurram Agency, under whose leadership our delegation, consisting of fifteen respected

persons, had the privilege of waiting upon *Hazrat* Quaid-i-Azam on 29 October 1946 at Delhi to know of the reforms which were on the anvil Mr Ghulam Nabi Khan is a competent lawyer, a true Muslim and a brave leader, who created an awakening among the dormant Muslims of the Kurram Agency by addressing them in a huge meeting on 15 June 1946 and by dint of his sincere efforts turned them into a solidly organized body, ready to fight and sacrifice everything for the achievement of Pakistan All this has been possible due to his untiring efforts Mr Ghulam Nabi Khan has now been appointed to a high position in the Commerce Department of the Afghan Government because of his faithfulness and sincerity, and is, at present, posted at Ahmedabad In his absence, Syed Jan Husain Mian, Vice-President, has been working as the Acting President for the last two months We, the sixty thousand inhabitants of the Kurram Agency, therefore, appeal to your gracious self very kindly to appoint our respected leader, Khan Ghulam Nabi Khan, the President, as a member of the All India Muslim League Working Committee and thus oblige all the people of the Agency "

With profoundest regards,

MUHAMMAD ALI
General Secretary,
Muslim League Working Committee
All Kurram Agency

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M A Hassan Ispahani to M A Jinnah

F 309/331-332

INDIAN TRADE DELEGATION
TO THE MIDDLE EAST, CAMP BEIRUT,
9 April 1947

My dear Mr Jinnah,

Since writing to you from Damascus, I have to make a further report I met the President of the Syrian Republic, His Excellency Shukri Bey al-Quwatli, accompanied by Ebrahim Zainal Alireza We had a very long and interesting talk He is well posted with happenings in India He has asked me to convey his respects and regards to you, and has also expressed the desire that he may meet you personally

sometime. Wherever I have been, I have noticed a great desire on the part of Muslim leaders to make your personal acquaintance The President wished that you could have had the time to stop even for a day in this part of the world on your way back to India from Cairo He very clearly understood our demand and appreciated it as much as we ourselves do The Syrian Government had nominated a deputation to attend the Asiatic Conference,[1] but as you in one of your interviews in Cairo told the Press that you did not approve of the Conference, the Syrian Government with one stroke of pen scrapped the proposal My interview lasted 40 minutes, during which time I did most of the talking at top speed

In Damascus I also met the greatest Arab hero, Fauzi Qawaqji, who comes only next to the Mufti of Jerusalem in popularity He has always fought against powers which have oppressed the Arabs He has fought the British, the French and the Jews in Iraq, Syria, Lebanon and Palestine He, too, knew more about India and the problems of Muslim India than quite a few of our educated Muslim brethren in our own country It was not necessary for me to emphasize points because he did most of the talking and presented my points to me He realizes as we do that if Muslim India falls under the heels of the Hindus, the greatest citadel of Islam will have fallen and would make the task of the subjugation of the Arab and other neighbouring countries particularly an easy one He has asked me to convey his best respects to you and has assured me that if the time came, and it was necessary, he was prepared to shed his own blood because he realized the consequences of Hindu domination not only in India but also outside He had no doubt that as our cause was just, God would not forsake us

I also met the great Druize leader Adil Arsalan He was staying at my hotel in Damascus He too was very well posted with the happenings in India

I have also met most of the Ministers of the Syrian Government at various functions and also Ambassadors and Diplomatic Ministers and utilized every second of my spare time in presenting the case of Muslim India I called on the President of the Lebanon Republic, a Christian, with all my colleagues of the Delegation I could not, therefore, talk I am told that the Prime Minister who is a Muslim, is a very influential and strong man I met him with the Delegation this morning and have made an appointment to meet him alone the day after tomorrow

Maulana Karam Ali, much to our surprise, walked into our hotel at Damascus one morning He is on his way back to India from Hedjaz,

Egypt, Transjordania, and Palestine, and is doing useful League work

We reached Beirut last evening and will be here three days I shall be going to Amman (Transjordania) to meet His Majesty King Abdullah Mr Ebrahim Zainal [Alireza] will accompany me My other colleagues will go to Tripoli for a day and will return to Beirut When I get back, we shall leave for Ankara by air

With kind regards,

Very sincerely yours,
HASSAN

[1]See No 284, note 3

301

Nawab of Rampur to M A Jinnah

F 692/20-21

PERSONAL
CONFIDENTIAL

THE PALACE, RAMPUR STATE, U P,
9 April 1947

My dear Mr Jinnah,

Dr Ziauddin Ahmed, the Vice-Chancellor of the Aligarh Muslim University, came to see me a couple of days ago and told me that in view of various circumstances he had decided not to seek re-election as Vice-Chancellor, and that he is going to announce this at the next meeting of the University Court, which is to be held on the 20th April He also told me that in his opinion two persons were eminently suitable for the post of the Vice-Chancellor, viz Nawab Sahib of Chhatari and [Nawab Muhammad] Ismail Khan Sahib, and that the final selection will be made after seeking your advice and guidance

As one whose House has been associated with the Aligarh movement for nearly 70 years and also as the Pro-Chancellor of the Muslim University, I am naturally very deeply interested in the well-being and progress of this great centre of Muslim learning The affairs of the University have, in recent years, caused me a great deal of anxiety and worry and I feel that this great Institution today stands in urgent need of your personal interest and guidance You, as the Quaid-i-Azam of the whole of the Muslim community, are the only person who is in a position to ensure the well-being and prosperity of this University, and, knowing how close its interests are to your heart, I appeal to you

to find a little time for the affairs of the University and to give the community a lead in the matter of the selection of a suitable Vice-Chancellor I know how extremely busy you are, but I do hope and trust that in spite of your very heavy engagements, you will be able to find a little time for this urgent matter

My present term as Pro-Chancellor of the University is also expiring, and I had decided not to allow my name to be proposed again for re-election in view of the present unsatisfactory state of affairs in the University, which I have constitutionally no powers to put right The offices of the Chancellor and the Pro-Chancellor are purely ornamental and neither of them enjoys any powers I have been pressed by some friends to agree to my re-election as Pro-Chancellor My services are always at the disposal of the Muslim University and I would deem it a privilege to be able to render any service I possibly can to this Institution, but if there is no prospect of improvement, I would naturally be very reluctant to be re-elected In the circumstances, I feel that the best possible course is to seek your advice in the matter

Zaidi,[1] my Chief Minister, will be in Delhi from the 15th to the 17th April, and if you will kindly spare him a few minutes, he will further explain the position to you

Hoping that you and Miss Jinnah are in the enjoyment of perfect health, and with best regards,

Yours very sincerely,
RAZA ALI KHAN

[1]Col Syed Bashir Husain Zaidi

302

C P Scott to M A Jinnah

F 675/84

No 1413/3 THE VICEROY'S HOUSE, NEW DELHI,
9 April 1947

My dear Mr Jinnah,

His Excellency asks me to say that he would be very glad to see you at 4 p m on Thursday, 10th April, for the further discussion about which he spoke to you when you met him yesterday [1]

2 I should be grateful if you would confirm that this time is convenient My telephone number is 2919

Yours sincerely,
C P SCOTT

[1] In a meeting with Mountbatten on 8 April 1947, Jinnah while rejecting the Cabinet Mission Plan urged partition of India and opposed division of the Punjab and Bengal See *TP*, X, No 101, pp 158-160

303

A R Khan to M A Jinnah

F 886/199-200

CIVIL SECRETARIAT U P, LUCKNOW,
10 April 1947

Respected Sir,

With reference to your letter of January 20, 1947[1] and in compliance with the instructions contained therein, I have completed the second part of my Report on the Migration and Concentration of Muslims in India relating to various communities in Indian States The salient features of this Report[2] are as under

(1) It contains 19 chapters relating to community-wise population in various States in India along with two maps of each Agency indicating population according to 1941 Census and enumerated on the basis of percentage variation

(2) Since definite suggestions were not provided in the First Report, a new Chapter No XVI has been provided in this Report giving definite proposals considering the Provinces and the States in Bengal and Bihar

(3) Similarly, the proposals for the Punjab have also been revised in the light of the recommendations made in this as well as in the First Report

(4) A chapter has also been provided in this Part which indicates the consolidated recommendations of both the Reports in a table

(5) The last Chapter contained in this Report relates to the population of Muslims in the world with particular relation to India

(6) It has got 3 maps on oil-cloth as under

(i) Map of India relating to population of various communities in all the districts of various Provinces and States

(ii) Map of India showing the position of Muslims during the transitional period with the comparative figures of the Hindus and others The directional movement of the mobile Muslim population has been indicated by means of arrows pointing towards the centres of concentration and drawn from the centres of emigration
(iii) Map of the world showing Muslim population in all the countries of the world

As stated previously, I also propose to take up the work of writing another Report in this series relating to financial, agricultural, industrial, mineral and economic resources of the Pakistan Provinces in particular, and the Muslim compact territorial zones, as proposed in these two Reports, in general, to indicate the country's resources as well as to support the suggestions and recommendations made in these two Reports The work will be taken up after hearing from you whether the same will be of use to you and the League or not

Yours obediently,
A R KHAN
Civil Supplies Department (Foodgrains)

[1]Not available in *QAP*
[2]Appendix VI

304

Jawaharlal Nehru to Nawab of Bhopal
(Copy to M A Jinnah)

F 238/28

No C A 31/ASF/47 COUNCIL HOUSE, NEW DELHI,
10 April 1947

My dear Nawab Sahib,

Will you please refer to your letter dated 1st April[1] asking me to intimate to you the acceptance by the Constituent Assembly of the general understanding reached between the two Negotiating Committees in regard to the allocation of States' quota of seats and the method of selection of their representatives in the Constituent Assembly and the fundamental points discussed at the meetings held on 8th and 9th February and 1st and 2nd March 1947[2]

2 In the course of the discussions between the two committees, I

made it clear that a formal ratification by the Constituent Assembly was unnecessary and that our committee was only required to report the result of its negotiations with your committee to the Assembly This report, giving an account of what happened at our discussions, will be made to the Constituent Assembly on 28th April

3 At our discussions we exchanged views on what you regarded as fundamental points; and, on the basis of the general understanding arrived at as a result of that exchange, the two committees proceeded to consider the question of the allocation of seats amongst the States and the method of selection and reached an agreement thereon The general understanding and the agreement will be included in the report to be made to the Assembly

4 The entry of the States' representatives into the Constituent Assembly has now become a matter of urgency, especially in view of the Prime Minister's Statement of February 20th I would, therefore, request you to be so good as to invite the States, which have not already done so, to choose, without delay, their representatives in accordance with the agreement arrived at, so that they may take their seats in the Constituent Assembly from the next session onwards

Yours sincerely,
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

His Highness The Nawab of Bhopal,
Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes

[1]No 276
[2]See No 276, notes 1 and 2

305

Firoz A Sarkar to M A Jinnah

F 785/115-117

BEGUMPURA STREET, SURAT,
10 April 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Words fail to express my deep sense of gratitude for giving me your valuable time to photograph you at Malabar Hill I believe that so far not a single photograph of yours is made from a purely artistic point of view *Insha' Allah* the one which I have taken will satisfy you and will stand in any photographic exhibition, all-India or international

Dear Quaid, as I want to make it the best photograph, it will take some time before I can present it for your inspection As soon as it is ready I will forward the same to you

The portrait study of Begum [sic] Fatima Sahiba[1] is also very excellent and I sincerely hope that she will like the portrait

Again thanking you for your kind and sympathetic treatment,

Yours-in-Islam,
FIROZ A SARKAR

[1]Refers to Fatima Jinnah

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Noordin Moosajee to M A Jinnah

F 886/201

DOCK ENGINEERING & WELDING WORKS,
KEAMARI, KARACHI,
11 April 1947

Respected Sir,

We beg to bring it to your honour's kind notice that in 1868 we came from Cutch and started our business of cloth under the name of Ameejee Valeejee & Sons It is not necessary at present to describe at length the progress made by us but it will not be out of place to mention that in 1929 we took over a running engineering firm at Keamari, Karachi, now employing about 450 people and running as Dock Engineering & Welding Works

Last year we started a steamship company in Karachi under the name of the Karachi Steam Navigation Company Limited with a capital of Rs 25,00,000 As a purely Muslim concern, it is the first of its kind in our province Our first ship S S *Virginia*, which we have bought, has been undergoing general repairs in our Works at Keamari, Karachi, and will be going into dry dock at Bombay for underwater repairs which will take about five to six weeks from now She will, therefore, be ready for her maiden voyage in Bombay by the end of May 1947

It is our earnest desire that after the ship completes her repairs in the dry dock, Your Honour do us the honour of performing her launching ceremony in Bombay I am aware of the multifarious duties with which Your Honour is deeply engaged, but I hope Your Honour will be kind enough to spare some time for this work as it will be a

great encouragement to the Muslim community in the field of commerce and industry

The undersigned has some urgent missions in Bombay and Delhi and will be in Delhi sometime next week It will, therefore, give me a great pleasure to have some of your very precious time in person sometime next week to be able to explain to Your Honour in detail and discuss the matter more fully

In the meantime we are anxiously awaiting the favour of a reply from Your Honour

Yours obediently,
NOORDIN MOOSAJEE

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A D Shroff to M A Jinnah

F 503/5

BOMBAY HOUSE, 24 BRUCE STREET,
FORT, BOMBAY,
11 April 1947

My dear Mr Jinnah,

I am sorry that your letter of 17th March[1] has hitherto remained unacknowledged This is because I was in Delhi up to the 22nd of March and, on my return, had to go to Ahmedabad where I got ill and I was only able to resume my work this week

I have already discussed the matter with two of my colleagues and I am glad to inform you that not only are they in agreement with me but all of us feel that this time we should do something more substantial than what we were able to do in 1943 [2]

As our Chairman is expected back [by the] end of this month, we have decided to await his return before we take a final decision You may, however, rest assured that we may be able to do something better [now] than [we did the] last time

Hoping you are well, [and] with kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
A D SHROFF

[1]No 147
[2]In May 1943, the Tata Trust had donated Rs 50,000 for financial help to Muslim educational institutions

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Anonym[1] to M A Jinnah

F 676/49-51

HOTEL BEAU SEJOURS, GENEVA,
12 April 1947

My dear Mr Jinnah,

I do hope you are keeping well We are getting news on the B B C of your daily meeting with the Viceroy [2]

The Indian delegation was asked to tea by Sir Stafford Cripps who is the head of the U K delegation and I got an opportunity of having a talk with him for nearly half an hour about Muslim politics His attitude seems to be that we should go into the Constituent Assembly and prove to the world opinion that the majority is trying to oppress us by numbers I replied to this by saying that he was a witness to what happened when you had agreed to their Plan for Groups and how interpretations had been used by the Congress to change the very basis of the Plan [3] I stressed that our demand for immediate Pakistan was a reality born out of experience of their methods and that it offered the only solution of immediate peace His attitude was "get it from them we can't be responsible" to which I replied that they were missing a wonderful opportunity of getting the goodwill of the Muslim millions and indirectly the goodwill of the Muslims of the world who were now the effective barrier between the communist and non-communist ways of thinking He threw Noon's speech into my face but I convinced him that Noon's was an individual opinion and that you alone could speak for the 10 crore Muslims and lay down the policy of the League I showed him the unity of our demand that the minority provinces like Bombay and Madras who had perhaps most to loose had shown by voting hundred per cent for Pakistan the intensity of our feelings on this question I added that, speaking on behalf of the business community, whom he would expect to be in the rear for such a complete break were in fact in the forefront of the demand for Pakistan and that we were willing to sacrifice anything and everything at your command

He talked about the Indian States, going into which I said that they were led by Hindu politicians who belonged as much as I did to those States and that their official body was against it and I added that it proved how far the Congress was willing to go to force a Constitution

of their making He talked about converted Muslims, which theory I exploded by quoting myself as a case of converted people who was more than hundred per cent convinced of the necessity of Pakistan

He then started on Muslim areas and not provinces and the Sikhs to which I replied that I stood for the existing boundaries and that our treatment of minorities was an ample proof of our ability to rule much better

Whilst leaving he told me that he would remember all that was said and the intensity of feeling I had shown

[*Incomplete*]

[1]The writer appears to be one of the Muslim members of the Indian delegation to the Preparatory International Trade and Employment Conference which was held in Geneva, Switzerland, in April 1947 For details about the Indian delegation see *Pakistan Times*, 8 April 1947

[2]The meetings took place on 8 and 10 April 1947

[3]Cabinet Mission Plan See Appendix III

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Sh Muhammad Ashraf to M A Jinnah

F 1013/14-15

KASHMIRI BAZAR, LAHORE,
12 April 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Hoping you will be enjoying the best of your health My silence means only that I do not want to take your valuable time, otherwise I always remember you in my prayers and am at your service at all times

You will be pleased to learn that I have added to my credit the publication of the second edition of *Meet Mr Jinnah*[1] by A A Ravoof The book has been brought up to date The author, Mr A A Ravoof, intimated [to] me that according to your wishes he had to delete in this new edition the chapter "Romance" dealing with your marriage, and which appeared in the first edition So this edition does not contain any reference about your marriage

The new edition is also decorated with some of your photographs Now we seek your permission to insert the photo of late Mrs Rattan Bai Jinnah in the book This is entirely to meet your

pleasure, otherwise we have got the block with us ready and it did appear in the former edition The reply to this is solicited at the earliest At the most it should reach us by 28th of April, 1947, because we are keeping pending the release of the book only for this purpose, otherwise the book is ready to the last word I will infer from your silence up to 28th of April that you have no objection to this, as silence means half consent

Hoping that, realising the urgency, you will do me your traditional favour and send the reply at the earliest

Praying for your long life,

I remain,
Yours sincerely,
MOHD ASHRAF
Publisher & Bookseller

[1]Emphasis in the original

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Nawab of Bhopal to M A Jinnah

F 238/30

PERSONAL
SECRET

QASR-I-SULTANI, BHOPAL,
12 April 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I have heard rumours that Ghazanfar Ali Sahib is being invited to preside over some Muslim League meeting in Travancore State I have my plans about Travancore who [*sic*] have lately been most helpful and I, therefore, hasten to invite your kind attention to this rumour

In my judgement it would be unwise for Ghazanfar Ali Khan Sahib to go to that State at this particular juncture and I would also venture to suggest that all action by the Muslim League or Leaguers should at present be scrupulously avoided in that State, otherwise my work will suffer

I hope your conversations with the Viceroy have been satisfactory All of us have implicit faith in you and your judgement and I am quite confident that the outcome will be in the greatest interest of the Muslims

Yours very sincerely,
HAMIDULLAH

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Note by A R Khan

F 22/86-92

12 April 1947

A SHORT COMMENTARY ON THE RECENT CONGRESS WORKING COMMITTEE'S RESOLUTION[1] FOR A DIVISION OF THE PUNJAB

The following two tables[2] indicate the position of each community in the various districts of Ludhiana [*sic* for Jullundur] and Ambala Divisions and the District of Amritsar of Lahore Division

TABLE 1

COMMUNITY-WISE POPULATION IN EASTERN PUNJAB CLAIMED BY CONGRESS FOR A DIVISION

Name of District	Caste Hindus	Jains	Sikhs	Scheduled Castes	Ad Dharmis	Indian Christians	Others	Muslims	Total
LUDHIANA DIVISION[3]									
Simla[4]	22 374	114	1 032	7 092		508	434	7 022	38 576
Percentage	57 4	0 2	3 0	19 0		1 3	1 1	18 0	100
Kangra	7 25 909	101	4 809	1 12 570	8 052	590	4 097	43,249	8 99 377
Percentage	80 7		0 5	12 5	0 9	0 2	0 4	4 8	100
Hoshiarpur	4 13,827	1 125	1 98 194	54 388	1 15 855	6 060	105	3 80 759	11 70 323
Percentage	35 4	0 1	16 9	4 6	9 9	0 5		32 6	100
Jullundur	1 56 579	1 395	2 98 741	41 581	1 12 850	5 971	269	5 09,804	11,27 190
Percentage	13 8	0 2	26 6	3 7	10 0	0 6		45 2	100
Ludhiana	1 06 246	1 279	3 41 175	60 432	5 037	1 632	332	3 02 482	8 18 615
Percentage	13 0	0 2	41 4	7 2	1 0	0 2		37 0	100
Ferozepore	2 16,229	1 674	4 79 486	63 031	8 473	11 031	1 704	6 41 448	14,23 076
Percentage	15 1	0 1	33 8	4 5	0 5	0 9		45 1	100
Total	16 41 174	5 680	13,23 437	3 39 094	2 50,267	25 792	6 941	18,84 764	54 77 157

Percentage	30 0	0 1	24 1	6 2	4 6	0 5	0 1	34 4	100
Group Percentage		54 2			11 4			34 4	100
AMBALA DIVISION									
Hissar	5,24 602	6 126	60 731	1 28 074	166	1 235	567	2,85,208	10 06 709
Percentage	52 1	0 5	6 0	12 7		0 1		28 4	100
Rohtak	6 45,371	6 847	1 466	1,35 103		1 026	17	1 66 569	9 56 399
Percentage	67 4	0 7	0 1	14 1		0 1		17 5	100
Gurgaon	4,41 287	2,613	637	1 19 211	39	1 457	222	2 85 992	8,51,458
Percentage	51 8	0 4		14 0		0 2		32 6	100
Karnal	5,29,588	2,789	19 887	1,36 448	265	1 223	29	3 04 346	9 94 575
Percentage	53 2	0 3	2 0	13 6		0 1		30 8	100
Ambala	2,88,652	3 065	1 56 543	1 21,681	2 325	4 892	1 588	2 68 999	8 47 745
Percentage	34 9	0 4	18 2	14 2	0 2	0 6	0 2	32 5	100
Total	24,29 500	21 440	2 39 264	6 40 517	2 795	9 833	2 423	17 11 114	46 56 886
Percentage	52 2	0 4	5 1	13 8	0 06	0 2	0 04	28 2	100
Group Percentage		57 7			14 1			28 2	100
I AHORE DIVISION									
Amritsar	1 94 727	1 911	5 10 845	22 051	653	25,330	664	6 57 695	14 13,876
Percentage	13 8	0 1	36 1	1 6	0 1	1 7	0 1	46 5	100
Group Percentage		50 0			3 5			46 5	100

[Note The calculations in the above table are incorrect and have been given as in the original]

The above table gives the population as well as percentage of various communities in the 11 districts of the Punjab, where Muslims do not form a clear majority, i e 51% or over

According to an article which appeared in the *Statesman*, dated 16th March 1947, the Hindu-Sikh demand for a separate province in the Punjab, where non-Muslims are in majority, also included the district of Gurdaspur It is not understood on what theory this claim of the Hindus and Sikhs is based since the community-wise position in that district is quite different, as would be evident from the following figures of 1941 Census

Gurdaspur—

Hindus including Jains, Scheduled Castes and Ad-Dharmis	2,83,200
Others including Sikhs	2,30,100
Christians	50,300
Total Non-Muslims	5,63,600
Total Muslims	5,89,900
Total Non-Muslims and Muslims	11,53,500

Even if the whole population of all the communities in the district, excluding the Muslims, is taken into account, the Muslim population exceeds [that] by 26,300 persons, hence there is no justification for the inclusion of Gurdaspur district in the Hindu-Sikh demand

The Sikh-Hindu demand for the division of the Punjab beyond the River Ravi is also not justified since many Muslim-majority districts of the province lie east and southeast of River Ravi, such as Gurdaspur, Lahore, Montgomery and Multan What they can claim for a division on the basis of population is the area lying on the east bank of the River Beas However, I give below a short commentary on the community-wise population in each district of the Hindu-Sikh demand

Simla—The Hindus represent 57 4% while the Muslims only 18 0%, hence the Muslim claim cannot be argued

Kangra—The Muslims represent a negligible percentage of only 4 8 against 80 7% Hindus

Hoshiarpur—The percentage of various communities is as under

Hindus	35 4
Sikhs	16 9
Scheduled Castes and Ad-Dharmis	14 5
Muslims	32 6
Rest	0 6

The Hindu percentage exceeds by only 2 8% that of the Muslims Since the Sikhs represent only 16 9%, i e nearly half of the Muslims, they have got no case at all as a separate community

Jullundur—The percentage of Caste Hindus and Sikhs comes to 40 3 (13 8 + 26 5) while the Muslim percentage alone is 45 2, hence they (Hindus and Sikhs) cannot claim this district on principle

Ludhiana—This is the only district where Sikhs form a substantial majority 41 4% Sikhs, 37 0% Muslims and 13 0% Hindus

Ferozepore—The Muslims alone represent 45 1% while the Hindus and the Sikhs represent 15 1% and 33 8%, respectively None of these two can claim the district in their individual capacity

Considering the community-wise percentage for the Ludhiana [Jullundur] Division as a whole, both the communities–Hindus and Sikhs–have got no claim at all for the possession of this Division in their individual capacity The Muslims represent 34 4%, Hindus 30 0% and Sikhs 24 1% The position of this Division is the same as is obtaining in Assam In Assam the Hindu percentage is a bit more than [that of] the Muslims while the percentage of Tribes is a little less than [that of] the Muslims The same position is prevailing in Ludhiana [*sic* for Jullundur] Division of the Punjab where the Muslims form a majority, the Sikhs are a bit less in percentage than the Muslims, and the Hindus are much more less than the Sikhs When the Hindus can rule over Assam with a bare majority of 7 6% (41 3 - 33 7), the Muslims of the Punjab, nay, the Ludhiana [*sic* for Jullundur] Division, representing a majority of 4 4% (34 4 - 30 0), can also claim the possession of Ludhiana [*sic* for Jullundur] Division

The claim of the Hindus in Ambala Division is, no doubt, justified on the basis of population because they form a majority of 52 2% in the Division and they represent more than 51 0% in every district of this Division

A keen study of these two Divisions suggests the possibility whether such conditions prevail anywhere else in the country or not In view of this, I have tried to present a picture of certain parts in the United Provinces in Table 2 to enable the Quaid-i-Azam to make use of it with advantage, if possible

Now Hindus cannot claim the support of Scheduled Castes since Scheduled Castes are agitating against Hindus practically all over the country In the U P, they have already started an agitation against the Congress Ministry Similarly, the Hindus cannot claim the support of the Christians because they have got nothing in common with the Christians while the Christians resemble the Muslims culturally and religiously As regards the Sikhs, they cannot put their case with the Hindus according to their present position as a separate nation from the Hindus, though small in number, unless and until they merge themselves in Hinduism All these arguments are put forth because it is not to our advantage to separate Ambala Division from the Punjab and because the Muslims will greatly lose in respect of mineral wealth if they at all agree to forgo Kangra

district, the hidden treasure of which is much greater than all the mineral wealth accumulated in the whole of the Punjab

Please refer to U P figures on the following page [Table 2] This indicates that Hindus represent 42 2% in Saharanpur, 51 8% in Muzaffarnagar, 56 9% in Meerut, 45 5% in Bijnor, 46 7% in Moradabad and 57 9% in Bareilly

TABLE 2

COMMUNITY-WISE POPULATION IN WESTERN U P

Name of Distt	Caste Hindus	Jains	Sikhs	Scheduled Castes	Christian	Others	Muslims	Total
Saharanpur	4 73 737	6 549	18 201	2 81,559	2 294	1,016	3 96 287	11 79,643
Percentage	40 1	0 5	1 6	23 9	0 2	0 1	33 6	100
Muzaffarnagar	5 29 634	9 783	8 438	1 97 688	3 659	38	3 07,519	10,56 759
Percentage	50 1	0 9	0 8	18 7	0 4		29 1	100
Meerut	10 36 251	20 725	24 279	3 55 503	10 286	5 155	4 44,383	18 96,582
Percentage	54 6	1 0	1 3	18 8	0 6	0 3	23 4	100
Bijnore	3 98 333	1 249	15 647	1 56,218	1 569	80	3 37 126	9 10 222
Percentage	43 7	0 1	1 7	17 2	0 2		37 1	100
Moradabad	6 33 351	1 585	52 561	2 00 933	15 478	1 788	5,67 358	14 73 064
Percentage	43 0	0 1	3 6	13 0	1 1	0 1	38 5	100
Bareilly	6 71 626	5 027	6 513	1 50 904	7 003	839	3,34 285	11 76 197
Percentage	57 0	0 4	0 5	12 9	0 7		28 5	100

[Note The calculations in the above table are incorrect and have been given as in the original]

When the Sikhs representing only 5 1% in Ambala Division can ask for a separate homeland in the Punjab, the Muslims of U P residing in the above 6 districts representing 31 7% have got a right to claim a homeland in the above 6 districts of U P Our demand for the northern part of U P is more weighty than the Sikh demand in the Punjab on account of our cultural and linguistic affinity which dominates the populace of these 6 districts over and above the strength of 31 7% population representation

I regret I cannot provide similar figures for certain other areas of the country for want of time and material which is not with me but I am sure such areas are available in the country particularly in Bihar and Madras

I hope the Quaid-i-Azam will kindly give a second thought to this short commentary and the 2 tables before forming any conclusion relating to the division of the Punjab I must reiterate that by this

division the Punjab, rather the Northern Pakistan Zone, will be a greater loser in respect of irrigation, minerals and agricultural resources

A R KHAN

[1]See Annex to No 124, Resolution No 3
[2]In fact there is only one table for the Eastern Punjab The other is for the Western U P
[3]There was no Ludhiana Division then, the caption should have been Jullundur Division instead
[4]Simla has been wrongly included here, it was part of Ambala Division

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Firoz Khan Noon to M A Jinnah

F 399/164-165

FALETTI'S HOTEL, LAHORE,
12 April 1947

Dear Mr Jinnah,

The way the Cabinet Mission and the ex-Viceroy went back on their words and let down the Muslims is still fresh in our memory

Do you see a danger of the new Viceroy carrying on these neguciations [*sic*] till June next year when the British would leave, handing over the army to the Hindus? They have had enough time to think over Pakistan and must be forced now to show their hand, and unless they give their decision on this point immediately, it may be advisable for us to refuse to be a party to any proceedings which, in our opinion, are based on a policy of procrastination—deliberate

There may be a strange game being played in the Punjab The Unionists sitting on the fence are most dangerous and must be eliminated, which can be done by a fresh election, and unless the Viceroy takes an interest, nothing may happen here

I have just returned from an extensive tour in the Salt Range The tension is great

Kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
FIROZ NOON

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Mrs K L Rallia Ram to M A Jinnah

F 487/33-34

5 MASSON ROAD, LAHORE,
12 April 1947

Dear Mr Jinnah,

I am forwarding lots of cuttings from various newspapers[1] They furnish quite a lot of information, particularly about the Sikh and the Congress designs and conspiracies The Communist papers which are no friends of the League give the correct analysis of the Punjab disturbances as to who has been the aggressor You have to make a regular case out of all the information in order to refute Pandit Nehru's charge that Muslims are the aggressors They became the aggressors only when seriously provoked (Mahatma) Gandhi waxes eloquent over the Noakhali and Calcutta and the Punjab carnage, therefore, he and others of his type have to be given facts and figures of the wicked designs and plans of the Punjab Congress leaders and the Akalis plus the RSS I collected all these cuttings and was waiting to hear from you Now that your letter[2] has come and you have received all my letters, I am forwarding the entire collection

Wishing you good health and good luck,

Long may you live,

Sincerely yours,
MRS K L RALLIA RAM

[1 & 2]Not available in *QAP*

314

Raghib Ahsan to M A Jinnah

F 204/352

8 ZAKARIA STREET, CALCUTTA,
13 April 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

I have the honour of forwarding herewith the following for your kind consideration

(1) Plans for defensive and offensive organization of Muslim India,
(2) Practical hints for immediate action, and
(3) Copy of letter to Bengal Premier on Reorganization of Bengal Police on "War Basis"

Yours sincerely,
RAGHIB AHSAN
Calcutta District Muslim League

PS Re Partition of India, consider the following points
(1) Delete the area of all Excluded and Partially Excluded Areas from the total area of British India and give these areas option to decide their fate by Union with Hindustan or Pakistan
(2) Then allot one-third area of the rest of British India as the living space for Muslim India, viz *Pakistan Homelands* This is sure to cut at the root of the Hindu cry for partition of Bengal and the Punjab
(3) Insist on proportionate area for proportionate population one-third area of British India minus the Excluded Areas for Muslim population, which is one-third of the Indian population minus Tribals, Christians, Scheduled Castes, etc

Enclosure 1 to No 314

F 1062/14-24

Plans for Defensive and Offensive Organization of Muslim India

REVOLUTIONIZE INDIAN SITUATION

PREPARE INDIA FOR THE REVOLUTION OF ISLAM

CONQUER AND CONTROL WHOLE OF INDIA OR BE SUBMERGED ENTIRELY

PREAMBLE

The British Government announcement of the 20th February, 1947,[1] declaring its policy of complete withdrawal from India by June, 1948, has totally revolutionized Indian politics

Now the fate of India will never be decided by settlement or agreement of the parties [concerned] It will be decided by the Arbitrament of Sword Hence the constitutional demand of Pakistan, which was the Muslim suit for partition of India into Muslim and Hindu India and presupposed promulgation of two British-approved constitutions for Pakistan and Hindustan by the sovereign British Parliament, has lapsed

Now there will be open war for the supremacy of the Muslims or the Hindus in the whole of India There will be total war for the total control of India There will be a life-and-death battle between Islam and Hindustan There will be a race for Delhi, Meerut, Ajmer, Nasirabad, Lahore, Rawalpindi and Quetta, and another race for Calcutta, Ichapur, Tatanagar and Jamalpur, and yet another race for Mhow, Hyderabad, Secunderabad, Nagpur, Poona and Bombay

But the people who will first reach and take and hold Delhi-Meerut will rule India

PAKISTAN AND PARTITION DEMAND HAVE LAPSED

So the constitutional demand for the partition of India by settlement and agreement has lapsed Now there will be a total war for total supremacy of one of the two nations in India, viz Muslims or Hindus There will be feverish activity and total effort to capture all the strategic cities, ports, army headquarters, magazines, armouries, arsenals, ordnance factories, aerodromes, military, air and naval installations and forces, roads and bridges

The Muslims who are living in the dreamland of the idea that they will be allowed to live and rule in peace the Pakistan Provinces while the Hindus will control the forces and powers of India, will soon be disillusioned

THREE VITAL REASONS FOR CONTROLLING THE WHOLE OF INDIA

History shows that the Hindus, Sikhs, Marathas and Rajputs have not the capacity for democratic government or for united and just administration They cannot give India administration, democracy, liberty, equality, justice, law and order, and peace and tranquillity Hence Muslims will be forced to take charge of the whole of India for three, if not for more, vital reasons

First, the very sense of the protection of Islam and the Muslim nation in India and the world demands that Muslims must effectively control and mould the political, economic and cultural fate of India as a whole and prevent the growth of Hindu Fascism

Secondly, the non-Brahmin minorities force us to fight for their emancipation from Hindu Fascism as they have been suppressed by Hinduism from time immemorial and the sovereignty of Islam is their one hope of emancipation in the world

Thirdly, the anarchy, disorder and chaos produced by Hindu misgovernment will force Muslims to appear in the role of the guardians of law and order in the whole of India and prepare her for socialist democracy and Commonwealth of Islam

THE NEW IDEAL TOTAL WAR FOR TOTAL SUPREMACY OF ISLAM IN THE WHOLE OF INDIA

So the clear and definite ideal and the one concrete objective of the Muslim nation and the Muslim League should be the supremacy and sovereignty of Islamic Commonwealth in the whole of India and the liquidation of all obstacles in the path of the supremacy of Islam in India.

It is clear as the midday sun that Muslims must either win and control the whole of India or lose everything: the Muslims become the guardians of all the provinces and all the peoples of India or are completely submerged in the welter of Hinduism, Islam must emerge as the one sovereign power of India or meet the fate of the Moors of Spain

NO COMPROMISE BETWEEN ISLAM AND HINDUISM

There can be no compromise between Islam and Hinduism in India The resolution of the Islam-versus-Hinduism problem by Arbitrament of Sword is inevitable There is no power to prevent or avert it The zero hour for the final and total war for total supremacy of Islam in the whole of India has come We must dedicate

(1) every fibre of our heart
(2) every atom of our brain
(3) every ounce of our energy
(4) every pie of our money
(5) every minute of our time

to this holiest of the holy wars—the *Ghazwa-i-Hind*—which the Holy Prophet of Islam prophesied would herald the supremacy of Islam in the world and defeat of the forces of godless darkness

SUPERIOR *IMAN* AND SUPERIOR GENERALSHIP WILL DECIDE THE FATE OF INDIA AS IT DID AT PANIPAT

Let us remember that the fates of decisive battles are decided not by superior material powers or force of numbers The history of Islam and the history of India show that it is decided by

(1) Superior *Iman* (Morale) [*sic* for Faith]
(2) Superior Generalship
(3) Superior Organization
(4) Superior Preparations
(5) Superior Fight

In all the historic battles which decided the fate of India, viz the Third Battle of Panipat (1761) and the battle of Talikota (1565), Muslims were outnumbered 1 to 20 but still the Muslim minority smashed the overwhelming forces of the Hindu majority by their superior *Iman*, superior Generalship and superior Fight

PRINCIPLES AND POLICY OF ACTION OF THE FORCES OF ISLAM

The forces of Islam must act as God-commissioned guardians of the life, honour and rights of all peoples of God The whole fate and future of Muslims and their entire success depends upon strictest morality, selfless devotion, *taqva*, and freedom from self-seeking The forces of Islam must, therefore,

(1) proclaim the peace, amnesty and justice of Islam for all the peoples and guarantee to protect the life and honour of men, women, young and old of all creeds and all innocent peoples of all religions without distinction of caste,
(2) maintain law and order, prevent loot and arson, and check crimes They must act as the guardians of peoples and saviours of masses,
(3) do equal justice to all peoples, Muslim or non-Muslim,
(4) abolish social evils and sins,
(5) abolish landlordism, feudalism, profiteering, usury, exploitation of the poor and the labour, pauperism and prostitution, gambling and the evil of drink,
(6) abolish caste and untouchability, root and branch,
(7) *Imams*, *Khateebs*, *Qazis* and *Muftis* must accompany the forces of Islam to see that none is allowed to transgress the laws of the Holy *Shari'at*,
(8) the forces of Islam must be preceded and followed by Islamic missions for *tableegh* and *ta'leem* of Islam for the good of all,
(9) there must be set up a network of *Bait al-maals* ,
(10) inculcate the spirit of *Iman*, *Jihad* and *Shahadat* in every Muslim soul

Let our watchword be—

Iman, Iman, Iman
Jihad, Jihad, Jihad
Shahadat, Shahadat, Shahadat

Let us be fired with the faith that we are God-commissioned soldiers to liberate India from slavery of false gods and goddesses, the *devis* and *devatas*, emancipate the peoples of India from caste and untouchability, and establish the Kingdom of God on earth

OUTLINE OF THE PLAN FOR DEFENCE AND OFFENCE ORGANISATION OF MUSLIM INDIA

THE FIVE MUSLIM COMMANDS OF INDIA AND THEIR TASK PROBLEMS

The whole of India [should] be divided into five military strategic

zones and zonal commands Each Zone Area should be divided into several Military Districts Each District [should] be divided into *Ilaqas* Each *Ilaqa* [should] be divided into *Mahals*

The whole of India should be divided into five Zonal Commands and each Zonal Command be put under a Zonal Commander of the rank of a General Each Zonal Command Area [should] be put under the Command of a real General of commanding quality and having military genius for leadership Each Division of the Zone Area [should] be put under the command and military leadership of a Lt General

Each District [should] be put under the command of a Colonel

Each *Ilaqa* [should] be put under the command of a Major

Each *Mahal* should be put under the command of a Captain

The Zonal Commanding-General should enjoy the largest amount of independence, powers of initiative and action to cope with emergencies in their respective Zones

Each Zone and each Zonal Commander will be entrusted with specific duties and specific military objectives

(1) Military Zone—under a General
(2) Military Division—under a Lt General
(3) Military District—under a Colonel
(4) Military *Ilaqa* —under a Major
(5) Military *Mahal* —under a Captain

The Five Land Commands

(1) Zone A—North-West India
(2) Zone B—North-East India
(3) Zone C—Deccan and South India
(4) Zone D—The U P
(5) Zone E—Central and Western India Agencies

The Five Sea Commands

(1) Zone A—Karachi and Port Jiwani
(2) Zone B—Mangrol-Junagadh-Kathiawar
(3) Zone C—Nava and Bombay
(4) Zone D—Malabar-Calicut-Laccadive and Maldive Islands
(5) Zone E—Bay of Bengal, Calcutta-Diamond Harbour-Port Canning-Chittagong-Akyab

Divisions of Zones A—North-West Command No 1

Zone A will consist of the following Divisions

(1) Yaghistan Free Frontier Tribal Areas, e g Waziristan
(2) N W F Province and Frontier States of Chitral, Swat, Buner
(3) Punjab
(4) Punjab States of Patiala, Nabha, Kapurthala and Bhagalpur

(5) Delhi, Ajmer, Tonk, Loharu and Mewat

Each Division will be subdivided by the General commanding the Zone into Military Districts

Divisions of Zone B—North-East Command No 2

Zone B will consist of the following divisions

(1) North Bihar, between the Ganges and Nepal
(2) South Bihar (Patna, Arrah, Gaya, South Monghyr and Bhagalpur)
(3) Chhota Nagpur Plateau
(4) West Bengal
(5) North Bengal
(6) Calcutta-Howrah-Hooghly and 24-Parganas
(7) East Bengal
(8) Surma Valley
(9) Assam Valley
(10) North-East Frontier, Sadiya and Balipara Frontier Tracts and
(11) Arakan (Maungdaw, Rathedaung, Buthidaung and Akyab)

North Bihar It consists of Trihut—the Trans-Gangetic Plains between the Ganges and the Himalayas (Nepal) consisting of [*sic* for including] the districts of Saran, Mozaffarpur, Darbhanga, Purnea, North Bhagalpur and North Monghyr lying north of the Ganges

South Bihar Plains It consists of the districts of Arrah, Patna, Gaya and parts of Bhagalpur and Monghyr lying south of the Ganges

Chhota Nagpur-Jharkhand Plateau It is a buffer [zone] lying between Bengal and Bihar proper and consists of the Santhal Parganas, Hazaribagh, Manbhum, Singhbhum, Ranchi and Palamau It is a region of hills, jungles and aboriginal tribes Ranchi is its capital, which is also the headquarters of the Eastern Command The Steel City of Tatanagar, its industrial capital, contains the biggest iron and steel works in the British Empire

To check Nepal we must fortify and arm the Muslims of Trihut and Darbhanga Darbhanga literally means the "Gateway of Bengal" We must keep the gate of Bengal's Muslim population [safe] from a strong element in Trihut, particularly on the borders of Nepal, viz Bettia, Sitamarhi, Darbhanga, etc

Divisions of Zone C—Deccan Command No 3

Zone C will consist of the following divisions

(1) Dominions of Hyderabad and Deccan
(2) C P and Berar

(3) Presidency of Madras
(4) Malabar
(5) Maharashtra
(6) Maratha States of the Central and West India Agencies

Divisions of Zone D—U P Command No 4

Zone D, the U P, to consist of the following Divisions
(1) Western U P—Agra, Aligarh, Bulandshahr, Meerut, Saharanpur, Mozaffarnagar, Rohilkhand, Bijnor, Rampur and Muradabad
(2) Central U P—Allahabad and Cawnpore
(3) North U P—Lucknow, Bareilly and Azamgarh, Nanpara
(4) East U P—Benares, Ballia, Ghazipur, Jaunpur and Gorakhpur

Divisions of Zone E—Central Command No 5

Zone E to consist of
(1) The Central India Agency
(2) The Presidency of Bombay
(3) The Western India Agency
(4) Kathiawar

District Centres of Zonal Commands

The district centres of the Zonal Commands will be

ZONE	CENTRES
1 Zone A	Delhi-Meerut, Nasirabad, Ajmer, Lahore, Rawalpindi, Peshawar, Bannu, Hyderabad, Sind, Kalat, Bahawalpur, Khairpur, Tonk, Loharu, Rampur, Moradabad, Saharanpur and Muzaffarnagar
2 Zone B	Bettia, Sitamarhi, Darbhanga, Purnea, Rajmahal, Ranchi, Ghazipur, Gorakhpur, Jamshedpur, Hazaribagh, Dinajpur, Birbhum, Asansol, Barakar, Kulti, Burnpur, Burdwan, Calcutta, Dacca, Chittagong, Sylhet, Shillong, Digboi and Maungdaw (Arakan)
3 Zone C	Nagpur, Burhanpur, Hyderabad, Aurangabad, Warangal, Nizamabad, Bijapur, Gulberga, Osmanabad, Bedar, Bezwada, Adilabad, Madras, Trichinopoly, Vellore, Bangalore, Cannanor and Calicut
4 Zone D	Saharanpur, Bulandshahr, Agra, Rampur, Bijnor, Moradabad, Bareilly, Shahjahanpur, Allahabad, Cawnpore, Benares, Ghazipur and Jaunpur *(to be in direct contact with the Western Command of Delhi-Lahore)*
5 Zone E	Bhopal, Korwai, Mangrol, Junagarh, Java, Palanpur, Bombay, Surat, Ahmedabad, Bharuch, Goddra and Konkan

FIVE DANGER[OUS] PROBLEMS OF MUSLIM INDIA

The problems and obstacles in the way of the supremacy of Islam in India in the open war—the Arbitrament of Sword—are.

1. Sikh States of Patiala, Kapurthala and Nabha,
2. Nepal (from Nanpara to Motihari, Darbhanga, Bhagalpur, Purnea, Dinajpur),
3. Maratha States of Deccan, Western and Central India Agencies,
4. Rajputana States,
5. (i) Indian Army its ordnance factories, cantonments, armouries, magazines, arms and ammunition, forts, oil reservoirs, aerodromes,
   (ii) Indian Air Force, and
   (iii) Indian Navy

OBJECTIVES OF DIFFERENT COMMANDS

The different objectives of the five Commands will be

OBJECTIVE No 1

The most important, vital and central objective is, and must be, the seizure of the forces and arms and ordnance stores of the Indian Army The second is the occupation of Delhi and Meerut, its treasury, armoury and Armed Forces

PROBLEMS OF DELHI-MEERUT-AGRA-AJMER

There will be a race for Delhi and Calcutta and the first power to reach and occupy Delhi-Meerut will rule the destiny of India How to smash all obstacles and occupy Delhi before any other power reaches Delhi? That is the first problem There is one difficulty The Sikh States, the Rajputana States and the U P Congress Government Forces are nearer Delhi than the Muslim forces of the West Punjab and the Pathans of the Frontier So most probably the Sikh-Hindu forces will try to reach Delhi-Meerut-Agra first How to prevent them? The forces of the Punjab, Sind and the N W Frontier will take at least one month to smash Sikh and Rajputana States and reach Delhi How to occupy Delhi-Meerut first and how to keep it at least for two months against the onslaughts of the Sikh-Rajputana forces, and how to occupy it before others reach Delhi? How to take and hold Delhi-Meerut before the Punjab-Frontier forces of Islam reach Delhi-Meerut? That is the first problem The answer is the Meos of Mewat, Delhi, Rohtak, Gurgaon, Hissar, Alwar and Bharatpur, under the leadership of Loharu and Tonk, and the Rohillas of Rohilkhand and the Muslims of Western U P under the leadership of Rampur Rifles

OBJECTIVES OF THE DELHI-MEERUT-LAHORE
WESTERN COMMAND NO 1

The five definite objectives assigned to the Western Command will be

1 The first and foremost objective must be the seizure of the arms and forces of the Indian Army, particularly of Delhi, Meerut, Agra, Nasirabad, Ajmer, Lahore, Rawalpindi, Nowshera and Quetta We must first capture the striking forces and weapons, the armouries and treasury, before we occupy strategic territorial points
2 To organize the Meos of Mewat, the Rohillas of Rohilkhand' and the forces of Rampur, Tonk, Loharu and Pataudi States, so that they defeat the Sikhs and Hindus in the race for Delhi and they first reach and occupy Delhi and Meerut before the Sikhs and the Hindus reach Delhi The Muslims of this area must be the first to reach and occupy Delhi at any cost and take care to overcome all obstacles in the way of this first and foremost objective
3 To organize Muslims of the Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, the Tribal Areas, Baluchistan, Sind, and Hur forces and the forces of Kalat, Khairpur, Bahawalpur and Chitral States to hem in, smash and overwhelm the forces of (a) the Sikh States of Patiala, Nabha and Kapurthala, and (b) Rajput States of Rajputana, and to reach Delhi and Meerut within a fortnight
4 To keep the Rajputana-Punjab States and the Dogras of Kashmir in check, and to force them to surrender to the forces of Islam
5 To take steps to protect Muslims of U P , Rajputana and Central India, and to extend the regime of Islam up to Allahabad, Lucknow, Benares, Jaunpur and Darbhanga
6 To maintain law and order, peace and justice in the dominion of Islam under the North-West Command and to protect all peaceful people

OBJECTIVES OF EASTERN COMMAND NO 2

The objectives assigned to the Eastern Command No 2 shall be

1 To be the first to occupy and maintain Calcutta and command the Hooghly River and the Bay of Bengal, Barrackpur, Ichapur, Cossipore, Chittagong, Saidpur, Shillong, Burdwan, Asansol, Birbhum, Bankura, Midnapore, Lilooah, Kanchrapara,

Raniganj, Kharagpur, Burnpur, Kulti and Barakar

2 To organize forces to occupy the steel town of Tatanagar and Ranchi, the headquarters of the Eastern Command, the coal districts of Manbhum and Hazaribagh, and to occupy the whole of Chhota Nagpur

3 To occupy Dinajpur, Jamalpur (Railway Workshops), Patna, Gaya, Sahsaram, Arrah, Dehri-on-Sone, Motihari, Darbhanga, Gorakhpur, Ghazipur, Jaunpur and Benares

4. To keep Nepal in check from Dinajpur to Darbhanga

5 To become the guardian of the life and property of the Muslims of Eastern India Bihar,Orissa and Eastern U P

OBJECTIVES OF THE DECCAN COMMAND OF HYDERABAD NO 3

The objectives assigned to the Deccan Command of Hyderabad should be

1 To organise the plan to smash and liquidate the danger problem of the Marathas and States

2 To keep in check the Kerala States of Mysore, Cochin and Travancore

3 To maintain the Dominion of Hyderabad as an independent State and make it a powerful maritime State

4 To occupy and annex Malabar and effect its union with Hyderabad

5 To occupy Bezwada, Madras, Masulipatam, Vizagapatam, Berar, Ahmadnagar and Bijapur up to the sea coast on the Arabian Sea and the Bay of Bengal

6 To occupy Bastar, Konkan, Porapur, Maurbhanj, Keonjhar and other States of the Eastern States Agencies lying between Hyderabad and Bengal and thus link up Hyderabad with Bengal

7 To be guardian of and responsible for the protection and security of the Muslims of C P , Berar, Bombay Presidency and Deccan and Western India Agencies

OBJECTIVES OF THE CENTRAL COMMAND OF U P NO 4

1 To consolidate and protect the Muslims of U P

2. To keep in check Nepal and guard against inroads into plains from Nanpara State to Motihari-Darbhanga Zone

3 To help in the Muslim occupation of Delhi, Meerut, Ajmer and Agra

OBJECTIVES OF THE CENTRAL INDIA COMMAND NO 5

1 To organize Bhopal, Tonk, Korwai, Java, Junagadh, Mangrol and Palanpur to help in the Muslim occupation of Delhi-Meerut and Ajmer-Agra
2 To police the Central India and Rajputana States
3 To be in charge of the protection of the Muslims of Rajputana, Central India, C P, and Bombay-Kathiawar

OBJECTIVES OF THE SEA COMMANDS

The objectives of the Sea Commands shall be

1 To organize a defensive and offensive Navy to guard the Bay of Bengal and the coasts and ports of Bengal
2 To occupy the port of Akyab
3 To occupy the ports of Calcutta and Chittagong
4 To control inland navigation in Bengal and Assam
5 To control coastal and high sea shipping
6 To organize strong merchant navy
7 To safeguard the coast of Sind, the ports of Karachi and Mangrol
8 To occupy the ports of Vizagapatam, Madras, Calicut, Bombay and Masulipatam

[1] No 1

Enclosure 2 to No 314

F 1062/25-29

CALCUTTA,
13 April 1947

PRACTICAL HINTS FOR IMMEDIATE ACTION

1 *Central Command*

Appoint a Central Command of five whole time military leaders and special directorates for specific duties

2 *Directorate of Transport in all Districts and Towns*

Form Directorate of Muslim Transport in every Zone, every Division, every District, every *Ilaqa*, every *Mahal* and every town, every ward and every village

Make intensive propaganda among Muslims and order every rich Muslim individual and every Muslim society to purchase and

keep ready in their respective ward and village in first class running condition as many

(a) Jeeps
(b) Weapon carriers
(c) Trucks
(d) Passenger carriers
(e) Horses etc
(f) Petrol and accessories etc

as possible Convey to every Muslim the Quranic command

Wa aiddu lahum mast-atatum min quwwatin wa min ribatilkhaili turhibuna behi aduvv-Allahi wa aduvvakum (Collect and mobilise forces and trained horses to your utmost capacity as much and as many as you can so that you can overawe the enemy of God and your own enemy—*Aal-i-Imran* [*al-Qur'an*, VIII 60])

3 *Directorate of Arms and Ammunition*

Form Directorates of Arms and Ammunition in every Zone, every Division, every District, every *Ilaqa*, every *Mahal* and every town and ward Train as many Muslims as you can

4 *Directorate of Military Intelligence*

Gather fullest information of the dispositions and strength of the different forces and arms of the Indian Army in different Centres as well as of the preparations of the Hindu and Sikh States, Congress Governments and Hindu and Sikh Parties and secret societies

5 *Directorate of Espionage*

Organize Directorate of espionage system

6 *Directorate of Communications*

Organize Directorate of Communications and Codes

7 *Directorate of Offence and Defence Bands*

Organize—

(a) Guerilla Bands for mobile offence
(b) Political Dacoit Bands [*sic*] (for Hindu-Sikh Zones)
(c) *Janbaz Dastas* for special duties
(d) Muslim Home Guards for stationary defence in fixed areas
(e) Regulars
(f) Irregulars
(g) Reserves
(h) Engineers, Sappers and Miners

8 *Directorate of Morale*

Organize Directorate of Morale [*sic* for Faith] in every Zone, Division, District, *Ilaqa*, *Mahal*, town and village, in co-operation

with Jam'iyyat al-'Ulama-i-Islam and *Mashaikh*

(a) Infuse new *Iman*, fervour, spirit of Islam, *Jihad, Shahadat and Akhuwat* in all Muslim men, women, children, students, workers, *kisans*, and make them feel, think and act as selfless soldiers of God

(b) Preach and teach *Kalima* with meaning and *Namaz ba Jama'at* to every Muslim man, woman and child

(c) Purge the body and soul of individuals and the body social [*sic*] of Muslims wage a ruthless war on evils of impurity, wine, women [*sic*], gambling, usury, profiteering, *begaar*, etc

(d) Develop *Akhlaq-i-Muhammadi* in every Muslim and make them sterling gold and pure steel make every Muslim a blessing unto all mankind—a refuge for the poor, the patient, the suffering, the distressed of all creeds

9 *Directorate of Necessaries of Life*

Form Directorate of Necessaries of Life in all Zones, Divisions, Districts, *Ilaqas*, *Mahals*, Towns, Wards and Villages to provide stocks of

(a) Foodstuffs and food grains

(b) Clothing at least for a year and to make Muslims as much self-sufficient and independent as possible

10 *Directorate of Essential Services*

Form Directorate of Essential Services in every Zone, Division, District, *Ilaqa*, *Mahal*, Town, Ward and Village for the provision of the social services which are essential for the upkeep of social life Each Muslim area must provide for the following

(a) Muslim midwives and *dais*

(b) Muslim *mehtars*

(c) Muslim *hajjams*

(d) Muslim blacksmiths

(e) Muslim carpenters

(f) Muslim *dhobies*

(g) Muslim *kumhars*

(h) Muslim *halwais*

(i) Muslim *beldars*

(j) Muslim *bihishties*

(k) Muslim labourers

11 *Directorate of Medical aid and Sanitation*

Form Directorate of Medical Aid and Medical Supplies

(a) to keep in stock drugs especially anti-tetanus and antiseptic,
(b) to stock first aid boxes and train first aid parties in every village and town, and
(c) to safeguard public health and sanitation and make Muslim villages and *mohallas* models of sanitation and cleanliness

12 *Forces of the Muslim States of India*

Contact Commanders of the Army and the Forces of the Muslim States,viz Bhopal, Rampur, Tonk, Korwai, Loharu, Bahawalpur, Hyderabad and Junagarh, and convert these Muslim Army leaders to your ideal and Plan of Action and secure complete understanding and active collaboration with them Make them your agents

13 *Political Commissars in Forces of Muslim States of North West*

(i) Appoint your Political Commissars—your agents in the armies of all Muslim States, especially in Rampur, Bhopal, Bahawalpur, Tonk, Korwai, Loharu, Pataudi, Junagarh, Khairpur and Hyderabad
(ii) Appoint your Political Commissars and Agents in all Frontier and Baluchistan State Forces and Hurs of Sind
(iii) Appoint your Agents and Political Commissars in all the Frontier Tribes

14 *Amir, Jama'at-i-Tableegh, Bustee Nizamuddin, Delhi*

Contact and convert to your ideal and plan Maulana Shah Muhammad Yusuf, the spiritual leader of Mewat and *Amir, Jama'at-i-Tableegh,* Mewat, at Bustee Nizamuddin Appoint S A Hamid Calcuttawala, *Khalifa* of the *Jama'at,* your vicar and the Commissar for the Mewat Zone in Mewat

15 *General Ahmad al-Idrus of Hyderabad*

(i) Contact and convert General Ahmad al-Idrus, Commander-in-Chief, Hyderabad State Forces, and appoint Liaison Officers and Political Commissars in the Hyderabad Forces
(ii) Contact and convert Nawab Saif Nawaz Jung Bahadur, the Sultan of Mokallah, the Leader of Hyderabad Arabs and the *Jamadars* of the Hyderabad Arabs, and appoint Liaison Officers
(iii) Contact and convert all the *Jamadars* of the Nazim-i-Jam'iyyat—the Irregular Forces of Hyderabad
(iv) Contact and convert the forces of all the *Paigahs* and *Jagirdars* of Hyderabad and appoint your Liaison Officers
(v) Secure largest amount of monetary help for the modernization

and strengthening of the Hyderabad forces and the Muslims of South India.

16 *Chota Nagpur Adibasis*

(i) Form alliance with the aboriginal Mundari Tribals, the Adibasis of Chota Nagpur Plateau, Chhattisgarh and the Eastern States Agency from Bastar, Kankar, Ganjam Agency to Maurbhanj, and support their demand for free Jharkhand and their separation from Bihar

(ii) Form alliance with the Adibasis, the Tribals of Assam, the Nagas, Gharos, Khasis, Lepchas, Ahoms, etc

(iii) Form alliance with the Scheduled Castes Federation of Bengal, Chota Nagpur and Assam

17 *Bait al-maals in Bengal , Punjab and the Centre*

Establish a Bengal *Bait al-maal*, a Punjab *Bait al-maal* and a Central *Bait al-maal* of Delhi-Agra-Meerut-Ajmer area with a capital of one crore rupees each

18 *One-Rupee One-Man National Tax*

Levy one-rupee one-man Muslim National Tax on Muslims The affluent Muslim of a *mohalla* or village must pay for the poor of his *mohalla* or village

19 *Special Jama'at-i-Tableegh*

Appoint Special *Jama'at-i-Tableegh* of the *Jam'iyyat al 'Ulama-i-Islam* and *Mashaikh* for working for the moral regeneration of Muslims and the galvanization of the nation for *Jehad* and *Shahadat-fi-Sabilillah* and to keep the morale of the people to the highest pitch of a selfless devotion, discipline and self-sacrifice This *Jama'at-i-Tableegh* together with *Muftees, Qazis* and *Imams* must be an essential part of all Muslim forces and campaigns

20 *Inspire all to Act as Selfless Soldiers of God*

Instruct all Liaison Officers, Political Commissars and *Jama'at-i-Tableegh* to inculcate spirit of highest discipline and order among all Muslims and to maintain order and discipline under all conditions and particularly to prevent (1) loot, (2) arson, and (3) murder of innocent civilians, and to protect women, children, old men and patients of all communities and to respect the rights and religions of all peoples

The forces of Islam, in short, must show by action and example that they are not self-seekers or seekers of wealth and power for self-gratification and self-aggrandisement but God-commissioned forces of peace, justice, moral order and general liberation and good of mankind, in short forces of which every soldier is a soldier of God and has solemnly dedicated his life and everything for *Ala'-i-Kalimatullah* (Upholding of the word of God)

Enclosure 3 to No 314
Raghib Ahsan to Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy

F 1062/11-13

CALCUTTA,
13 April 1947

Subject: Reorganization of Bengal Police on a war basis

My dear Shaheed Saheb,

Please allow me to lay before you the following suggestions

TO MEET FORCE WITH SUPERIOR FORCE AND SUPERIOR GENERALSHIP

(1) The Hindu movement for partition of Bengal is threatening to involve Bengal in a vortex of civil war Whatever you think and desire, there is no prospect of a settlement You are proceeding on the right lines to defeat the partition move by conciliation of Caste Hindus and winning over of Scheduled Castes and Adibasis This is all right

But if you really want to save Bengal from a major disaster and a terrific crash you must equally prepare to meet hostile and rebellious force with superior force, superior strategy, superior generalship and superior morale

You cannot depend upon the present police force to face the abnormal situation It was never raised or made for this job of checkmating civil war It is not just to assign it this task I do beseech you to give first and foremost priority to the following problems

REORGANIZATION OF POLICE ON A WAR BASIS

To be frank, none of your Muslim Deputy Commissioners appears to be quite up to the mark or quite fit to fight and defeat the enemy We must secure the services of war veterans, tough men, Muslim military officers—Brigadiers, Colonels, Majors, Captains, Lieutenants—and appoint them as DCs, ACs and Commandants of Additional and Special Police Forces Reorganize and put your entire police force on a war basis at least for the next two years and make its beginning with reorganization of Calcutta, Howrah, Hooghly and 24-Parganas Police Force

MAJOR ABBAS KHAN OF JHELUM

You are running against time Please decide and make a beginning by appointing two or three able officers as Recruiting Officers and Police Reorganization Officers to get things going I have requested

Major Abbas Khan of Jhelum to come down to Calcutta from the Punjab and see you in this connection He is a very honest and efficient ex-serviceman of a district which produces the toughest fighters, the district of Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan You may appoint him as Recruiting Officer and he will give you first-class, selected and trained 5,000 servicemen in two weeks

You will also get very good stuff from Rohillas, Maliks, Pathans and Shaikhs of Bihar and U P

GENERAL SIR SHER MUHAMMAD KHAN OF DOMELI AS BENGAL POLICE REORGANIZATION OFFICER

(2) My second suggestion is that you please appoint General Sir Sher Muhammad Khan of Domeli, ex-MLA (Central) of Jhelum, as the Bengal Police Reorganization Officer He is a veteran of two World Wars Consult Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan about this matter Both of them belong to Jhelum (Punjab)

RECRUIT ARMED FORCE OF 30,000 FROM WAR VETERANS

(3) The third important point is that the menace of the rebellion of Gurkhas under instigation [sic] of the growing communalism and the preachings of the Gurkha League and the Congress, will grow and very soon the Gurkhas in the whole of Bengal will become a grave danger to the security of Bengal

The one and only way to avert this danger is the immediate recruitment of at least 30,000 Muslim ex-servicemen in the Armed Police Force for the industrial areas of Bengal roughly in the following way

FOR CALCUTTA PROPER

(a)	Additional Police Force	4,000
(b)	Essential Services Protection Police	1,000
(c)	Mills & Factories Protection Police	1,000
	Total	6,000

FOR HOWRA

(a)	Additional Police Force	2,000
(b)	Essential Services Protection Police	500
(c)	Mills & Factories Protection Police	500
	Total	3,000

FOR HOOGLY

(a)	Additional Police Force	1,000
(b)	Essential Services Protection Police	200
(c)	Mills & Factories Protection Police	300
	Total	1,500

FOR 24-PARGANAS

(a)	Additional Police Force	4,000
(b)	Essential Services Protection Police	1,000
(c)	Mills & Factories Protection Police	1,000
	Total	6,000

FOR BURDWAN-ASANSOL

(a)	Additional Police Force	3,000
(b)	Mills Protection Police	1,000
(c)	Mines Protection Police	1,000
	Total	5,000

FOR MIDNAPORE-KHARAGPUR

(a)	Additional Police Force	2,000
(b)	Border Police Force	1,000
(c)	Railway Protection Police	500
	Total	3,500

FOR BENGAL BORDER ANTI-SMUGGLING FORCE

(Bengal-Bihar Border Districts) 3,000

FOR RAILWAY PROTECTION POLICE

(Midnapore, Burdwan and Calcutta areas) 2,000

Grand Total 30,000

The big mills, factories, mines, banks and firms may be taxed for th extra expenses of this additional police force

This extra force will be needed for at least two years

Kindly consider this suggestion, decide and act with firm resolution

Submitted

Yours sincerely,
[RAGHIB AHSAN]

315

Khwaja Nazimuddin to M A Jinnah

F 392/87

37-38 WESTERN COURT, NEW DELHI
14 April 194

Dear Mr Jinnah,

Since November 1945, I have been on the move and during thi

entire period excepting for one month of *Ramadan* I have hardly stayed with my family for more than ten days at a time My personal affairs are in a mess and it is very necessary for me to be in Dacca for a few days by the end of April I would very much like to leave Delhi on the 17th or 18th April, and return to Delhi on the 4th or 5th May I hope it would be possible for you to let me go If, however, in your opinion my presence is necessary here, I will have to stay, but from your conversation yesterday I could gather that no important question is likely to come up before the 1st week of May You often complain that we always want to run away, but as I have pointed out, I have gone wherever I have been asked to go and have been constantly on the move for the last 18 months

I asked Hossain Imam to send a wire to Jafar Imam to come to Delhi I now find that Mr Yunus passed through Delhi without seeing me and is at present in Patna If you so desire, I can ring him up and get him to come here immediately

As far as Bihar is concerned, you want to appoint a new Committee consisting of those who are prepared to give their time If you want me to give up other work and concentrate on Bihar, I am prepared to do so, and if I am not put in the new Committee, it is not necessary for me to be present in the talks which you are going to have with Yunus, Jafar Imam and Hossain Imam But I am prepared to stay till they come, provided they can get here by the 17th April If I phone today, and both of them leave on the 15th morning, they ought to be here on the 16th morning, and I may be able to leave on the 17th, after the discussions on the 16th I will be obliged if you will kindly let me have a reply by tomorrow so that I may make my arrangements accordingly

Hoping to be excused for the trouble,

Yours sincerely,
KH NAZIMUDDIN

PS I have been told by Mr Chundrigar that you and Nawabzada want me to go to England as High Commissioner This question will be decided in a fortnight If I have to go to England then it is all the more necessary for me to go to Calcutta

316

Ismail Coovadia to M A Jinnah

Telegram, F 560/37

BETHAL, TRANSVAAL,
15 April 1947

Quaid-i-Azam M A Jinnah, Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Liaquat Ali Khan, Mahatama Gandhi, Delhi

Urgently necessary for sake S A [1] Indians, sanctions by India against South Africa be immediately withdrawn Reacting to real danger of S A Indian community respectfully suggest round table conference be arranged between India and Union and means found by moderate sections both sides for solution of all points in conflict First essential withdrawal India's sanctions and plentiful supply jute articles to Union without delay

ISMAIL COOVADIA

[1]South African

317

Qazi M Isa to M A Jinnah

F 302/153-154

DELHI,
15 April 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I arrived last evening from Quetta I had to deliver the letter to you from H H the Khan of Kalat I would not like to inconvenience you now but would meet you after a couple of days I am now going to Nainital to see my son who is in school there and, being his birthday, I would like to be there In the meantime you would read the letter and H H 's declaration It is on this subject that I seek your elucidation

I do hope you are in best of health

With all the regards,

Yours sincerely,
ISA

Enclosure to No 317
Khan of Kalat to M A Jinnah

F 699/21

AIWAN-I-KALAT, QUETTA,
14 April 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I returned to Baluchistan on the 29th of last month Before I say anything, I wish to convey to you grateful thanks from my people and myself for the kind and very affectionate thoughts you expressed in respect of our aspirations and for the sympathetic view with which you regarded the Kalat case Your conversations still pervade my thoughts, and they have had very benevolent effect on my feelings It was due to this influence that I, at the very first opportunity, made in unequivocal terms a public announcement giving all my support to your demand for Pakistan—not only your demand but rather a demand of the ten [*sic* for hundred] million Muslims of India

I enclose for your perusal a copy of the announcement which is in Urdu Kalat, I believe, is the first and so far the only State which has publicly thrown its lot with Pakistan and has promised its fullest support therefor The attitude that the opposite camp will consequently adopt in respect of Kalat and its demands is quite evident At this juncture I request you to do me a favour by giving a short public statement in support of my announcement This will have at least a soothing effect on the feelings of the pro-League public here, which at present are very much prone to be swept by the Congress propaganda it is this thought that tempts me to request you for a statement in support of the Kalat Government announcement which would otherwise seem inopportune

2 I hope this letter finds Miss Jinnah and you both in good spirits I wish you both good health and long life to serve the cause of the Muslims of India In the end I must once again thank you both for the kind hospitality you showed me while I was last at Bombay

With kindest regards to you both,

Yours very affectionately,
AHMAD YAR KHAN

Annexure to Enclosure to No 317

F 699/22-29

[Original in Urdu]

GOVERNMENT OF KALAT'S ANNOUNCEMENT ABOUT CEDED TERRITORIES
ISSUED BY PRIVATE SECRETARY, THE COURT OF KALAT

11 April 1947

Now that the ceded territories of Kalat are about to be returned to the State, a number of rumours are floating among the people To dispel misunderstanding and to remove the current restlessness of the people, I have been directed to issue the following statement about future policy of the Government of Kalat

1 By the Grace of Allah, nearly all the population of Kalat is Muslim It is the desire of Khan of Kalat that the future Constitution of the Government of Kalat should be Islamic and in accordance with the jurisprudence preached by the Holy Prophet and that the State be ruled by a constitutional and Islamic ruler
2 The present practices and way of life would continue wholly unaltered even after the restoration of the ceded territories to the State However if it is found absolutely essential to make any changes in the current practices, the changes would be implemented only after their approval by the majority of the State's people and their representatives
3 The day the ceded territories are returned to the Government of Kalat, an Advisory Board will be constituted in every area which will consist of representatives of all classes, religions and groups to enable people to advise the Government of their country and to serve their country by participating in the affairs of the Government
4 The Government of Kalat wants to make it perfectly clear to all of you that the position of the Government would be that of a group of persons serving the cause of Islam, the people and the motherland It will be the duty of the Government to associate people's representatives in the conduct of the State affairs The Government of Kalat is not a Government of aliens but that of the natives of this State itself, which is fully sympathetic to the people and strives for their well-being It will be the duty of the state to continue to serve the cause of Islam, to eradicate illiteracy, to promote industry, to teach modern industrial and professional

skills to the labourers and artisans, and to eliminate unemployment with a view to improving the economy of the State, ending poverty, promoting commerce to international level, and raising the living standards of the cultivators by modernizing agriculture

5 The question of natives and non-natives is being hotly discussed. This question will be resolved as soon as possible The best solution in this connection is to establish an Advisory Board on the restoration of the ceded territories which will include representatives of all classes, religions and sects

This Board would interview the out-of-State people to ascertain if they were willing to regard Baluchistan as their motherland and whether they agreed to being called Baluchistani on being given citizenship of Baluchistan If they expressed their readiness to integrate themselves with us, to regard Baluchistan as their own land and to identify themselves with our interests and way of life, we would unequivocally accept them as our brethren and our equals As for religion, all people will be free to practise their own religion In case they did not accept the above-mentioned conditions and wished to return to countries of their origin, we would guarantee security of their lives and property and would make suitable arrangements for their return to their original lands, without any harm to their persons or belongings

6 In future the Government of Kalat will be a fully free and independent government in all internal and external affairs It will, through treaties, establish friendly relations with neighbouring Muslim countries, such as Afghanistan, Iran, Saudi Arabia and especially Pakistan. In addition, it will enter into treaties and friendly relations with India and the rest of the world also

7 As for the ideology of Pakistan, Muslim League Party and Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the Government of Kalat is in complete agreement with them and is ready to render any sacrifice for establishing Pakistan

The Baloch people should also remember that the policy of Khan-i-Kalat is the same as that of Quaid-i-Azam Indeed the Khan of Kalat has been consulting the Quaid-i-Azam in all important matters and the Quaid-i-Azam fully approves of the restoration of all the ceded territories and their assimilation in Kalat and has assured the Khan of Kalat of his full support in this context, for which the Khan of Kalat and the State Government are most grateful to him

318

M A Jinnah to Kassim A Mahomed

F. 156/77

15 April 1947

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of 1st April 1947,[1] enclosing a cheque of Rs 1,20,000 (Rupees one lac twenty thousand) as your contribution to Bihar Relief Fund on behalf of the Muslim Chamber of Commerce, Calcutta. I am very thankful to you and all your members for this generous help they have given at this critical moment Please convey my very cordial thanks to all of them I have already forwarded the cheque to the Habib Bank, Ltd , Delhi, to be credited to the Bihar Relief Fund Account, and when the amount is realised, I have instructed them to send you the proper receipt for the amount, which I hope you would get in due course

Yours sincerely,
M A JINNAH

Kassim A Mahomed, Esq ,
Acting President,
Muslim Chamber of Commerce,
Calcutta

[1]No 278

319

S Muzaffar Hasan Kazmi to M A Jinnah

F 908/77

KALLOOMALL STREET, CAWNPORE,
15 April 1947

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

To infuse the spirit of sportsmanship among the Muslim youths of the country, it has been proposed to hold the First All Pakistan Olympic Meet this year at Karachi, on the auspicious occasion of your august birthday

Herewith attached you will find the list of the office-bearers and the Patrons of the Meet

I hope your honour will be kind enough to accept the Chief Patronage of the Meet Kindly inform me per return so that the necessary literature of the Meet may be published at the earliest

With kind regards,

Obediently yours,
S MUZAFFAR HASAN KAZMI
B A, LL B,
Convener,
First All Pakistan Olympic Meet

Enclosure to No 319

F 908/78

FIRST ALL PAKISTAN OLYMPIC MEET 1947

Chief Patron	Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah	
Patrons	Mr Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah	(Karachi)
	Malik Firoz Khan Noon	(Punjab)
	Khan Iftikhar Husain Khan	(Punjab)
	Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar	(N W F P)
	Mr Liaquat Ali Khan	(U P)
	Mr Amir Ahmad of Mahmoodabad	(U P)
	Mr M A H Ispahani	(Bengal)
	Mr H S Suhrawardy	(Bengal)
President of the Meet	Mr Ghazanfar Ali Khan	
Vice-President	Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan	
Hony Treasurer	Nawab Muhammad Yousuf	
Hony Secretary & Convener	Mr S M Kazmi, B A , LL B	
Chairman of Reception Committee.	Mr Yousuf Abdulla Haroon, MLA	

Organizing Committee

A. B A. Haleem, Vice-Chancellor, Sind University (Chairman)
Sports Captain, Muslim University
Sports Captain, Islamia College, Lahore
Sports Captain, Islamia College, Peshawar
Professor S. Nawab Hussain, Secretary, U P Olympic Association

S M KAZMI
Secretary

320

Helen Reid to M A Jinnah

F 773/83

230 WEST 41ST STREET, NEW YORI
15 April 194

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Your very kind letter[1] from London arrived just before the death of my husband[2] and during the time that has elapsed since then, my regular work has suffered

I want you to know, however, how touched I was at your taking the trouble to write me about the visit to America of Hassan Ispahani and Begum Shah Nawaz [3] I deeply appreciated your help in arranging for their trip and I can assure you that they did much to clarify the thinking about India

With warm gratitude for your thoughtfulness and hoping that som day I may be able to thank you in person,

I am, Sincerely yours,
HELEN ROGERS REID
New York Herald Tribune

[1]Not available in *QAP*

[2]Ogden Reid, the proprietor of the *New York Herald Tribune*

[3]The *New York Herald Tribune* had organized a Forum in New York in November 1946 which the Quaid-i-Azam sent M A H Ispahani as his representative to present the AIM point of view on the political and constitutional problems of India Begum Shah Nawaz al went with him Z H Zaidi, ed, *M A Jinnah-Ispahani Correspondence 1936-1948* Karach 1983, pp 497-500

321

Sarhad Muslim Students Federation to M A Jinnah

Telegram, F 560/13

15 April 1947

Quaid-i-Azam M A Jinnah, Aurangzeb Road, New Delhi

Congress Ministry lost confidence of Frontier Muslims Frontier Muslims request dissolution of Congress Ministry immediately

SARHAD MUSLIM STUDENTS FEDERATION

322

Patna Muslims to M A Jinnah

Telegram, F 560/36

PATNA,
16 April 1947

Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah, New Delhi,

Muslims perturbed over Gandhi's reference last evening prayer meeting to Jafar Imam[1] and Badrudin[2] assurance of approval Congress Govt's rehabilitation scheme[3] contrary League's official demand Further they gave Gandhi certificate Congressite Muslims were not harmful Muslim national interest Pray issue definite directive for our guidance

PATNA MUSLIMS

[1]President, Bihar Provincial Muslim League
[2]Secretary, Bihar Provincial Muslim League
[3]This related to the rehabilitation of Muslim refugees in Bihar

323

Syed M Sa'adullah to M A Jinnah

F 455/1-4

SHILLONG, ASSAM,
16 April 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Mr Abdul Matin Chaudhury, who is going to attend the meeting of

the Central Committee of Action at Delhi on the 20th April, has requested me to send you a short note on the present political situation of Assam

The position is hopeless from any point of view On the 19th February, a meeting of the Council of the Provincial Muslim League was convened in a sub-divisional headquarters of the Sylhet district where a Committee of Action[1] was created who were authorised to devise ways and means to counteract the eviction policy of the Congress Government I was nominated a member in my absence without my consent It is alleged that the President of the Provincial Muslim League verbally told the members on the 19th February that the meeting of the Committee of Action will be held at Dhubri on 2nd March That is probably the reason why no notice was sent to me of this meeting on the 2nd of March though I was not present at Maulvibazar where the Council meeting was held

Only three out of nine members of the Committee of Action were present at Dhubri where the Committee of Action is supposed to have clothed [*sic*] the President of the Provincial Muslim League with dictatorial powers One member of the Committee of Action—an MLA—who was present at Dhubri on the day, asserts that there was no meeting of the Committee of Action at Dhubri The President convened a meeting of the Working Committee of the Provincial Muslim League to be held at Nowgong on the 9th March 1947 Three MLAs out of twelve members of the Parliamentary Party, who are members of the Working Committee, attended this meeting at Nowgong on the 9th, where a Civil Disobedience Movement for Assam to be launched by the Muslim League was decided upon On 10th March, the President, Maulana Abdul Hamid Khan, started civil disobedience at Tezpur and courted arrest A list of 52 members was drawn up by the President at Nowgong, who would offer civil disobedience at Tezpur on successive dates

Thus it will be apparent that the Working Committee declared civil disobedience on the 9th of March, without taking any steps to prepare the country for such a move They took no approval of their scheme from the Central Committee of Action, as is necessary under the Muslim League Constitution The Civil Disobedience Movement, thus launched, was against the eviction policy of the Congress Government which they have adopted since February 1946

The Parliamentary Party, consisting of 31 Muslim League MLAs, was ordered by the Working Committee to abstain from the session of the Assembly, although they had no powers to dictate to the Parliamentary

Group To preserve the unity of the Muslim League, the Parliamentary Party acted as directed by the Working Committee and withdrew from the Assembly session We sent representatives at Delhi to place the situation in Assam before the Central Committee of Action which deputed Chaudhry Khaliq-uz-Zaman to Assam The resolution adopted by the Working Committee of the Provincial Muslim League at the instance of Chaudhry Khaliq-uz-Zaman may have been shown to you by your Secretary as it appeared in the press For the prestige of the Muslim League organization, and as we are presented with a *fait accompli* by the President of the Provincial Muslim League, we are forced to adopt the resolution of the Civil Disobedience Movement

Ever since the 30th of March, my co-workers have been doing their level best to organise the people for launching the Movement vigorously when the approval of the Central Committee of Action will be obtained But up till now, excepting in two areas, the response has been poor There is absolutely no fund even for the travelling expenses of the co-workers, not to speak of any relief to sufferers from the Movement I have borrowed Rs 2,000 from a certain fund to carry on It was out in the Press that Bengal is raising a lac of rupees to help us and we have also appealed to the All India Muslim League to help us with a lac of rupees Up till now, in spite of promises of help by the Acting Secretary of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League, who accompanied Chaudhry Khaliq-uz-Zaman to Shillong, not a single farthing has been received by me so far from this source I know that a draft for Rs 1,000 was sent by the Bengal Treasurer in the name of our General Secretary at Gauhati But I do not know what will be the fate of that draft as the General Secretary has already been detained by the Government for violating Section 144 at Dhubri The Muslims are not at all prepared to launch a big Civil Disobedience Movement, they are disorganised and, as I stated, for want of funds, workers in sufficient numbers could not be sent to different areas to rouse the people

The Congress Premier and myself met on the 3rd of April to negotiate a peaceful settlement, but up till now nothing concrete has emerged which I can place before you The entire Assam Valley Hindus, Tribal people and also the Tea Garden labourers are dead set against the Muslim immigrants from Bengal We can expect no help, no sympathy from them in the Assam Valley in our Civil Disobedience Movement, and we are in a minority in the Assam Valley Please, therefore, give your best thoughts to the situation in Assam and guide the Committee of Action, who are meeting at your place on the 20th April, and give me directions [about] what to do If a vigorous Civil Disobedience

Movement is to be carried on, it will surely mean much loss of innocent lives and destruction of property It is a moot point whether by launching such a movement we can dislodge the present Ministry with our 31 Muslim League Members in a House of 108—and yet "Down with the Ministry" is the slogan of this Movement

The Congress Government has raised the false cry that the Movement is specially designed to bring Assam into the Pakistan Zone The varied geographical position of Assam will compel her ultimately to align herself with Bengal, for Assam has got no outlet to the outside world except through Bengal and an alienated Bengal can use the stranglehold on the economic life of Assam Our chief export is 400 million pounds of tea, which must be exported through Calcutta or Chittagong port, and Assam is dependent, except for rice, for every article of daily diet, like salt, sugar, *dal*, wheat products, etc , on other parts of India and these articles must be moved through Bengal to reach Assam In the future Constitution of India, if Assam becomes an independent State or a part of Hindustan while Bengal enjoys [joins] Pakistan, Bengal will have the whip-hand over Assam to make Assam ask for grouping with Bengal Therefore, in my opinion, it is immaterial if Assam, under her present masters, proves intransigent and refuses to join the grouping The Muslim League need not, on the score of Assam alone, object to sit in the Constituent Assembly

As the letter has become inordinately long, I will close here, but I have instructed Mr Abdul Matin to give all further materials about Assam's present and future position verbally to you

With best regards and sincerest wishes,

Yours fraternally,
SYED M SA'ADULLAH

[1]The Council and Working Committee of the Assam Provincial ML reiterated the Resolution of the Provincial League workers to start a Civil Disobedience Movement against the eviction of Muslim settlers by the Assam Government It also advised all landless people to start cultivating available Government wastelands in the interest of the "Grow More Food" campaign A Committee of Action consisting of Maulana Abdul Hamid Khan Bhashani, Syed Muhammad Sa'adullah, Abdul Matin Choudhry, Mr Saeed-ur-Rahman, Abdul Hamid, Dewan Abdul Basit, Abdul Kassim, Abdullah Chaudhry and Saleh Ahmad, was formed to carry on the Civil Disobedience Movement, which was started from 10 March 1947 Maulana Abdul Hamid Khan Bhashani was the first to have courted arrest by violating section 144 at Tezpur *Pakistan Times*, 25 February and 12 March 1947

324

Jal K Wadia to M A Jinnah

F 191/37

275 BOWBAZAR STREET, CALCUTTA,
17 April 1947

Dear Mr Jinnah,

Herewith attached is a proposal drawn up by me in an attempt to find a way for Hindu-Muslim compromise I forward, though hesitatingly, the same to you for your consideration, being situated as I am in a humble position

Though expert players know the game fully, yet during the actual play a humble wayfarer at times can see more of the openings This viewpoint has encouraged me to send the proposal to you Please excuse me for the liberty taken of approaching you

If at any time my humble services are required in this connection, I shall readily respond to your call in the interest of my country and shall act to the best of my ability in the then circumstances permitting me

Copies of this proposal are also [being] forwarded to H E the Viceroy, Mahatma Gandhi and Mr Nehru for their consideration

I have not released my proposal to the press and, before I do so, I shall await your kind reply and also those from the above-mentioned leaders

Yours faithfully,
J K WADIA
L D Sc

Enclosure to No 324

F 191/38-41

A PARSI APPROACH TO HINDU-MUSLIM COMPROMISE

The Parsis are peace-loving people and they have lived in India ever since their landing in this hospitable country in complete harmony and brotherhood with all communities They have always regarded all Indians as their own and never hesitated to sacrifice what they could in the service of their countrymen Today their hearts renders [*sic*] in pain and agony when they see their own people cutting each other's throat in utter hatred and distrust In their eyes Hindus, Muslims or Sikhs are the same and regard their sufferings as their own They appeal once again to these great communities to stop this slaughter

With this view, an approach is being made towards the Hindu-Muslim compromise It is hoped that this appeal will not fall on deaf ears

The Congress ideal of a United India, if it can be attained and maintained by all the Indians, can make this country a leading power not only in Asia but in the world. But, unfortunately, communalism, which is deeply rooted in all the communities in India, has created much suspicion and distrust to achieve the ideal The suspicion and distrust created between the two major communities will, it is feared, bring untold calamity and weakness to India if the Congress ideal is persisted in without taking communalism into consideration

Divided India, as demanded by the Muslim League, if made into a permanent settlement, will, it is believed and feared, make this country the Balkans of Asia, and will ever become the political chessboard of the leading powers that are infested with Imperialism This country then will ever be weak and ever in danger of foreign aggression, either economic or military It will be better for the Muslims and the Hindus and all other communities if complete separation is avoided But the Congress ideal of United India, if persisted in under the present unfortunate circumstances without taking communalism into consideration, will soon make the demand of Divided India a necessary evil Whatever the Congress leaders may say, the communalism that is virulent cannot be denied and it will be a folly to deny it, moreover, the fact that the Muslim League, whatever may be its strength, is in a good bargaining position, cannot also be denied or ignored

The communal strife that is rampant all over the country will, if not checked, lead the country to a civil war or continued slavery under the foreign power in the name of the preservation of law and order The threatened civil war must be prevented at all costs as it will bleed the country to utter weakness and to the death of independence Those who will take to the sword will perish by the sword It must be remembered that foreign interference will prolong the civil war The Hindus will be fighting not only the Muslims but also the secret foreign help So also the Muslims will fight not only the Hindus but also foreign interference Neither the Hindus nor the Muslims have the strength to fight the powerful, well-organized foreign interference, and civil war will wound the two communities as also the Sikhs to such an extent that either [*sic* for both] of them will take perhaps a century or more to recover and will not be in strength to fight slavery that may ultimately overcome them Civil war then must be prevented at all costs and a compromise will be beneficial to both of them In a compromise the question of appeasement does not arise, if the present

circumstances realized and accepted [*sic*] A compromise must be regarded as the result of the battle of wits between the Indian statesmanship accompanied by due sacrifices by either community on the one hand and the shrewd and well-organized but secret foreign elements interfering in Indian politics on the other hand

A PROPOSAL TO SEEK COMPROMISE

In thinking out this proposal, the evil of communalism has all along been kept in view and an attempt is made to seek out a way to bring the two major communities nearer to each other The League fears and its consequent demands, the Congress proposals and the Cabinet Mission's plan have also been taken into consideration An attempt has also been made to prevent complete separation

The proposal is based on a ten-year trial It is not expected that a ten-year trial will be refused by either the Hindus or the Muslims when they have waited and suffered for nearly two hundred years for freedom During this period an attempt must be made to get rid of communalism completely and to ensure and preserve complete freedom of all communities, including the minorities The followers of Gandhiji may of course attempt with all vigour to work out his ideal of one community, not by diplomatic duplicity or coercion or in any tricky way but by love, sincerity, faith in God, and sacrifices by one and all, beginning with the major communities If this ideal is not accomplished during this period but is on the way and hoped to be accomplished then, with common consent the trial period may be extended But if it turns out to be a total failure then, with or without foreign help, the division of India may be made During this period all communities should be cautioned against foreign interference

In this proposal there are Central Government and Provincial Governments with no grouping as proposed by the Cabinet Mission The Provincial Governments should be given complete autonomy with very wide powers The Central Government should have a minimum of subjects During this trial period, the Provincial Governments under the guidance of the Central Government should lay out such policy, whether educational, political, economic or commercial, that they may attempt completely to get rid of communalism, including suspicion and distrust—the greatest obstacle in the path of freedom and progress All minorities must live without fear of being superseded and subjected to dependence and curtailment of freedom by the major community

At the Centre, the allocation of seats should be done without taking into consideration the ratio of population Otherwise under the present circumstances it would prove unworkable, prejudicial and injurious to

a good cause It is better for the major community to court voluntarily the lesser evil in time (this may be regarded by them as an evil) so that they and all the other communities may be safe from the greater evil This sacrifice will ultimately benefit them when they have won over the confidence of the minorities With this consideration the seats should be divided in the ratio of 5.5 1 The two major communities get five each and the minorities, e g. Sikhs, depressed classes, Parsis, Anglo-Indians, etc , get one each.

As the joint electorate will not be acceptable till communalism is gotten rid of, separate electorates for all the communities should stay For the good of India, the Congress, who have already made many sacrifices, should also make this sacrifice Besides, they have very often expressed that as soon as freedom is won, the Congress will be dissolved If this is going to be true then their claim of representing other communities will not arise when India is independent The Hindu or Muslim seats should be equally divided among all the provinces so that each province may be sufficiently represented to protect the interests of the two communities As regards other minorities, such as Parsis, Anglo-Indians, Sikhs, etc , the seats may be allotted to that province where there is the largest population of the particular minor community. The relaxation may be given to elect their representative from any other province whenever it is so desired Facilities may also be provided to the members of the respective community residing in other provinces to take part in the election Power should also be given to every province to adopt at any period the system of joint electorate, and this must be done not by the elected bodies but by the willing consent of the people of each community They may also be given the power to form closer relations with any province or provinces in matters of education, commerce, communications and economics

Portfolios at the Centre should be divided and grouped according to their importance and the important ones should be equally divided among the two major communities Any important portfolio, if it is to be given to the member of any minor community, should be done with the consent of that major community which may have the right over it The rest of the portfolios may be divided among the other communities The important portfolios may be reshuffled between the two communities at the end of five years The presidential chair should go preferably to a minor community in the beginning, elected by joint electorate As to the Constituent Assembly, let each province have its own such Assembly, besides the one for the Centre, to draw up their own system of government

Bengal and the Punjab have created a problem which, if not solved, will prove a thorn in the smooth working In the proposal the partition of these two provinces is recommended but not absolute separation The Punjab is to be partitioned into two (a) the area dominated by the Muslim majority, and (b) the area dominated by the combined Hindu and Sikh majority Similarly, the partition of Bengal is to be made In each of these two provinces there should be two Governments under one Provincial Government The seats in the Provincial Government should be divided on the same basis as in the Central Government, i e equal seats to Hindus and Muslims with seats to other minorities in the respective provinces In the Punjab, the Sikhs should be included in the Hindu seats These two provinces should have power to abolish partition whenever the people of the respective provinces so desire

In the end it is hoped that this approach made by a Parsi, impartial and free from any prejudice, will be duly considered by the leaders

J K WADIA

325

M A Jinnah to Khan of Kalat

Telegram, F 978/1

18 April 1947

His Highness Khan of Kalat, Kalat (Baluchistan)

Received your letter[1] Not opportune for me express opinion at present

JINNAH

[1]This probably refers to Enclosure to No 317

326

M A Jinnah to Muhammad Ali

F 832/34

18 April 1947

Dear Sir,

I have received your letter of 8th April[1] and I am enclosing herewith a copy of the Constitution and Rules of the All India Muslim League Members of the Council are chosen by the Provincial Muslim

Leagues according to their quota and you will see from the Constitution that any Muslim who is 18 years of age or above and pays 2 annas a year, is entitled to become a member provided that he is a resident of British India You will also see that the membership of the League is confined to British India under the present Constitution This cannot be changed except by the full session of the All India Muslim League In the light of the information I have given you, you will carefully consider the matter and perhaps you will get in touch with the Provincial League executive of the North-Western Frontier Province

Yours faithfully,
M A JINNAH

Muhammad Ali, Esq ,
General Secretary,
All Kurram Agency Muslim League,
Parachinar, Kurram (N W F P)

[1]No 299

327

M A Jinnah to Muddassir Ali Shamsee

F 955/30

18 April 1947

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of 3rd April,[1] and I thank you for it

I have noted all you say and I am forwarding your letter to Mr Liaquat Ali Khan And, as regards the other matters, you must deal with Mr Hassan Ispahani direct I know that he is just now away from India but he will soon be returning

Yours faithfully,
M A JINNAH

Muddassir Ali Shamsee, Esq ,
500 Riverside Drive,
New York 27, N Y

[1]No 291

328

Mohammed Afzal Husain Qadri to M A Jinnah

F 410/3

DEPARTMENT OF ZOOLOGY,
MUSLIM UNIVERSITY, ALIGARH,
18 April 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam Mr Jinnah,

I have made certain studies with regard to the latest move of the Congress to divide the Pakistan provinces I trust you will kindly go through the enclosure which incorporates my views as well as studies

With best wishes and *Salaam*,

Yours devotedly,
M A H QADRI
M Sc , Ph D (Alig),Ph D (Cantab)

Enclosure to No 328

F 410/4-6

FACTS ABOUT THE PARTITION OF THE PUNJAB AND BENGAL

The Congress has sponsored a new move for the division of the Pakistan Provinces, namely the Punjab[1] and Bengal[2] The main object of this move is to torpedo the struggle of the Muslims for the achievement of Pakistan The Muslims should not desist from their ideal and should examine every such move carefully and critically Let us first examine the basis of the partition itself The said partition, if analysed, is as follows

In the Punjab, if the principle of partition is agreed upon, only eleven districts of Ambala and Jullundur Divisions will be affected and the remaining sixteen districts of Lahore, Multan and Rawalpindi Divisions cannot be touched In the above-mentioned eleven districts the position of the Caste Hindus and Sikhs is as given below

TABLE I

Divisions/Districts	Total population	Hindus	Sikhs
Ambala Division			
1 Hissar	1,006,709	524,602	60,731

2 Rohtak	956,399	645,371	1,466
3 Gurgaon	851,458	441,287	637
4 Karnal	994,575	529,588	19,887
5 Ambala	847,745	288,652	158,543
6 Simla	38,576	22,374	1,032
Jullundur Division			
7 Kangra	899,377	725,909	4,809
8 Hoshiarpur	1,170,323	413,837	198,194
9 Jullundur	1,127,190	156,579	298,741
10 Ludhiana	818,615	106,246	341,175
11 Ferozepore	1,423,076	216,229	479,486

It appears from the above table that in the eleven districts of Ambala and Jullundur Divisions, two districts, [viz Jullundur and Ferozepore] cannot claim separation from the Punjab on any basis Out of the remaining nine districts the position in four is highly disputed and the number of people for and against the proposal is evenly balanced In the rest of the five districts the Hindus can claim a majority

The position of Sikhs is highly difficult and even if they throw themselves with the Hindus whole-heartedly and give their full support to the partition of the Punjab, they cannot bring about the solution of their own problem In fact they will create a number of problems for themselves if the partition of the Punjab is undertaken The districts of Jullundur, Ferozepore, Amritsar, Lahore and Gurdaspur cannot be separated from the Punjab and it is highly doubtful if even the districts of Hoshiarpur and Ludhiana will vote for separation What will the Sikhs gain if such a partition is effected? They will only weaken their position in the Muslim Punjab where all their economic and cultural interests will be located

In Bengal the position is somewhat confusing In the census report of 1941 the Hindus are placed under three categories, namely Scheduled Castes, those who have been declared as "no castes" and include both the Scheduled Castes and other tribes, and the third category is that of the Caste Hindus The Congress move for the partition of Bengal is only supported by the Caste Hindus In no district of Bengal are the Caste Hindus in majority Even if the Caste Hindus and those without caste make a common cause, only six districts of Bengal can claim separation, they are as follows

TABLE II

Population (in lacs)

Districts	Total Population	Caste Hindus	No-Caste Hindus
1 Burdwan	18 9	6 1	3 5
2 Birbhum	10 4	3 0	1 0
3 Bankura	12 8	6.2	0 9
4 Midnapore	31 9	13 5	9 8
5 Hoogly	13 7	6 2	2 9
6 Howrah	14 9	5 6	4 3
7 Calcutta	21 0	4 7	9 9
8 24-Parganas	35 3	7 8	7 8
9 Jalpaiguri	10 8	1 5	0 7
10 Darjeeling	3 7	1 3	0 1

In Assam the position is far more complicated for the Hindus In the whole of Assam only three districts, namely Kamrup, Sibasagar and Lakhimpur, have a Hindu majority Furthermore, Assam is divided into three natural regions, namely Brahmaputra Valley, Surma Valley and Hills In none of these natural divisions are the Hindus in majority Their position is indicated in the following table

TABLE III

Population (in lacs)

Regions	Muslims	Hindus	Tribes
Brahmaputra	13 0	28 0	16 0
Surma	21 0	13 7	02 1
Hills	00 4	03 6	10 0

It appears, therefore, that the claim for the partition of Bengal or the separation of Assam from Bengal is not detrimental to the realization of Pakistan in these provinces and the Muslims should not agree to give up the sovereignty of these provinces in any case

[1]See Annex to No 124, Resolution No 3
[2]See Annex to No 124, note 2

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S J Hussain to M A Jinnah

F 832/35-39

GULAB BAGH, PATNA,
19 April 1947

Sir,

I wish to draw your attention to the following facts for your immediate consideration and suitable action

(1) The refugees from all the affected villages of Patna District, who came or were evacuated to Patna by the military during and after the carnage in November 1946, either had not had the opportunity of lodging any information in the police stations in their respective areas or had not found the local police officers prepared to take down their statements

(2) In view of these facts the Legal Aid Sub-Committee of the Muslim League Relief Committee approached Mr Raynor of the Indian Police, the then Senior Superintendent of Police of Patna District, and it was agreed to by Mr Raynor that the Legal Aid Sub-Committee would forward to the office of Mr Raynor the reports of the happenings filed by the refugees concerned and that these reports would be forwarded to the police stations concerned by the office of the Senior S P with the instruction to treat them as First Information Reports

(3) Accordingly, three hundred and eighteen such reports appertaining to the happenings in Patna District were filed in the office of the Senior S P and the receipts of their filing are in the possession of the Legal Aid Sub-Committee

(4) However, we are painfully surprised to find now that the local officers did not usually proceed on the basis of these reports and either preferred to rely on the information supplied to them in most cases by the *chowkidars* and *dafadars* who were not infrequently themselves participants in the mob attacks or failed to proceed at all

(5) I shall lay before you eleven instances from Barh Sub-division alone, where FIRs were filed in the office of the Senior S P through this office but on enquiry it has been found that no cases have been instituted by the police at all They are as follows

S No	F I R	Nature of Crime	Date of receipt by S P Patna
1	Abdul Ghani of Chhota Husainpur, Fatwah vs Ram Salisat Dhanuk and others	Loot and riot	18.11 46
2	Qamruddin of Bhuski Khusropur vs Ramdhani Dusadh and others	Loot, arson and murder	14.11 46
3	Kalimur Rahman of Singriawan vs Gandauri and 4 others	Loot and riot	19.11 46
4	Jitu Mian of Sindauli vs Chandrika Singh and 33 others	Loot and riot	15.11 46
5	Rahim Bux of Khusropur vs Raghubir Surma and 9 others	Loot and riot	12 12 46
6	Najju Mian of Manjholi Dih vs Suhan and 15 others	Murder, loot, riot and arson	18 11 46
7	Mansoor Alam of Harnaut vs Dr Manaranjan with Guru and 26 others	Murder, loot and riot	21 11 46
8	Muhammad Junaid Shahpur Bahipur vs Bhola Singh and 18 others	Loot and riot	18 11 46
9	Jumai Khan of Alipur vs Mahadeo and 7 others	Murder	12 12 46
10	Muhammad Mozaffar Husain of Bharatpur Habibullahpur vs Rupal Mahto and 10 others	Loot and murder	23 11 46
11	Babu Nazruddin of Belchi vs Narhan Pandey and 32 others	Loot	30 11 46

(6) In order to bring out the terrible character of the heinous crimes reported in the above cases which, strangely enough, do not appear to have been duly taken up and instituted by the Police, it will suffice to describe briefly the nature of five of these cases

(a) Qamruddin of Village Bhuski Khusropur, Police Station Fatwah, reported the following case

On the 1st of November 1946, a Hindu mob of about a thousand persons, who were well armed and had one gun, attacked the few Muslim houses at Bhuski The houses were set on fire and men, women and children were indiscriminately massacred The number of those killed, including small children, was thirty to thirty-two Only a few Muslims of the locality, including the complainant, managed to escape and thus survived the massacre

(b) Complainant Najju Hussain Mian of Village Manjholi Dih, P S Bukhtiarpur, reports the following case
On the 1st of November 1946, a Hindu mob of about a thousand well-armed persons attacked the Muslim houses in the village, setting fire to most of them The mob killed three Muslims—the father and an uncle of the complainant, and a woman

(c) The complainant Mansoor Alam of Village Harnaut, P S Bukhtiarpur, reports the following case
On the 3rd of November 1946, a Hindu mob consisting of four to five hundred well-armed persons, including two persons with guns, attacked the Muslims in the village Four Muslims, including one woman, were killed and all the houses of the Muslims were looted

(d) The complainant Jumai Khan of Village Alipur, P S Bukhtiarpur, reports the following case
On the 4th of November 1946, about twelve Muslims, including the daughter and two grand-children of the complainant, were proceeding to the Railway Station early in the morning They were attacked by a Hindu mob near the station, with the result that four out of the twelve Muslims, including a child, were killed while the others, including the daughter of the complainant, escaped Ten persons have been named from among the mob

(e) The complainant Mozaffar Husain of Village Habibullahpur, Barh, reports the following case
The village was attacked by a large and well-armed Hindu mob early in the morning of the 3rd of November 1946 One Muslim was killed on the spot and another Muslim was presumed to have been killed A number of Muslims, nine of whom have been named, were captured and detained by the mob at the time, the other Muslims escaped All the Muslim houses were looted

The Legal Aid Sub-Committee of the Muslim League Relief Committee, therefore, urges upon the authorities to look into the matter carefully and order due and proper proceedings on the complaints

filed in the Office of the S P , Patna, through this office as well as in all other cases arising out of the carnage of November 1946

S J HUSAIN
Secretary,
Legal Aid Sub-Committee,
Bihar Muslim League Central Relief Committee

Copies forwarded to
(1) H E The Governor of Bihar
(2) Premier of Bihar
(3) I G Police, Bihar
(4) Senior S P , Patna
(5) District Magistrate and Collector, Patna

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M Ziaud Din to M A Jinnah

F 472/18

ALEXENDRA HOTEL, QUETTA,
19 April 194[7]

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

A Muslim officer in the Army at Quetta has prepared the enclosed statement relating to the strength of Muslims in the infantry regiments of the Indian Army and has requested me to convey it to you The statement speaks for itself and discloses a dangerous state of affairs In spite of your many pre-occupations I hope you will find time to read it and take such action as you may think fit

I can get more information through the officer if you require it

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
M ZIAUD DIN
Barrister-at-Law

Enclosure to No 330

F 472/19-22

DETAILED CLASS COMPOSITION OF INDIAN INFANTRY REGIMENTS

	NAME OF REGIMENT	MUSLIM	HINDU	SIKH	OTHERS
i	1st Punjab Regt	PM 50%	Rajput 25%	Sikh 25%	-
ii	2nd Punjab Regt	PM 50%	Dogra 25%	Sikh 25%	-
iii	The Madras Regt	-	Madrassi 100%	-	-
iv	The Indian Grenadiers	HM[1] 25%	Jat 75%	-	-
v	The Maratta [Maratha] Regt	-	Maratta [Maratha] 100%	-	-
vi	The Rajputana Rifles	PM[2] 25%	Jat 50% Rajput 25%	-	-
vii	The Rajput Regt	PM 50%	Rajput 50%	-	-
viii	8th Punjab Regt	PM 50%	Gujar 25%	Sikh 25%	-
ix	The Jat Regt	PM 25% HM 25%	Jat 50%	-	-
x	The Baluch Regt	PM 50% Pathan 25%	Dogra 25%	-	-
xi	The Sikh Regt	-	-	Sikh 100%	-
xii	The Frontier Force Regt	PM 25% Pathan 25%	Dogra 25%	Sikh 25%	-
xiii	The Frontier Force Rifles	-do-	-do-	-do-	-
xiv	14th Punjab Regt	-do-	-do-	-do-	-
xv	15th Punjab Regt	-do-	Jat 25%	-do-	-
xvi	16th Punjab Regt	PM 50%	Dogra 25%	-do-	-
xvii	The Dogra Regt	-	Dogra 100%	-	-
xviii	The Garhwal Regt	-	Garhwali 100%	-	-
xix	The Kumaon Regt	-	Kumaoni 50% Jat 25% Ahir 25%	-	-
xx	The Kumaon Rifles	-	Kumaoni 100%	-	-
xxi	The Assam Regt	-	Assamese 100%	-	-
xxii	The Bihar Regt[1]	HM 16½ %	Ahirs 16½ %	-	Adivasi 66%
xxiii	The Mahar Regt	-	-	-	Mahars 100%
xxiv	The Chamar Regt	-	-	-	Chamars 100%
xxv	Sikh Light Infantry	-		Sikhs 100%	-
xxvi to xxxv	Ten Gurkha Regts	-	Gurkhas 100%	-	-

Note 1. The Sikhs in serial xxv are *Mazhabi* Sikhs

2 The term "Madrassi" includes Hindus, Muslims and Christians so that a small proportion of Muslims and Christians may also be found in serial iii

3 The term "Assamese" includes Christians and Tribesmen besides Hindus so that a small proportion of these may be found in serial xxi

POINTS TO NOTE ABOUT INDIAN INFANTRY

1 The basic Unit is the Battalion. Battalions are grouped together into Regiments for purposes of recruitment, recruits' training and certain aspects of administration

2 A Regt may have any number of Bns in it In war time the number went up to 10-12 in some cases In peace time it is to be 3-4 plus one Training Bn and one Territorial Bn

3 A Bn has 700-800 men

4 The class composition is uniform throughout the Regt generally speaking, i e all Bns in the Regt have the same class composition

5 Serials iii, xxi, xxii, xxiii, xxiv & xxv did not exist before the war They were raised during the war and have been retained

6 The situation briefly is as under

100% Hindu Regts	17
100% Sikh Regts	2
100% Schedules Caste Regts	2
Regts with non-Muslim majority	3
50-50 Regts	10
Regts with Muslim majority	1
100% Muslim Regts	nil
	35

7 All Regts mentioned in para 5 are all Hindu or Sikh

8 Two 100% Muslim Bns (Not Regts) were raised during the war These were the Afridi Bn and the 4th Bn Parachute Regiment *Both have been disbanded*[4]

9 The Sikh Regt (serial xi) was 50-50 before the war It has now been made 100% Sikh

10 From para 6 it will be seen that there are no all-Muslim Units in the infantry This is also true about the whole Army

11 There is only one Regt with 75% Muslims, i e the Baluch (serial x), and they are going to make it 50-50 by introducing 25% Sikhs

12 The actual percentages work out to

(a) Before the war

Muslim percentage in infantry (including Gurkhas)	23%
Muslim percentage in infantry (excluding Gurkhas)	35%

(b) At present

Muslim percentage in infantry (including Gurkhas)	20%
Muslim percentage in infantry (excluding Gurkhas)	27 5%

13 The fact that Gurkha Regts are officially not a part of the Indian Army gives the powers that be the chance to juggle with figures Today the Defence Member could glibly announce that Muslims form 27 5% of the infantry (which is slightly in excess of their percentage of population in the country), whereas the actual figure is just below 20%

14 The other day the Defence Member announced the percentage of Muslim Officers in GHQ to be 26 This he said represented the Muslim population percentage in the country as well as their strength in the Army Not a man from the League benches got up to ask him why the Sikhs who form only 1% of the population are 11 5% in the Army and even more in GHQ

15 The overall percentage in the Army is higher than 20% That is because the Gurkhas are taken in the infantry only The figure was 37 at the end of the War The C-in-C's target figure in the peacetime Army was 26 It has probably been reached by now

16 The figure 20% is now in the process of being reduced (see para 11) For those of us who see our duty to the nation and are conscious of our responsibility, it is agonising to see the ground being cut away from under our feet I urge you to get in touch with some higher-ups in the League and impress upon them in terms of brass tacks the deadly peril we are in Even the figure 20% is misleading Look at the table I have made for you and you will realize that in the 13 Regts which have a Muslim element, our main task will be to try and strike first and to disarm the others, or if we fail in doing that, to contain and neutralize them While overnight there will the other 22 Regts (80-100 Bns) of Hindus and Sikhs, free to operate immediately completely unhampered

17 It was a matter of great pride that the Baluch Regt had 600 PMs and Pathans, and only 200 Dogras (who could be eliminated one way or the other in five minutes) Baldev Singh is now laying hands on the Baluch Regt, his motive should be quite obvious to all

18 If you manage to see the Quaid-i-Azam himself, convey to him our humble duty [*sic*] and tell him our morale is much higher than that of the others Also, strange as it may seem, our men are politically more conscious Believe me, they know exactly what to do when the time comes, and *Insha' Allah* they will do it well But the Quaid-i-Azam is a "cold logician" He will appreciate the danger of Baldev Singh's moves more than any one else What he is trying to do to the Baluch Regt is no small matter What it means is simply this with the present composition we shall have 5-6 Bns ready to march at a moment's notice almost, with the new composition we may not have even one and it won't stop with the Baluch Regt Baldev Singh seems to be bent upon liquidating us as an effective element during the next year This proposal is absolutely new and has come like a bolt from the blue He will soon be touching the 50-50 Regts You mark my word

19 I am giving below the Muslim percentage in other arms

(a)	Indian Armoured Corps	37%
(b)	Royal Indian Artillery	27%
(c)	Royal Indian Engineers	27%
(d)	Indian Signal Corps	35%
(e)	Royal Indian Army Service Corps	35-40%
(f)	Indian Army Ordnance Corps	32%
(g)	Indian Pioneer Corps	35%
(h)	Indian Electrical & Mechanical Engineers	16%
(i)	Indian Medical Corps	29%

20 If there is any information that you require write to me in a round about way

21 The question of overall percentage in the Army is a big one and the C-in-C is not likely to open it anew, much less to budge from the position he has taken But a first class issue could be made out of the proposed change of composition of the Baluch Regt and a tearing campaign could be started, based on the facts I have given Incidentally, it would make good propaganda for our men and officers

22 The figures for Cavalry (Indian Armoured Corps), Artillery, Ordnance, R I A S. C, A M C and other services have not been prepared yet, but the proportion of Muslims is much smaller there, too

[1]Hindustani Musalman
[2]Punjabi Musalman
[3]The communal total for the Bihar Regiment comes to 99%
[4]Emphasis in the original

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M A Jinnah to Mirza Ahmad Ispahani

F 680/106

20 April 1947

My dear Ahmad,

I have already sent to you a message through Suhrawardy I am sending you this letter that you should, on my behalf, give Rs 10,000 (Rupees ten thousand) immediately for the relief of those who have suffered in Assam owing to the ruthless eviction policy of the Assam Government [1] I have suggested that the money should be given in the joint names of Mr Sa'adullah and Mr Matin and you will also be good enough to report to me if more money is required I leave it to your discretion and you may use your judgement and from time to time, as and when you think necessary, to pay more

I am prepared to take the responsibility for a sum not exceeding Rs 35,000 (Rupees thirty-five thousand)

I have given you this trouble because you are nearer there and you are in the best position to handle this matter in the name of suffering humanity

Yours sincerely,
M A JINNAH

M Ahmad Ispahani, Esq ,
51 Ezra Street,
Calcutta

[1]This refers to the Assam Government's measures to evict Bengali Muslims who had settled in Assam, especially after the Bengal Famine of 1942 Also see No 323

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M A Jinnah to Iftikhar Husain Khan Mamdot

F 372/30

21 April 1947

My dear Mamdot,

I am sending you herewith per insured post a sum of Rs 463 (Rupees four hundred and sixty-three) out of which Rs 363 are in currency notes and a cheque for Rs 100 This amount has been sent to me by C M K Shariff, on behalf of the students and staff of the Army School at Pachmarhi (C P) for the Punjab Relief Fund and I am accordingly forwarding it to you A copy of the letter from Mr Shariff is also enclosed

Kindly acknowledge receipt and also send the official receipt direct to the donors

Yours sincerely,
M A JINNAH

Khan Iftikhar Husain Khan of Mamdot,
Mamdot Villa, Davies Road,
Lahore

Enclosure to No 332
C M K Shariff to M A Jinnah

F 372/31

PACHMARHI, C P ,
16 April 1947

To
Shahinshah-i-Pakistan,
Delhi

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum wa Rahmatullahi wa Barakatuhu

The humble amount of Rs 463 (Rs 363 in cash and Rs 100 in the form of cheque) is herewith sent sincerely by the students and staff of

the institution for the Punjab Relief Fund The same may be disposed of by the proper authority please

May you live long[1] *Ameen, thumma ameen*

We beg to remain,
Respected Quaid-i-Azam,
Your most loyal servants,
C M K SHARIF
Secretary Masjid
and
STUDENTS AND STAFF
Army School of Education,

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R E B Willcox to M A Jinnah

F 156/143-144

CROSBY HOUSE, 36-37 GREAT ST HELENS,
LONDON, E C 3,
21 April 1947

Dear Sir,

We think we should be known to you by name as we are the agents for M M Ispahani Ltd , Calcutta, and have endeavoured to assist the Muslim India Information Centre to obtain premises and get started In fact for a month, pending the finding of an office, we were glad to be able to lend them a room in this building

You will have heard no doubt that eventually we found two rooms at 3 Grosvenor Gardens, Victoria, which seemed suitable for a start at any rate It is very difficult to find accommodation in London these days, at least in the right districts, and high premiums are asked for leases We thought it better to avoid paying such premiums and to make a more modest start with a view to the Centre changing later if they think fit The Centre is very well placed and the building quite imposing the only handicap is that it is on the fourth floor They have the advantage of having a telephone already installed, and certain furniture which is included in the weekly rent

For this we had to pay a premium of £ 150 but the rent is moderate, being only £ 3 per week

We have kept Mr Suleri in funds for his requirements and have also through our accountant indicated the best way for the accounts to be kept Mr Suleri has engaged one stenographer at a weekly wage of £ 5 10 0 and has also purchased a typewriter and is now contemplating purchasing a duplicator We have told him with regard to the latter that it is assumed you would first approve this purchase

We are enclosing a statement showing the total disbursements made to and on behalf of the Centre by us since its inception amounting to £ 706 3 8d Further payments will be made and we suggest that at your convenience you may care to send us a remittance for, say, £ 1,000 which we will administer and keep you informed periodically of the financial position

We would add that we think that the idea of such Centres is extremely sound because the public have not been very well informed on Muslim affairs in the past and it has fallen on a few friends to provide the information to a somewhat perplexed public May we suggest that close attention is paid to the study of propaganda so that its presentation to the public here will be in the best possible form and with the correct technique

We close this letter with an expression of goodwill and send you our warmest regards

Yours faithfully,
R E B WILLCOX

Enclosure to No 333

F 156/145

CROSBY HOUSE,
36-37 GREAT ST HELENS,
LONDON, E C 3,
18 April 1947

M A Jinnah Esq, Bombay

Drs to R E B Willcox and Co
Statement of the Accounts of the Muslim India Information Centre up to the 18th April 1947

Total Disbursements to and on behalf of the Centre by Messrs R E B. Willcox and Co £ 706 03 8

Details of Expenditure

Stenographer's Salary	£ 77 16 7
Salary Mr Suleri	£ 57 00 0
Printing etc of M I I Centre *Bulletin* No 1, *Report on Disturbances in Bihar, 50 Facts about Pakistan, Bloodshed in India, India Last 10 years*	£ 189 17 0
Office Equipment (Typewriter)	£ 46 00 0
Office rent (including premium £ 150 and Deposit on Telephone £ 30)	£ 219 00 0
General Office Expenses	£ 75 18 8½
Total	£ 665 12 3½
Cash in hand of Mr Suleri	£ 40 11 4½
Due to us	£ 706 03 8

R E B WILLCOX

334

Syed Akhtar Ali to M A Jinnah

F 843/1-2

GANGAPUR CITY,
22 April 1947

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

In receipt of your esteemed letter of 19th February, 1947[1], I thank you very much for this honour of inviting my humble scheme Before I may point out below something in brief, I may write to say that my views to such a great leader like our beloved Quaid-i-Azam are to show a lamp to the MOON However, whatever I have in mind, I put it in writing very briefly

1 ECONOMICS

Nobody can deny the fact that from the political point of view, Muslims have become a great Nation and this is all due to one who is very well known by the Grace of God for his high character and firm and polished ideas As such, I can't express what I want to write But there are some things which strike all of us and they are due to the fact that Muslims and particularly a major portion of wealthy class is lacking [*sic*] Economically we do not stand en mass [*sic*] We have no economic status and this seems to be a great drawback to our political life, activities and claim There are

lakhs of young and able Muslims who cannot serve their National Party, as they have no permanent footing in their future life [sic] They have no backing at all in the event they want to serve their National Party As such, absence of mills, factories, and other big commercial concerns of big Muslim magnates is causing a great setback to our cause Even, a few, they have no national idea and not from pure Muslim point of view [sic]

2 FOREIGN RELATIONS

A great necessity is being felt for Muslim League propaganda on sound and proper lines in every Muslim quarter and as is known proper attention is being given to this item by the High Command What I want to put down here is to establish a railway line connection among [sic] Iran, Afghanistan and Pakistan A move to this side now would give us a clear idea about our future Pakistan This scheme would also provide thousands of young and intelligent Muslims who will also serve as active Muslim League volunteers and a free [sic for freedom] movement

3 ADMINISTRATION

I am an eye-witness to the corruption which has become habitual [sic for rampant] in the local Muslim League Offices Office bearers are usually of selfish nature and they have no idea to serve their nation with good spirit They want to command their nation and have a tendency of working like masters instead of serving They often abuse their national wealth which poor Muslims give from their hard earnings Appointment of a Central Enquiry Commission consisting of first rank leaders with a team of liaison officers who can contact [sic for confront] them with their irregularities and can expose all abuses, would serve the nation to a very great extent In not-affected areas particularly in U P, people have no confidence in League workers and have established their individual organisations resulting in unpopularity of the Nation[al] body

I am fully aware about the present political position and realise that in these very busy days the above items have secondary character [sic for importance] but they are essential as well I hope that Quaid-i-Azam will find some time to give his attention to the humble suggestion and honour me with an interview to put them all in more clear terms

With every best regard and high respects to Miss Jinnah,

Yours very sincerely,
SYED AKHTER ALI

[1]Not available in *QAP*

335

M A Jinnah to Secretary, Indian Muslim Association

F 156/84

22 April

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of 9th April, 1947,[1] enclosing a cop your letter of 28th November, 1946, and I beg to inform you tha usual course is that the contributions are sent direct to the Bank accordingly your draft for Rs 1,221/6/2 was sent to the Habib I for credit to the Bihar Relief Fund Account with instructions to : the acknowledgement and proper receipt to you I regret that have not received any acknowledgement I am forwarding your l to the Habib Bank, asking them to look into this matter

Please convey my grateful thanks to all those who were good enc to make their contributions towards the relief of Bihar Muslim suffere

Yours faithfully,
M A JINNA

Secretary,
The Indian Muslim Association,
Kuala Kangsar, Perak,
Malaya

[1]Not available in *QAP*

336

M A Jinnah to Habib Bank Ltd , Delhi

F 156/82

22 April

Dear Sir,

I am enclosing herewith a letter from the Secretary, Indian Mu Association, Kuala Kangsar, Perak (Malaya) who had sent me a D for Rs 1,221/6/2 on the 28th November 1946, for the Bihar R Fund, which has not been acknowledged

The Draft in question was sent to you along with others

4th January 1947 Please look into the matter and issue receipt to the donors if it has not been done so far.

Kindly acknowledge receipt

Yours faithfully,
M A JINNAH

The Agent,
Habib Bank Ltd,
Chandni Chowk,
Delhi

Enclosure to No 336

F 156/83

INDIAN MUSLIM ASSOCIATION,
KUALA KANGSAR, PERAK, MALAYA,
28 November 1946

Pakistan *Zindabad*[1]

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

We, the Committee Members of Indian Association, Kuala Kangsar, Perak, Malaya, will be pleased to know of your welfare and pray to God for a long life and prosperous future

We have read your statement in the local newspapers regarding the Bihar Muslims, and we are aware of the present grave situation in the Bihar where Muslims are forced, threatened, robbed and their houses burned by the so-called majority

We pay homage to those fallen heroes of Islam in Bihar and Calcutta and we have collected a small sum of money towards the Relief Fund that has been formed under your leadership Yet our contribution to the Relief Fund is very small which we are enclosing herewith (Draft for Rs 1221-6-02) We earnestly hope that this small amount would be accepted and we humbly request your good self to acknowledge it

We beseech your honour for your well wishes to our Association and greetings

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

Yours faithfully,
COMMITTEE MEMBERS,
Indian Muslim Association,
Kuala Kangsar, Perak, Malaya

The All India Muslim League,
New Delhi

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P A to J N Mandal to M A Jinnah

F 1025/157

NEW DELHI,
22 April 1947

With the compliments of the Hon'ble Mr J N Mandal

S H N G
Personal Assistant
to the Hon'ble Law Member
of Governor-General's Council

Enclosure to No 337

F 1084/7-11

NOTE BY J N MANDAL ON TREATMENT OF SCHEDULED CASTES BY CASTE HINDUS

NEW DELHI,
21 April 1947

Since my assumption of office as Law Member of the Interim Government on 4th November 1946, I have been receiving numerous letters and representations from the members of the Scheduled Caste communities in different Provinces of India regarding the high-handedness and, in some cases, acts of brutal atrocities done to them by the local Caste Hindus Finding that the number of such representations is steadily on the increase, I have decided to make some of the glaring instances known to the people not only of India but of countries abroad with a view to apprising them of the actual state of affairs which the Scheduled Castes of India are suffering in this country In order to make my statement as brief as possible, I have preferred to state only a few instances of recent occurrence

(1) One Mr A Chelliah, President of the Naduwakkulam Adidravida Association of Colombo, has sent to me for my information and necessary action a copy of a petition submitted to the District Collector, Tinnevelly District, in the Province of Madras It is stated therein that one Suppiah Thevar (a Caste Hindu young man), son of Madaswamy Thevar, residing in the village of Appurakulam, one day went to the

District Board (Primary) School at Naduwakkulam where he was touched by the four-year old son of the schoolmaster who is a Scheduled Caste man, otherwise known as Harijan in Mr Gandhi's terminology Suppiah Thevar considered himself polluted by the touch of an untouchable boy, grew angry and whipped the four-year old boy mercilessly The father of the boy, who was absent on [*sic* for from] the spot, having been informed in the mean while, came to the school and asked Suppiah Thevar to get out of the school Suppiah Thevar left the school threatening severe consequences, and, accordingly, he came back in the afternoon before the school was closed with six other companions, all armed with poles and *arivals* [weapons] They scolded the schoolmaster as well as the Adidravida (Scheduled Caste) community as a whole in bad slang and filthy language, while one man of the raiding party dealt severe blows at the schoolmaster's face The poor schoolmaster and his wife, apprehending the murderous intentions of the invaders, raised an alarm and tried to run away but were prevented by the raiding party from doing so Their hue and cry attracted a number of people who rushed to the place and saved their lives One man of the rescuing party also was assaulted and dealt with severely

(2) Another representation from a Scheduled Caste young man (*chamar* by caste) of a village in the District of Bulandshahr in the United Provinces says that he was ordered by a Caste Hindu *zamindar* to employ his bullock-cart in the service of a relation of the *zamindar* The Scheduled Caste man could not unfortunately comply with this order as he had to take his own brother to some distant railway station on that very day This enraged the *zamindar* so much that he had the Scheduled Caste man forcibly dragged to his house and had him severely beaten, causing serious injuries to him, after which the Scheduled Caste man was kept tied down with ropes to prevent his going and reporting the matter to the police He was later released with a threat that he would be killed if he behaved in a similar manner in future

(3) A *chamar* (Scheduled Caste) resident of a particular village in the district of Rohtak in the Punjab has represented that the Caste Hindus of the locality demanded that the *chamars* should sell them shoes at Rs 3 per pair and if the shoe is worn out before the expiry of six months they should supply a new pair free of cost When the Scheduled Caste people represented that the sum of Rs 3 would not even cover the cost of the material, they were fined Rs 50 which was immediately demanded On their pleading their inability to pay the fine on the spot, they were severely thrashed and subsequently subjected to social and economic boycott

which meant that they could not get anything from the local bazaar, their cattle could not be sent out to graze in the village meadows nor could they get any employment under anyone Remedies have been sought by those *chamars* from all quarters, including the Congress High Command

(4) The fourth incident, which surpasses all previous records for its brutality and savagery, has been brought to my notice by one Prem Singh, Propaganda Secretary of the Hathras Tehsil (U P) Scheduled Castes Federation The Scheduled Caste people of the village of Kheria in the District of Aligarh in the United Provinces refused to do *begaar* for the Caste Hindus This enraged the Caste Hindus and on the 7th March, on the occasion of the *Holi* festival, the Caste Hindus of the locality assembled together and indulged in rioting and arson of the Scheduled Caste villages The Scheduled Caste people were attacked with spears and other deadly weapons and their houses were set on fire and, as a result, four Scheduled Caste persons and two animals were burnt alive The matter has been brought to the notice of the authorities concerned, but there is an apprehension among the Scheduled Caste people that the Congress Government of the Province might not take proper action in the matter and hence they brought it to my notice also This also formed the subject-matter of an adjournment motion sought to be moved during the last Budget session of the Central Legislature

(5) A similar incident took place on the 27th March 1947 in the village of Ambka in Bulandshahr District of the United Provinces The Scheduled Caste people who refused to do free forced labour for the Caste Hindus, were attacked with spears, rifles and pistols Eight Scheduled Caste people were killed on the spot and twelve were seriously injured

(6) About six months back a Scheduled Caste man in Madura District in the Province of Madras cremated the dead body of his son in a public municipal crematorium The Hindus of the locality took exception to it, brought in a criminal case against the man and succeeded in getting him convicted to six months' rigorous imprisonment

Before I conclude I feel I must give one or two of the numerous instances of tyranny and atrocious deeds perpetrated on poor Scheduled Caste people by the Caste Hindu Congressmen during the last general elections to the Provincial Legislatures in March 1946, for no other reason than that the Scheduled Castes did not exercise their own right of franchise according to the dictates of the Caste Hindus

During my last visit to Agra in the United Provinces on the 8th March, 1947, I visited a locality known as Wazirpura and saw for

myself the fifteen houses that were burnt to ashes with all their property inside, by the Caste Hindu Congressmen on the eve of the elections The Scheduled Caste people of that area had refused to vote for the Congress nominee and actually voted for a candidate nominated by the All India Scheduled Castes Federation A complaint was lodged with the authorities, but, unfortunately, nothing has yet been done to bring the offenders to book or to compensate the sufferers

For identical reasons, the Scheduled Caste people of a *mohallah* of the city of Nagpur in the Central Provinces were attacked by the Caste Hindu Congressmen, which resulted in the death of one Scheduled Caste leader and serious injuries to several others It is needless for me to say that both the Provinces are being governed by Congress Ministries

I hope that the few facts stated above will give the people overseas an idea of how the 70 million Untouchable people (Scheduled Castes) are being treated by the Caste Hindus and their great political organization, viz the Indian National Congress, even in the year 1947 when India is about to attain her independence and liberty Much has been declared to the people of the Western countries by the Congress and their propagandists abroad that there is scarcely anything as untouchability in India and that the Scheduled Castes of India do not suffer from any social disabilities, but I leave it to the people abroad to consider and judge for themselves as to what has been done for the Scheduled Castes of India till now by the so-called Harijan movement of Mr Gandhi towards their economic, social and political emancipation

J N MANDAL
Law Member of The Viceroy's Council
and President,
Bengal Provincial Scheduled Castes Federation

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Geti Ara Bashir Ahmad to M A Jinnah

F 197/84

IMMEDIATE

ALMANZAR, LAWRENCE ROAD, LAHORE,
23 April 1947

My beloved Quaid-i-Azam,

It will give me and Bashir the greatest of pleasure if you will honour

us by attending our daughter Rifat's wedding on Saturday 26th April at 6 p m and join the Garden Party and dinner at 8 30 p m Rifat who has served you as a good soldier will also be greatly honoured

With best regards,

Yours very sincerely,
GETI ARA BASHIR AHMAD

PS Yourself & Miss Jinnah come & stay with us

[*Invitation Card with programme not printed*]

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Syed Shamsul Hasan to M A Jinnah

F 156/86

ALL INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE, DARYAGUNJ,
DELHI,
23 April 1947

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I have the honour to submit herewith a statement of the books, *Pakistan and Muslim India, Nationalism in Conflict in India*, and *India's Problem of Her Future Constitution*, from 1 1 46 to 18 4 47

A cheque for Rs 1,891/10/-, being the cost of 410 copies of *Pakistan and Muslim India*, 311 copies of *Nationalism in Conflict in India* and 294 copies of *India's Problem of Her Future Constitution*, sold during this period, is enclosed herewith

Now there remains a balance of 1,379 copies of *Pakistan and Muslim India* and 1,713 copies of *Nationalism in Conflict in India* in the stock

Kindly acknowledge receipt

Yours sincerely,
S SHAMSUL HASAN

Enclosure to No 339

F 156/87

BOOK STATEMENT[1] FROM 1 1 1946 TO 18 4 1947

Particulars	Names of Books		
	Pakistan and Muslim India	*Nationalism in Conflict in India*	*India's Problem of Her Future Constitution*
1 Stock position			
(a) Balance as per last statement submitted on 5 1 1946	52	208	-
(b) Second Edition	2000	2000	-
(c) Total	2052	2208	-
2 Sale/Supply			
(a) Nos sold during the period	410	311	294
(b) Nos supplied to Quaid-i-Azam during the period	155	140	-
(c) Nos complimentarily supplied to various persons	63	74	-
(d) Nos supplied to Sh Mohammad Ashraf, Lahore, on sale and return system (account not yet adjusted)	145	70	-
3 Balance in stock (Numbers)	1379 [sic]	1713 [sic]	-
4 Total Nos	2052	2208	-
5 Value of Books Sold	Rs 856-8-0	Rs 741-12-0	Rs 293-6-0
[Total value of books sold]			Rs 1891-10-0

S SHAMSUL HASAN

[1]The original layout has been redrawn for the sake of clarity

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Statement by M A Jinnah

F 156/85

NEW DELHI,
23 April 1947

Mr M A Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League, has issued the following statement to the Press

"I wish to announce that the Bihar Relief Fund is going to be closed on the 15th of May, 1947, and no more donations or contributions should be sent to the Habib Bank, Delhi, to whom the money was sent according to my appeal for the Bihar Relief Fund Those who have not got receipts for their donations or contributions should at once inform me and I shall attend to the matter up to the end of May Therefore, if any complaint is to be made, it should be made to me direct on or before the 31st May After that date it will be very difficult for me to attend to this matter as all proper accounts have to be made up on or before that time and closed

"Finally, I offer my most grateful thanks to all those who so generously supported my appeal for the Bihar Relief Fund, the enthusiasm and deep sympathy for the welfare of those brethren of ours who suffered in Bihar were remarkable indeed and the subscriptions poured in with rapidity, which necessitated special staff to be engaged by the Habib Bank, Delhi This shows that the heart of Muslim India is sound and beating in the right direction

"Once more I thank all the donors and subscribers, big or small, from the bottom of my heart "

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Iftikhar Husain Khan Mamdot to Evan Jenkins
(Copy to M A Jinnah)

F 126/5-7

MAMDOT VILLA, LAHORE,
23 April 1947

Dear Sir Evan,

You will recollect that soon after you had charged me with the

responsibility of assisting you in the formation of a Ministry, on the 3rd of March, 1947, you were compelled by the sudden resignation of the Caretaker Government to proclaim the application of Section 93 of the Government of India Act to the Province Immediately following the Proclamation, the gravity of the disturbances in the Punjab naturally occupied your attention to the exclusion of all matters, and I also, to the best of my abilities, applied myself to the paramount duty of restoring peace and confidence in the disturbed areas of the province

The situation now has, however, returned almost to normal and I feel that we should permit no further delay in resuming our efforts for the formation of a popular Ministry in the Punjab from the point at which they were left by your letter to me on 5th March, 1947[1] Moreover, I feel that there is no longer any justification for permitting a suspension of the normal democratic procedure and of depriving a majority of the people of this Province of shouldering the responsibilities of the administration In particular, after H M G 's declaration of February 20th,[2] it would be against the spirit of the times to continue a bureaucratic regime in the Punjab when there is nothing to prevent the formation of a popular and democratic Ministry according to time-honoured constitutional practice

To facilitate you, therefore, in the choice of your Cabinet, I find it my duty to assure you that I possess the support of an absolute majority of the present members of the Punjab Legislative Assembly, and that I am in a position to assist you in the task of appointing a Cabinet of Ministers I am ready to come personally and place the full facts before you, and to give you any further elucidation or assurance that may be required by you

I may assure Your Excellency that it has always been my keen desire to secure the co-operation of the accredited representatives of the two important minorities—the Sikhs and the Hindus—in the formation of a fully representative Ministry in the Punjab I shall continue to make these efforts, but the unreasoning [unreasonable] refusal of certain minorities to co-operate cannot be permitted to stand permanently in the way of the functioning of normal constitutional and democratic methods As Your Excellency is very well aware a large number of Provincial administrations all over India are composed exclusively of members of one party and community, and it would be illogical to impose an exception contrary to all primary democratic principles only in the case of the Punjab

In view of the problems which face the Punjab, and of the future for which we must without delay begin to prepare ourselves, I shall be

grateful if I am called by Your Excellency at an early date to place the details of my position before you [3]

Yours sincerely,
IFTIKHAR HUSAIN KHAN

H E Sir Evan M Jenkins, K C I E , K C S I , I C S ,
Governor of the Punjab,
Lahore

[1]No 97
[2]No 1
[3]The disturbed law and order situation in the Punjab was used as a pretext to impose Section 93 of the Government of India Act 1935 on the province instead of allowing the majority party in the Legislature to form a Ministry Liaquat had already brought this situation to the notice of the Viceroy See Annex

Annex to No 341
Liaquat Ali Khan to Louis Mountbatten

IOR, R/3/1/90 ff 259-264[1]

NO 29-P S F R /47 NEW DELHI,
15 April 1947

Dear Lord Mountbatten,

I believe that during the consultation that you are holding with provincial Governors, provincial administrations and the conditions prevailing in the various provinces are likely to come under review It is a matter of vital concern to the Muslim League that the situation in the Punjab should be understood in its true perspective, and that you should bear in mind our deep resentment of the present partial and unjustified attitude that is being adopted by Sir Evan Jenkins, the Governor of the Punjab

You are doubtless aware of the background of events which led to the promulgation of Section 93 administration in the Punjab

Malik Sir Khiz[a]r Hayat Khan Tiwana, the leader of the Unionist Party of 15 members, resigned from the Premiership of the province on the ground that in view of H M G 's statement of February 20th, he did not any longer want to be an obstacle in the way of the self-realisation of the Muslims of the Punjab, and that by relinquishing office he wished to leave the way clear for an understanding between the genuine representatives of the majority and minority communities in the Punjab After Sir Khiz[a]r Hayat's resignation, the Governor of the Punjab called upon the leader of the largest party in the House,

viz , the Khan of Mamdot, leader of the Muslim League Party, to form a Government Simultaneously with this announcement, the Hindu and Sikh leaders started an avowedly violent agitation to prevent the formation of a ministry by the representatives of 57% of the population of the province On the 3rd and 4th of March extremely provocative speeches were made by the Hindu and Sikh leaders, armed processions were organised in almost every important city and district of the province, and the Muslim people and their national organisation, the Muslim League were intimidated, insulted and humiliated in an unbearable manner This led to general disturbances all over the province, despite the genuine and now widely recognised efforts of the Muslim League to maintain peace and later on to restore order and confidence when the riots had actually broken out It is true that during the disturbances in many places the non-Muslims suffered more heavily than the Muslims This, however, is often the case with aggressors as has recently been so well illustrated by the very heavy losses of the German people during the last Great War In the case of the Punjab, it was inevitable when chaotic conditions had been brought about in a predominantly Muslim province The responsibility of this lies with the Hindu and Sikh leaders

The disturbed state of the Punjab was made an excuse by the Governor for the imposition of Section 93 in the province, despite the fact that the leader of the Muslim League Party claimed his constitutional right of facing the House after the Governor had invited him to form a Government

Events in the Punjab since the imposition of Section 93 have made it clear that the present administration has made it a matter of policy to suppress, intimidate and coerce the Muslims and it appears as if the Governor considers it his personal concern to do all that he possibly can to prevent the majority community in the Punjab from having its proper share in the administration of the province

Everywhere in the riot affected or threatened areas—which cover nearly the whole of the province, the administration is adopting an attitude of hostility towards Muslims In all districts vast numbers of Muslims have been indiscriminately arrested and even in places like Amritsar where the Muslims have suffered the heaviest losses, many more Muslims than non-Muslims are in jail Throughout the province an overwhelming percentage of responsible officials are non-Muslims Out of 29 District Magistrates only 9 are Muslims whilst there is not a single Muslim Commissioner or D I G of Police in the Punjab Similarly, the special investigation staff set up to enquire

into the recent disturbances is preponderantly non-Muslim, so much so that in Rawalpindi only 5 out of 26 officials of this are Muslim, and this at a time when justice by any except a mixed staff is out of the question

The general behaviour of the administrators is one of open hostility towards the Muslims Responsible officials, who are expected to have no political affiliations openly declare their hostility to the Muslim ideal of Pakistan, and the D I G of Rawalpindi Division recently issued a press statement couched in unrestrained terms threatening direct vengeance on the Muslims High ranking leaders of the Muslim League are treated with contempt and intimidated by the officials, who openly threaten them with reprisals by Sikhs To all sections of the Muslims, the officials make no secret of their partiality for and sympathy with the Sikhs, and paint in lurid colours the prospects of Sikh retaliation Muslims are complacently informed that the Sikhs are arming aggressively, as if it were the duty of Government to encourage such preparations rather than to prevent them

Even in a technical matter like the censorship of news, the most provocative and aggressive speeches and statements of Sikh and Hindu leaders are allowed to pass, whilst even the mildest utterances by the Muslim leaders are withheld from publication

The Sikhs and Hindus are at the same time being encouraged in every way to adopt an aggressive attitude Despite reports of large-scale arming by the Sikhs, and of smuggling of arms from the adjoining Sikh States who have publicly declared their resolve to support the Akali Party and its policy in every way—reports which the officials themselves confess to be well-founded— nothing is being done in the matter In the present state of high tension the Sikhs are being allowed to display large swords under the name of *kirpans*, whilst the Muslims are being deprived everywhere of even pen-knives The Sikhs do not claim their religious sacrament of carrying a *kirpan* in the army, or the police, in the law courts, the legislatures or in jail, but they are allowed to carry *kirpans* when doing so imperils the peace of the land On the other hand when the Muslims claim the right to wear a sword, it is argued that whilst the weapon in the possession of a Sikh is an emblem of spirituality in the hands of a Muslim it becomes a menace to others, although it is freely admitted that the chief present danger to the Punjab comes from the temper of the Sikhs

Any impartial assessment of the position in the Punjab leads one to the inescapable conclusion that the Governor and his subordinates want to foster chaos in the province The minorities are being

deliberately encouraged to oppose any reasonable settlement with the majority, and are being led to believe that if they are able to create further disturbances in the province, it would be a political argument in their favour and against the Muslims in the final disposition of power in India

I have placed these facts before you, because I feel that unless the Governor of the Punjab is persuaded to alter his present attitude very serious consequences may follow, which might have effects that cannot be limited to the boundaries of the Punjab

I also feel that the time has come when a final decision must be taken to replace Section 93 in the Punjab by a popular Government The Muslim League is in a position to form a ministry and to command a majority in the provincial Legislature, and I cannot see how the Governor can continue to resist the normal application of constitutional methods The refusal of the Governor to allow the Muslim League to form a ministry directly helps the other parties to maintain their intransigent attitude The argument is sometimes advanced that as the formation of a ministry by majority party is not likely to accord with the wishes of the minorities who will create disturbances, the majority party should not be allowed to form a ministry at all You will appreciate that such an argument, if applied generally, will place a decisive weapon in the hands of minorities all over the country, who will thus be able to prevent the majority parties effectively from forming a Government in any Province by threatening a disturbance of the peace This you will agree, would be an impossible proposition

I shall be glad to see you at any time convenient if any of the points raised in this letter require further elucidation or discussion

Yours sincerely,
LIAQUAT ALI KHAN

His Excellency Rear Admiral the Right Hon'ble
Viscount Mountbatten of Burma, KG, GCSI, GCIE, GCVO, KCB, DSO,
Viceroy and Governor-General of India,
New Delhi

[1]Also see *TP*, X, No 148, pp 255-258

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Secretary, Committee of Action, AIML, to
President of Provincial MLs
MFA[1]/141 (Printed Material)

DARYAGUNJ, DELHI,
23 April 1947

Dear Sir,

It has been brought to the notice of the Committee of Action that a misconception has cropped up somehow in the minds of certain people regarding the position of the Muslim League National Guards *vis-a-vis* the local or Provincial Muslim League Organisation and it is being contended by such persons that the National Guards Organisation is absolutely independent of the local and Provincial Leagues and that the National Guards are not bound to obey the orders or work under the direction and control of the local or Provincial Leagues I am to impress upon you that this is an absolutely false notion and the Committee of Action have always held and even now hold that the National Guards must work under the direction, control and supervision of the District/City and Provincial Leagues concerned as they are nothing but an essential and integral part of the League Organisation

So far as expenditure in connection with the Guards Organisation is concerned, it is for the various District/City and Provincial Leagues to make specific provision for this item in their respective budgets and to consider themselves wholly responsible for providing, from their funds, necessary and reasonable amount in this behalf It is high time now that every Provincial and local League adopts prompt and effective measures for providing necessary funds to meet the just and reasonable requirements in connection with the Guards Organisation I am also to make it clear that it is not open to the National Guards themselves to raise any funds, whatsoever, in the name of the Guards Organisation

Yours-in-Islam,
MD ZAFAR AHMAD ANSARI
Secretary,
Committee of Action,
All India Muslim League

The President of all Provincial Muslim Leagues

Copy, with 30 spare copies, forwarded to the *Salar-i-Aala*, All India Muslim League National Guards, for information and communication to the *Salars* of the various Provinces for their guidance and compliance

Secretary,
Committee of Action,
All India Muslim League

[1]Muslim Freedom Archives

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Abid al-Haraki to M A Jinnah

F 943/63

[Original in Arabic]

INTERNATIONAL ASTRONOMICAL OFFICE,
HUMS (SYRIA),
24 April 1947

His Excellency the Great Leader, Mohammad Ali Jinnah,
President of the All India Muslim League,

With appropriate greetings to Your Excellency, I wish to present to you a copy of our *Astronomical Bulletin*, hoping that you would kindly accept it and acknowledge its receipt so that we may continue to supply it to you May Allah bless you with success in your good and constructive work and may He always favour you with glory and honour for the sake of Islam

Yours sincerely,
ABID

Enclosure to No 343

F 943/63

[Original in Arabic]

ASTRONOMICAL BULLETIN NO 332

The sun and the moon are moving regularly

(i) Solar eclipse
(ii) The crescent of the august month of *Rajab*
(iii) Lunar eclipse

1 There will be a partial solar eclipse, as ordained by Allah, on Tuesday, the 29th *Jumada al-thani*, 1366 (20 May 1947) It will begin at 16 32 hours and end at 18 12 hours. It can be seen with a sharp eye

2 The crescent of the blessed month of *Rajab* will be born at 15 46 hours on 20 May 1947, and it will disappear in the evening It will then appear 9 minutes north of the sunset-site and decline It will be visible with difficulty because of its being then at the site of the Pleiades Therefore, the first of *Rajab* will fall on Wednesday, the 21st of May 1947, and the night of the holy *Meraj* would be the night between the 26th and the 27th of *Rajab*, 1366 A H, i e between Sunday, the 15th of June, 1947, and Monday, the 16th of June, 1947 May Allah repeat it [Blessings] for the Muslims in general and the Arabs in particular with lasting prosperity and happiness

3 By the Will of Allah, there will be a partial lunar eclipse on Tuesday, the 14th of *Rajab*, 1366 A H (3 June 1947), starting at 20 54 hours and ending at 21 43 hours It can be seen with a sharp eye

Note The first of *Shaban* will fall on Friday, the 20th of June 1947

ABID AL-HARAKI
Spiritual Scholar,
International Astronomer and
Registered Specialist

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Anis-ur-Rahman Ansari to M A Jinnah

F 680/117-118

AMRITSAR,
25 April 1947

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

Please refer to your statement issued to the press regarding issue of receipts for the contributions of the Bihar Relief Fund [1] In this connection I beg to submit that I had remitted a sum of Rs 100 only by cheque No D 21665/19 dated 7 11 1946 drawn on the Grindlay and Co, Ltd,[2] in favour of Habib Bank, Chandni Chowk, Delhi I regret that in spite of a reminder to Habib Bank, I have not so far been favoured with the receipt of the money remitted I shall, therefore, be grateful if you

[would] please look into the matter and direct the Bank concerned to forward the required receipt to me for my record

With respects,

Yours obediently,
ANIS-UR-RAHMAN ANSARI
Income Tax Officer

[1]No 340
[2]In April 1947, its name was changed to Grindlays Bank Ltd

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Habib Bank Ltd , Delhi, to M A Jinnah

F 680/120

CHANDNI CHOWK, DELHI,
25 April 1947

Dear Sir,

I beg to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 22nd instant[1] and beg to submit that the Draft for Rs 1221/6/2 was realized and credited to Bihar Relief Fund account on 15 1 47

We are separately acknowledging receipt of the account to the Indian Muslim Association, Kuala Kangsar, Perak, Malaya

We also enclose a draft announcement sent by us to the press This was published in various papers listed therein Several acknowledgement receipts have been returned to the office undelivered by the post office and we are also sending duplicate acknowledgement receipts to parties from whom we received complaints of non-receipt of acknowledgments

Yours faithfully,
AGENT

[1]No 336

Enclosure 1 to No 345

F 680/121

Announcement by Habib Bank , Delhi

[*Undated*]

Reg[arding] Quaid-i-Azam M A Jinnah's Bihar Relief Fund

Owing to a very heavy rush of donations, beyond all expectations, from all over India and abroad, and the disturbed conditions in many Indian cities causing curtailment of working hours, the limited staff of the Bank could not cope with the work involved and send receipts promptly Several officers and clerks were deputed from Head Office, Bombay, and a number of clerks were temporarily employed locally to handle the work of the Fund By sending hundreds of receipts daily, the whole work of acknowledging the donations has now been completed If, however, there are any donors who have not received the receipts they should immediately write to the Agent, giving the following particulars

1 Date when sent
2 Amount
3 Mode of remittance, whether by insured cover, money order, postal order, cheque or draft In case of cheques and/or drafts their numbers and the names of Banks and places on which drawn
4 Name and full address of the donor

A large number of receipts sent by the Bank have been returned undelivered due to incomplete addresses

Copy forwarded, for favour of publication to the Editor of the *Dawn*, on Ist March, 1947

Enclosure 2 to No 345[1]

F 680/122

[*Not printed*]

[1]It is a copy of the Enclosure 1 without a forwarding note to *Dawn* but with the following addition
Sent on 20 3 47 to *Anjam*, Delhi, *Manshoor*, Delhi, *Jung*, Delhi, *Hamdard*, Delhi, *Nawa-i-Waqt*, Lahore, *Eastern Times*, Lahore, *Pakistan Times*, Lahore

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Nizam of Hyderabad to M A Jinnah

F 696/122

PERSONAL
CONFIDENTIAL

HYDERABAD (DECCAN),
26 April 1947

My dear Mr Jinnah,

I have read in the papers the possibility of your coming here in connection with the Ittehadul Muslimeen's Annual Session by the end of May next May I know whether this is correct? If so, or at any other time you happen to be here, I shall be glad to see you again as we are old friends since a long time

2 Besides, Hyderabad looks to your support in all its important affairs since you are known to be the life-giver of the whole Muslim community of India

3 Hope you are keeping well, notwithstanding your untiring efforts for the cause of Islam, which is the first and the foremost item of your political progress for which you are advocating in such a grand way that you have become a cynosure of all eyes throughout India and also beyond the seas

Yours sincerely,
MIR OSMAN ALI KHAN

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Malik Abdul Latif Khan to M A Jinnah

F 680/127

KHYBER AGENCY, PESHAWAR,
26 April 1947

Respected Sir,

I have read over your honour's statement in the papers re Bihar Relief Fund

I sent Rs 10,005 (Rupees ten thousand and five) only as donation towards Jinnah Bihar Relief Fund on behalf of the Tribes of the Khyber Agency, to the Manager, Habib Bank Ltd , Delhi, on 20 11 46, through draft No 730 dated 20 11 46, obtained from the Central Exchange Bank

Ltd , Peshawar I have not so far received any acknowledgement from the Habib Bank Ltd , for the same

I hope you are well and happy

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
K S MALIK ABDUL LATIF KHAN
Malikdinkhel Afridi

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M A Wali to M A Jinnah

F 680/148-149

30 JUBILEE HOSTEL,
MUSLIM UNIVERSITY, ALIGARH,
26 April 1947

Sir,

With reference to your order, I beg to bring the following few lines for your kind consideration

(1) Students of the Muslim University in general have contributed Rs 5 per head to the Bihar Relief Fund

(2) V M Hall students have contributed about Rs 4,000 approximately by having *dal* only in place of meat for one month, in addition to Rs 5 per head as in item No (1) above

The whereabouts of the amount mentioned in item (1) are not known to us, but as regards item (2), I learn that it has not been forwarded to you and now the Provost of the V M Hall is thinking of utilizing it in some other way as you have closed the account[1] Will you kindly acquire the money and deposit it in the Bihar Relief Fund?

The same practice has been followed by the University and a large amount of Funds like Assam, Bengal, and other Relief Funds are still lying there unnoticed In case you do not demand the money, this will also go into the Sinking Account

Yours obediently,
M A WALI

[1]In fact, the Bihar Relief Fund was to be closed with effect from 15 May 1947 See No 340

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Muhammad Hanif to M A Jinnah

F 680/135

SAFIPUR, DISTRICT BARISAL, BENGAL,
27 April 1947

Dear Sir,

Tasleem b'ad 'arz, I have sent Rs 40 on behalf of the Safipur Union inhabitants and Rs 10 on behalf of the students of the Safipur Free Primary School, but [it is a] matter of regret [that] I have not yet got receipt of it Hence I request your honour to investigate the matter and oblige

Khadim,
MD HANIF
Teacher Safipur Primary School

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Note by A R Khan against the Division of the Punjab for the perusal and information of Quaid-i-Azam only, as desired by him

F 722/38-41

[*27 April 1947*]

The Congress Working Committee's Resolution for the division of the Punjab[1] has provided much food for the leaders' consideration of this intricate problem from another angle In view of this I have tried in the following pages to put up a concrete counter proposal as a result of my discussion with the Quaid-i-Azam on the 13th of April, 1947 The following pages give detailed data relating to the number of all the communities in various provinces of India The object in view is whether it is possible to form territorial areas in the Muslim minority provinces on the basis of Caste Hindus plus Sikhs versus Others Since the Congress Working Committee's Resolution for the division of the Punjab is based on Muslim versus non-Muslim basis the League will naturally be justified in putting up a counter-demand on the basis of Caste Hindus plus Sikhs versus Others for areas where such conditions prevail To me this Resolution of the Congress Working Committee appears to be the outcome of a plan to minimise the importance

of Pakistan as well as to overawe the Muslims The second step of the Congress Working Committee will be the division of Bengal for which the Hindu Sabha, the dark side of the Hindu Congress, has already passed a Resolution[2] and the Hindus in general all over the country are clamouring in support of the same

Mr Shanker Rao Deo, General Secretary of the Indian National Congress, released a statement[3] from Jalgaon, Bombay Province on April 14, 1947 wherein he had asked for the formation of a separate Maharashtra Province comprising the 8 districts of C P, 4 districts of Berar, 10 districts of Bombay, Marathi-speaking States of the Deccan and Hyderabad, and Portuguese Goa In this statement he had stated that in order that the federating units of this Province should develop according to their respective geniuses, each should be a unilingual and culturally homogenous province instead of the present provinces, which were formed in a haphazard manner It means that by this device they will be able to increase the total strength of the Hindus numerically as well as politically and that the domination of Marathi-speaking people will naturally eclipse the language and culture of the Muslims residing in this province, if at all it is formed As a matter of fact this will become a third programme of the Hindu Congress according to their pre-arranged plan and God knows how many more demands and proposals of a similar nature they have up their sleeves In the circumstances, it is imperative to put up counter-proposals to undermine the recent demand of the Congress for division of the Punjab The following pages[4], therefore, deal in detail [with] the community-wise position in various provinces as well as in certain territorial areas in each province where Caste Hindus plus Sikhs do not constitute a majority against the others, which include Muslims as well

[1]See Annex to No 124, Resolution No 3
[2]See Annex to No 124, note 2
[3]*Civil & Military Gazette*, 16 April 1947
[4]Appendix VI

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Louis Mountbatten to M A Jinnah

F 22/23

THE VICEROY'S HOUSE, NEW DELHI,
27 April 1947

Dear Mr Jinnah,

I am anxious, as you know, to talk to League leaders in Peshawar, but the Governor tells me that they will not come to see me unless they are brought as prisoners [1]

Although I should be exceedingly sorry not to have the opportunity of seeing them I could not possibly see them except as free men, or at least under parole, but I am sure I can rely on you to persuade them not to persist in this unreasonable attitude since you are in a better position to appreciate the consequences

Yours sincerely,
MOUNTBATTEN OF BURMA

[1]Following the Civil Disobedience Movement, Mountbatten decided to visit the Frontier province in order to acquaint himself with the political situation there He also wanted to meet the jailed ML leaders, namely the Pir of Manki Sharif, Abdul Qaiyum Khan (Leader of the Opposition in the NWFP Assembly), Samin Jan Khan (President, Frontier ML), and Arbab Noor Mohammad Khan, but they insisted that they would see the Viceroy as prisoners under escort However, through Jinnah's intervention, they agreed to come on parole and eventually saw the Viceroy on 28 April 1947 *Pakistan Times*, 29 and 30 April 1947

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Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy to H L Ismay (Copy to M A Jinnah)

F 458/62-63

TOUR CAMP,6 CANNING ROAD,
NEW DELHI,

SECRET *27 April 1947*

My dear Lord Ismay,

The more I think of the notional scheme of ascertaining the views of the people of those areas who in accordance with your determination, you believe, desire partition, the less am I attracted by it In the first place, how do you know which are the areas which want partition?

The statements of organisations like the Hindu Mahasabha which collapsed during the last elections are of no value This is an attempt on their part to capture Hindu sentiment The Congress has thrown out a qualified support but it will be unable to demarcate the area because it is well known that the Hindus of Eastern or Northern Bengal do not desire partition Not knowing the wishes of the people, how can you determine the areas in which you are to ascertain the wishes of the people? This, as you can see, is a vicious circle, but even if you get over this hurdle and arrive at some *a priori* [way] of determining the areas, the next point is through what means to determine the wishes of the public

2 Now it is absolutely certain, and you must admit it as a question of fact, that the present representatives of the Legislatures of the Hindu community do not represent the wishes of the Scheduled Castes So if you proceed on the basis of the present composition of the Legislature, you are knowingly proceeding on a wrong basis which you cannot justify merely because of the difficulties of ascertaining the wishes of the people within the time that you have set for yourself I am afraid that you must go in for some kind of a plebiscite and I agree with the suggestion made by Mr Liaquat Ali Khan to His Excellency—off hand, it is true, but still very sound He suggested that

(i) You should proceed on the basis of the present electorate There is a separate list for Muslims, a separate list for Scheduled Castes and a separate list for Caste Hindus and Scheduled Castes combined from which the Scheduled Castes can be eliminated so as to make a separate list for Caste Hindus

(ii) Compare these lists with the number of Muslims, Scheduled Castes and Caste Hindus and others returned in the 1941 census and see if these numbers also reflect the proportion of the population For instance, if in an area there are 1,000 Muslims, 4,000 Scheduled Castes and 8,000 Caste Hindus and the voters are 100, 400 and 800 respectively, then each vote will have one value, but if for instance the Muslim voters are 50 then each vote will count as two, and this principle will apply to the other categories

(iii) Compartmental voting should be held in respect of each category as we hold for the Legislature This will be by no means difficult to organize and, if the booths are sufficiently apart and are placed in such a way that they are accessible to the majority of the voters of that category, there will not be any collision either

(iv) The plebiscite will be taken on whether they want a partition or not

(v) The votes should be counted on a *thana* basis so that the wishes of each *thana* may be ascertained separately

(vi) Districts in which the Muslims are in a majority or where they are nearly equal but are contiguous to the Muslim majority districts should be excluded Of the last category there is only one such district, namely Khulna, where according to the census the Muslims are above 49 per cent but under 50 per cent, but the district is contiguous to three Muslim majority districts

3 I fear that the notional election will be badly criticised, it will be considered unfair by the Muslims and the Scheduled Castes, it will carry no weight, and its decisions will not be accepted After all, as H E has stated, whatever we decide should have a basis of agreement, which is not likely to be achieved unless it is also just

Yours sincerely,
H S SUHRAWARDY

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Note by Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy on the Partition of Bengal

F 458/64-73

27 April 1947

It must be a matter of the greatest regret to all those who were eagerly looking forward to the welfare and prosperity of Bengal to find that an agitation for its partition is being vigorously pursued in some quarters This cry would never have been raised had it not been due to a sense of frustration and impatience on the part of some Hindus inasmuch as the members of their community have not an adequate share in the Bengal Ministry in spite of their numbers in the province, their wealth, influence, education, participation in the administration of the province, their propaganda and their inherent strength This frustration is largely the result of a failure to realize that present conditions in Bengal, which is linked to India, are not applicable to an independent sovereign state as I hope Bengal will be Today we are in the midst of a struggle in India between contending factions of all-India importance, each intent on enforcing its views on the other and neither willing to give way except at a price which the other is not prepared to pay Their disputes profoundly affect the politics of all the provinces and the problems are being treated as a whole

An entirely different state of circumstances will arise when each province will have to look after itself and when each province is sure to get practical, if not total, independence, and the people of Bengal will have to rely upon each other It is unbelievable that under such a set of circumstances there can exist a Ministry in Bengal which will not be composed of all the important elements in its society or which can be a communal party Ministry, or where the various sections will not be better represented than they are now I do not think that the fact that the Muslims will have a slight preponderance in the Ministry by virtue of their slender majority will be grudged by the Hindus as indeed this has hitherto been accepted by all as inherent in the nature of things in Bengal Does any one seriously conceive that it is possible under such a set of circumstances to visualize that one section of the people, say the Muslims, can tyrannize over the minority, namely the Hindus, in Bengal? There are several factors which make such a thing impossible and unbelievable There is the internal strength of the Hindus themselves, their internal strength which can paralyse any unfair administration They occupy the most important places in the administration They are a majority in the services The administration in the Secretariat is in their hands The most important and the experienced officers of Government are Hindus It is just ridiculous to think that their position and influence can be ignored Over and above this, Bengal will have 200 million Hindus on its frontiers, who will certainly make it their cause to see that their co-religionists have a fair deal in the province It will just be fatuous and suicidally fatuous for any Muslim Government to give an unfair deal to the Hindus of Bengal

I have read most fervid fulminations against the Government of Bengal on its alleged treatment of the Hindu population These denunciations have been built on the most slender and imaginary foundations I by no means admit that the demand for the partition of Bengal is the demand of the majority of the Hindus even of West Bengal, let alone of the majority of the Hindus of Bengal The ties and culture of the Hindus of every part of Bengal are so much the same that it is not open to the Hindus of one part of Bengal to dissever [sic] those ties in the hope of grasping power Indeed by the same analogy the wishes of all the peoples of Bengal—Muslims, Hindus, Scheduled Castes and others—ought to be ascertained on the question of the partition of Bengal, which can only be undertaken if there is a substantial majority in its favour It is these fundamental factors peculiar to Bengal which differentiate the question of partition of Bengal from the Muslim

lemand for the division of India, apart from such factors as economic ntegrity, mutual reliance and the necessity of creating a strong workable State The lead for partition has been taken by the Hindu Mahaabha which hopes that, by whipping up agitation for the partition of Bengal, for the dismissal of the Bengal Ministry and imposition of ection 93, by establishment of regional Ministries, by arousing fanatiism against the Muslims of Bengal, by creating disturbances through *artals* and violence, it will be able to ingratiate itself with the Hindu people and destroy the influence of the Congress This is but a vain lream as they will find to their cost The Hindu Mahasabha wishes to tage a comeback, so do sundry politicians who have not been able to ind a niche for themselves But apart from this I maintain that this gitation started by a small section of the Hindus, vocal it is true, nasters of propaganda as they certainly are, backed by an influential 'ress, has not yet the support of the common people The last elections iave demonstrated most convincingly that neither the Hindu Mahasabha nor the Congress represent the voice of the Scheduled Castes In the primary elections, the candidates of the Scheduled Castes ederation got an overwhelmingly large number of votes as against he Congress Scheduled Caste candidates, although ultimately the ederation candidates were defeated in the joint election Again, mongst the Caste Hindus themselves, there are certain grades of Hindus who, though classified as Caste Hindus, do not follow either he Congress or the Hindu Mahasabha and will be happier under a ule that will work for the common man than under a rule of the rivileged classes which will certainly pull for the rights of the privieged classes from which the Congress and the Hindu Mahasabha erive their strength The agitation, therefore, for the partition of Benal is not so universal amongst the Hindus as it is made out to be, though ropaganda may make it appear otherwise There will hardly be found a *iana* where the Caste Hindus, including the depressed sections mongst them, are in a majority An examination of the 1941 census is ıost revealing The Muslims have claimed that the 1941 census, which ⁄as taken over a number of days, has been unfair to them and has een heavily loaded in favour of the Hindus who reacted fully to the ropaganda conducted by the Hindu Mahasabha that numbers were f paramount importance in the future Constitution and interpreted it s an indication, which it was meant to be, that they should make very effort to increase their numbers in the census In spite, therefore, f the emphatic assertions of their economists and observers that the Hindus of West Bengal were a decaying race while the Muslims were

virile and prolific, the proportion between the two has remained almost identical with the proportion recorded in 1931 In the 1941 census there is a large and indeterminate group of Hindus who have refused to record the caste to which they belonged It will be recalled that at that time a vigorous propaganda was carried on amongst the Scheduled Castes to induce them not to record their castes but to declare themselves as Hindus only, and it can thus be safely argued that those who have not recorded their castes mostly, if not wholly, belong to the Scheduled Castes Even in the district of Burdwan, the Caste Hindus are 32 36 per cent[1] and the non-returned Hindus are 18 6 per cent Similar proportions are reflected in each of its sub-divisions In the district of Birbhum, the Caste Hindus are 29 04 per cent and the non-returned Hindus are 9 71 per cent, and this proportion is reflected in its two sub-divisions In the district of Bankura, the Caste Hindus are 48 74 per cent and the non-returned are 7 34 per cent Even here the Caste Hindus are not in a majority and, with the non-returned Hindus, they make a very narrow margin indeed In the district of Midnapore, the Caste Hindus are 42 56 per cent and the non-returned are 30 87 per cent In the Sadar sub-division they are 46 64 per cent and 17 23 per cent, respectively In Jhargram 52 45 per cent and 4 76 per cent, in Ghatal 63 14 per cent and 11 57 per cent In the last two sub-divisions, therefore, they are in an absolute majority In Tamluk they are 39 78 per cent and 40 45 per cent, respectively, and in Contai 26 45 per cent and 60 91 per cent In the district of Hooghly the proportion is 45 49% and 16 48% In Sadar, they are 36 20 per cent and 16 35 per cent, in Serampore 46 29 per cent and 22 9 per cent, and in Arambagh 54 78 per cent and 4 8 per cent In the district of Howrah they are 37 69 per cent and 29 45 per cent In the Sadar sub-division it is they are [*sic*] 26 89 per cent and 42 71 per cent, and in Ulberia 51 27 per cent and 12 77 per cent Indeed there are some *thanas* in this district where the Caste Hindus, even if we give them credit for all the non-returned Hindus, are in a minority and some in which the Muslim and Scheduled Caste population even constitute a majority In the Presidency Division, in the district of 24-Parganas as a whole, the proportion [*sic* for percentages] of Caste Hindus and non-returned Hindus are 22 10 and 22 20 The Muslims and the declared Scheduled Castes here (without taking the non-returned Caste Hindus into consideration) constitute the majority In the Sadar sub-division, the Muslims and the Scheduled Castes together are 56 per cent, the Caste Hindus are 14 98 per cent and the non-returned Hindus 26 91 per cent Wherever I have given the "proportion" of Scheduled Castes, I have counted those only who have so

declared themselves and not drawn from the category of non-returned Hindus or from the category of "others" In two *thanas* of Matiaburj and Bhanga the Muslims are in absolute majority In the Barrackpore sub-division, the Caste Hindus are 26 47 per cent and the non-returned 39 6 per cent In the Barasat sub-division the Muslims are in absolute majority 57 65 per cent, the Scheduled Castes are 13.48 per cent, the Caste Hindus 15 91 per cent and the non-returned 12 16 per cent In all the *thanas* of this sub-division, the Muslims are in absolute majority, except in Rajarhat where they are 34 88 per cent, and the Scheduled Castes are 31 71 per cent In the Bashirhat sub-division, the Muslims are 48 33 per cent, the Scheduled Castes 23 32 per cent, Caste Hindus 17 83 per cent and the non-returned 10 73 per cent In four *thanas* out of the six, the Muslims are in absolute majority, and in the other two they constitute a majority with the Scheduled Castes, in the Diamond Harbour sub-division they are the least the Muslims are 22 62 per cent, Scheduled Castes 26 3 per cent, the Caste Hindus 35 18 per cent and the non-returned 15 05 per cent These figures speak louder than words how limited the demand for partition can be, even if we were to concede, which I certainly do not do, that all Caste Hindus desire partition In the districts of Nadia, Murshidabad and Jessore, the Muslims are in absolute majority Khulna may call for some comments The Muslims are 49 36 per cent, the Scheduled Castes 24 21 per cent, the Caste Hindus 16 51 per cent, and the non-returned 9 59 per cent This is more or less reflected in the Sadar sub-division In the Bagerhat and Satkhira sub-divisions, however, the Muslims are in an absolute majority Analysing the *thanas* of the Bagerhat sub-division, they are in absolute majority in three *thanas*, nearly equal in four, and in one *thana* they are 38 72 per cent with the Scheduled Castes 17 per cent In the Satkhira sub-division, the Muslims are in absolute majority Among the *thanas*, they are in absolute majority in four, nearly equal in two, and, of course, have a comfortable majority along with the Scheduled Castes, and in one *thana*, namely Debhata, their proportion is 42 61%, [and that of the] Scheduled Castes 21 32%

Some attempt has been made of late to stake a claim to some areas in North Bengal I will analyse this In Rajshahi district, the Muslims are 74 66 per cent We can leave it out In Dinajpur district, they are 50 20 per cent, the Scheduled Castes 20 73 per cent, the Caste Hindus 17 21 per cent and the non-returned 2 26 per cent In the Sadar sub-division of Dinajpur and in the districts of Rajshahi, Dinajpur, Rangpur, Bogra, Pabna and Malda, the Muslims are in majority In the other sub-divisions of Dinajpur, Muslims are nearly equal to the rest In

Jalpaiguri, the Muslims are 23 08 per cent and the Scheduled Castes 29 88 per cent, the Caste Hindus are 14 23 per cent, the non-returned 6 53 per cent, and there is a large population classed as "others" who are 26.82 per cent In the Sadar sub-division of Jalpaiguri, the proportions [percentages of the Muslims, Scheduled Castes, Caste Hindus, the non-returned and the "others"] are 28 82, 33 56, 13 21, 6 15 and 18 26 [respectively] In this area there are three *thanas* where the Muslims are in an absolute majority, in five *thanas* they are in a huge majority along with the Scheduled Castes, and in four *thanas* they are in a majority if added to "others", a tricky classification in this district In these *thanas* the "others" are 34 06 per cent, 63 75 per cent, 60 87 per cent and 45 14 per cent, and include mostly tribals, Santhals, undeclared Rajabansis, whom the Hindus cannot add to themselves for practical purposes In no *thana* do the Caste Hindus, along with the non-returned Hindus, constitute a majority In the Alipur Dooars sub-division, much the same position exists

The demand for partition of a portion of Jalpaiguri, as part and parcel of West Bengal, is fantastic and illustrates to what extent the agitators have lost their sense of proportion The district of Darjeeling has to be considered on its own merits as it contains a considerable amount of Nepalis and Hill tribes who can hardly be drawn into this discussion I have placed all the relevant facts and figures before the public and it is now for us to judge to what extent the demand for the partition of Bengal actually exists in the whole of Bengal or, for that matter, even in West Bengal

But let us once more consider the validity of the demand itself Why should the Bengalee Hindus want a separate homeland? Let me proceed on the assumption for the time being that the demand is not limited to a few but is put forward by all Caste Hindus, Scheduled Castes and those who have not returned their castes Now, has their culture, their religion, their language suffered under the present regime? And how do they think that in a future set-up they will suffer so that they can only flourish and safeguard their culture and life if they have a small portion of Western Bengal? To my mind, I think, the demand is suicidal from the point of view of the Hindus Even if it did happen, an eventuality which I cannot conceive that the rule is passed solely into the hands of Muslims intent on crushing the Hindus as a whole, an attitude which would combine the entire population of Hindus in opposition to the Muslims, could such a policy possibly succeed or be put into effect where any Government of Bengal would have to carry its own servants along with it, while most of them belong to the Hindu

community? Then again, industry, business and the professions are in their hands Their youth are well advanced and know their rights and know how to achieve their claims Not only is the present attitude due to a sense of impatient frustration, not only is it short-sighted, but is a confession of a defeatism which one hardly expected from the great Hindu community of Bengal

Noakhali is constantly cited as an indication of what might happen in the future set-up of an independent State I have already said that it would be ridiculous to draw conclusions for the future from the present set-up But let us pause here for a moment Can Noakhali and the incidents of that area be considered typical and an augury for the future? And are there not many other districts where the Muslims are in a convincing and overwhelming majority and yet has not peace been preserved in these districts, and have not the Hindus carried on exactly as before with all their powers and privileges?

It is said that this Government is handing out patronage to Muslims in the way of posts, educational facilities and business It is a pity that this is considered to be a cause for grievance It is indeed a pity because the patronage (mostly born of the War and shortly to disappear) is of pitiful dimensions, hardly worth noticing, and is merely an attempt to do some justice to the Muslims after their relegation to the position of hewers of wood and drawers of water But surely in the context of the great unity of Bengal that I dream of, I do not think that, whatever arguments may be advanced at this stage to arouse feelings of hatred against the Government and give force to a demand for separation, the Hindus themselves will object to raising the Muslims and the Scheduled Castes and the backward classes to such a level that they may be able to participate adequately in the advancement of the country

And let us pause for a moment to consider what Bengal can be if it remains united It will be a great country indeed, the richest and the most prosperous in India, capable of giving to its people a high standard of living, where a great people will be able to rise to the fullest height of their stature, a land that will truly be plentiful It will be rich in agriculture, rich in industry and commerce, and in course of time it will be one of the most powerful and progressive States of the world If Bengal remains united, this will be no dream, no fantasy Anyone who can see what its resources are and the present state of its development, will agree that this must come to pass if we ourselves do not commit suicide And suicide for what? Need I repeat, if that assurance is once more wanted, that often enough has Mr Jinnah

made it clear that there can be no Government whatsoever, such as he visualizes, which can function in an independent context without the closest co-operation of the minorities, and this dictum is more applicable to Bengal than to any other province in India

If we can have an un-severed Bengal, if all of us are united with a purpose of making this great, then surely our claims to the districts of Manbhum and Singbhum, perhaps the district of Purnea, certainly to the Surma valley if not to Assam as a whole (of course with their consent, which I think will be forthcoming when the tussle disappears and gives way to co-operation and mutual reliance), are bound to find favour on the principle of self-determination, and then we can have a portion of the world that will certainly surpass any other country of like dimensions

I have therefore visualized all along Bengal as an independent State and not [as a] part of any Union of India Once such States are formed, their future rests with them I shall never forget how long it took for the Government of India to realize the famine conditions in Bengal in the year 1943, how in Bengal's dire need it was denied foodgrains by the neighbouring province of Bihar, how since then every single province of India has closed its doors and deprived Bengal of its normal necessities, how in the councils of India Bengal is relegated to an undignified corner while other provinces wield undue influence No, if Bengal is to be great, it can only do so if it stands on its own legs and all combine to make it great It must be a master of its own resources and riches and its own destiny It must cease to be exploited by others and shall not continue to suffer any longer for the benefit of the rest of India So, in the end, the tussle will rage round Calcutta and its environments, built up largely by the resources of foreigners, inhabited largely by people from other provinces who have no roots in the soil and who have come here to earn their livelihood, designated in another context as exploitation Alas, if this is the main objective, as my figures would demonstrate, then no claim for the partition of Bengal can remain static, and a cause for enmity and future strife would have been brought into being, of which we can see no end

To those of the Hindus who talk so lightly of the partition of Bengal, I make an appeal to drop this movement so fraught with unending mischief Surely, some method of government can be evolved by all of us sitting together, which will satisfy all sections of the people and will revivify the splendour and glory that was Bengal

[1]The word percentage has been added here and hereafter against the figures of various

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Note by Mumtaz Fateh Ali on the Administrative set-up of Pakistan

F 918/202-204

24 PERSHING SQUARE, NEW DELHI,
28 April 1947

SOME THOUGHTS FOR THE CONSIDERATION OF
QUAID-I-AZAM MOHAMMAD ALI JINNAH

1 The Secretary, All India Muslim League, or some members of All India Services at present in the Central or Provincial Secretariats should now ascertain, by means of a Gallup poll from Muslim members of the All India Services, to state definitely whether they would desire to serve in Pakistan Republic

2 The Headquarters of Pakistan Republic should on no account be either at Karachi or Lahore or Calcutta, but at Delhi, the seat of the Moghul Empire, in the footsteps of which the Pakistan Republic is to go

3 Arrangements for the establishment of a Pakistan Secretariat should be put in train at once All experienced old and young Muslims should be drawn out of the existing Secretariat at New Delhi The old experienced Muslims should not be allowed to retire for not less than five years

4 Departments intended to deal with defence, external affairs, communications, transport, finance, industries, health, education, agriculture and commerce should be set up immediately

5 The Pakistan Army, a combination of all Muslims, whether belonging to the Western [Zone] or the Eastern Zone, should be recruited from our young generation in such a manner that, after meeting the requirements of our other services, there is no unemployment in our well-augured Republic

6 Our educational policy will be most important of all, in that individuals have to be so educated as to eradicate all signs of inferiority complex *vis-a-vis* other nations and, more than that, our education should build good Muslims who cannot be purchased at any price Military training should be compulsory from the 8th (Middle) class

7 Schools and colleges for the training of military officers and other ranks should be set up in the headquarters town of each provincial unit or, if that is not at present possible, one for each Zone

8 Customs duty at Karachi, Calcutta and Chittagong should not

from now [on] be allowed to pour into the present Central or Interim Government but [should be] diverted towards the Pakistan Central Government Similarly, income tax, railway income and post and telegraph revenue should be diverted towards Pakistan Revenues

9 Defence Services, including land, air and naval forces, should be built up straightaway by taking whatever the volume [sic] of Muslims at present exists and adding thereto by fresh recruitment from the Pakistan areas Our Army should be the strongest, best-equipped and best-organized, and *Akhand* Hindustan will be ashamed to hear of it [sic]

10 In entering into an agreement with *Akhand* Hindustan, we must ensure the safety of Muslim monuments

11 The form of postage stamps and envelopes should be revised with a view to including the map of Pakistan as an emblem

12 Currency should also be revised, whether gold or silver or paper, Pakistan map should be the emblem Pakistan State Bank should be set up as a network throughout the Republic

13 Muslims should be at once encouraged to start small scale industries with a view to producing as much as possible Any surplus production could be exported to neighbouring Muslim countries No difficulty is anticipated Development of industry should embrace all items required for our everyday life, particularly cloth

14 Steps should be taken at once for the setting up of Pakistan Republic and to depute Muslims to undertake studies in Europe and America in big industrial and mechanical centres so that our industries should start in right earnest in a couple of years

15 Military industries also [sic], viz manufacture of ammunition and war equipment, should also be given prompt attention

16 Standard of living in Pakistan Republic should be high just as in European and American countries This will mean high wages for workers but this must be our aim There should be no sign of poverty in Pakistan Paupers, lepers, the blind, beggars, etc , should be provided for in *ad hoc* homes at state expenses

355

Abdul Matin Chaudhury to K H Khurshid

F 130/1

KENCH'S TRACE, SHILLONG,
28 April 1947

My dear Mr Khurshid,

I promised to send an important Note about Assam with maps[1] to Mr Jinnah I am sending them herewith Please hand over these to him

Yours sincerely,
ABDUL MATIN CHAUDHURY

[1]Not available in *QAP*

Enclosure to No 355

F 130/2-6

ABSOLUTE MUSLIM MAJORITY AREAS IN ASSAM

The areas in Assam, contiguous to Bengal, in which the Muslims form absolute majority over all the other communities combined, consist of two zones, (1) the Surma Valley Muslim Zone, and (2) the Assam Valley Muslim Zone

SURMA VALLEY MUSLIM ZONE

The Surma Valley Muslim Zone comprises the entire district of Sylhet and the plains portion of the neighbouring district of Cachar The district of Cachar consists of three sub-divisions, i e , Hailakandi, Silchar and North Cachar Hills Hailakandi and Silchar sub-divisions are included in the plains portion of the district of Cachar Population of this Zone is as follows

	[Population]	Percentage
Muslims	21,24,635	57
Scheduled [Castes]	4,16,286	11
Other Hindus	9,53,736	25
Tea Garden Tribals	2,16,642	6
Total	37,20,520	

The details of the above are as follows

SYLHET DISTRICT	[Population]	Percentage
Muslims	18,92,117	60 7
Scheduled [Castes]	3,64,510	11 0
Other Hindus	7,85,004	25 0
Tea Garden Tribals	65,627	2 0
Total	31,16,602	

HAILAKANDI SUB-DIVISION (CACHAR DISTRICT)	[Population]	Percentage
Muslims	85,963	51 0
Scheduled [Castes]	11,381	6 0
Other Hindus	37,787	22 0
Tea Garden Tribals	29,585	17 0
Total	1,66,536	

SILCHAR SUB-DIVISION (CACHAR DISTRICT)	Population	Percentage
Muslims	1,46,555	30 9
Scheduled [Castes]	40,395	9 0
Other Hindus	1,30,447	29 9
Tea Garden [Tribals]	1,10,106	27 0
Total	4,37,284	

CACHAR PLAINS (HAILAKANDI & SILCHAR SUB-DIVISIONS COMBINED)	Population	Percentage
Muslims	2,32,528	38 5
Scheduled [Castes]	51,776	8 5
Other Hindus	1,68,734	27 9
Tea Garden Tribals	1,39,691	23 1
Total	6,03,820	

ASSAM VALLEY MUSLIM ZONE

The Assam Valley Muslim Majority Zone runs through Goalpara and Dhubri sub-divisions in Goalpara district into Barpeta sub-division in Kamrup district It consists of (1) Mankachar, (2) South Salmara, (3) Lakhipur, (4) Dhubri, (5) Golakganj, (6) Bilashipara, (7) North Salmara *Thanas* (Police Stations) in Goalpara district (8) Sorbhog, (9) Barpeta and (10) Tarabari *Thanas* of Barpeta sub-division in Kamrup district The population figures and percentages are given below

ASSAM VALLEY MUSLIM MAJORITY ZONE

	Thana	Total	Muslims	Scheduled [Castes]	Caste Hindus	Tribals
(1)	Mankachar	39,671	31,543	1,034	6,137	957
(2)	South Salmara	89,671	82,794	900	6,071	82
(3)	Lakhipur	81,391	56,467	192	13,951	10,781
(4)	Dhubri	94,146	61,469	2,571	25,593	4,513
(5)	Golakganj	85,464	37,396	1,425	45,609	1,057
(6)	Bilashipara	1,01,584	52,958	2,186	33,195	13,265
(7)	N Salmara	1,06,463	52,262	6,851	47,213	137
(8)	Sorbhog	1,22,381	63,594	981	36,942	20,763
(9)	Barpeta	1,80,520	98,041	8,997	66,294	7,185
(10)	Tarabari	65,265	55,339	1,047	8,225	652
	Total	9,66,556	5,91,843	26,183	2,61,183	59,302
Percentage		100	61 2	2 7	29	6 1

[Note The totals in the above tables are incorrect and have been given as in the original]

DETAILS OF PERCENTAGES, *THANA* BY *THANA*

Thana	Muslims	Scheduled [Castes]	Other Hindus	Tribals
(1) Mankachar	79 5	2 6	15 4	2 4
(2) South Salmara	92 3	1 0	6 7	0 9
(3) Lakhipur	69 3	0 2	17 1	13 0
(4 Dhubri	65 2	2 7	27 1	4 7
(5) Golakganj	43 7	1 6	53 3	1 2
(6) Bilashipara	52 1	2 1	32 6	13 5
(7) North Salmara	49 2	6 4	44 3	1 0
(8) Sorbhog	51 9	0 8	33.1	16 9
(9) Barpeta	54 3	4.9	36 7	3 4
(10) Tarabari	84 7	1 6	12 6	0 9

DISTRICTS IN WHICH MUSLIMS, THOUGH NOT IN ABSOLUTE MAJORITY YET FORM THE SINGLE LARGEST GROUP

District *Numbers*	Muslims	Scheduled [Castes]	Other Hindus	Tribals
Goalpara	4,68,924	23,434	2,83,789	2,37,993
Cachar	2,32,950	51,961	1,73,855	1,78,264
Nowgong	2,50,113	59,214	2,29,137	1,66,525

Percentages				
Goalpara	46 2	2 3	27 9	23 4
Cachar	36 3	8 1	27 1	27 8
Nowgong	35 1	8 3	32 2	23 4

SUB-DIVISIONS IN WHICH MUSLIMS FORM THE LARGEST GROUP

Sub-division	Muslims	Scheduled [Castes]	Other Hindus	Tribals
Numbers				
Dhubri (Goalpara Dist)	3,37,072	8,995	1,94,322	1,75,475
Goalpara (Goalpara Dist)	1,32,852	14,379	88,467	55,322
Barpeta (Kamrup Dist)	2,22,774	11,803	1,74,127	45,339
Silchar (Cachar Dist)	1,46,555	40,395	1,30,947	1,10,106
Percentages				
Dhubri	47 00	1 20	27 10	24 50
Goalpara	46 20	2 30	27 90	23 40
Barpeta	49 49	2 50	38 30	09 90
Silchar	30 90	9 00	29 90	27 00

POSITION OF HILL DISTRICTS IN ASSAM

The position of the four Hill districts of Khasi and Jaintia Hills, Garo Hills, Naga Hills and Lushai Hills demands closer scrutiny In these districts Hindus, including Scheduled Castes, are from 1 6 to 10 per cent only, the Hill tribals forming the overwhelming proportion of the population, as the following statistics will show

Area	Hindus	%	Muslims	%	Tribals	%
Khasi & Jaintia Hills	12,739	10 7	1,555	1 3	1,03,567	87 2
Garo Hills	14,307	6 7	10,398	4 6	1,98,474	88 2
Naga Hills	4,198	2 2	531	0 2	1,84,766	97 3
Lushai Hills	2,447	1 6	101	0 6	1,47,042	96 7

Obviously with [only] 2-10 per cent [of the total] population in the Hill districts, the Hindus have no right to claim domination over the Hill tribes of these four Hill districts forming 87 to 97 per cent of the population

On the other hand, Muslim Zones have a greater claim to these Hill

districts on the grounds of contiguity, commercial intercourse and strategic defence

Lushai Hills have no physical contiguity with the remnant [*sic* for rest of] Assam Access to Lushai Hills can only be through Pakistan Zones in Bengal and Assam As the last War has shown, Lushai Hills and Naga Hills are a necessity to the Pakistan Zone for its strategic defence Garo Hills are surrounded practically on three sides by overwhelmingly Muslim Zones in Bengal and Assam, its main outlets to outside world lie through the predominantly Muslim areas in Bengal and Assam Khasi and Jaintia Hills have close historical association with the predominantly Muslim district of Sylhet, the plain portion of the ancient Kingdom of Jaintia forming even today a part of Sylhet district

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Mirza Ahmad Ispahani to M A Jinnah

F 310/58-60

51 EZRA STREET, CALCUTTA,
28 April 1947

My dear Mr Jinnah,

Recent events in Calcutta indicate that the Congress-cum-Mahasabha High Command are bent on mischief in order to demonstrate that the League Government is incapable of governing Realizing that the recruitment of Punjabis for Calcutta Police would put into jeopardy the nefarious schemes of the Congress, its leaders have started a false campaign against this Police[1] in the hope that the Government would be induced to take some action The action taken against two Constables of the Punjabi Police has gravely affected the morale of this force and I advise some action which might act as a palliative It is an elementary principle of administration that disciplinary action should never be taken for political reasons or as a sop to hostile criticism The Punjabi Police work has been so good that for the future peace and well-being of the city it is essential to augment its strength by at least 100%

The Gurkha Military Police has been recruited by the British Government for imperial interests Nepal is an over-populated poor country and, being 100% loyal to the British, its Government and people received the most favourable treatment It is for this reason that the

Royal family is given a dole of Rs 20 lac per annum and it is for this reason that about 12 battalions are enlisted for the Indian Army These reasons do not exist in so far as the Muslims are concerned On the other hand, the strength of the Nepal Military Police is such that if they so choose and if the Army do not interfere, [they] could take over the Government of Bengal It is, therefore, imperative in the interest of the Muslims of Bengal to liquidate this force in the next 12 months The Nepalese are foreigners and have no right of service in a force paid from the Bengal revenues

I wonder if the Intelligence Department of the Government of Bengal has informed the Hon'ble the Home Minister of the unusually great influx of Nepalese into Calcutta I have myself seen hundreds These are all foreigners and the Government of Bengal should not allow entry of Nepalese into the country without every Nepalese being registered

The Sikhs' control of the transport system of Calcutta is scandalous The 40,000 Sikhs in the city are a menace, and in case of serious trouble after the British have left, the Sikhs will join the Nepalese to control Bengal I suggest that any Sikh seeking to have a taxi licence should have his character verified by the Punjabi Police, and a Punjab Police officer of the rank of D S P (Muslim) should be stationed in Calcutta with an adequate staff to keep a close watch on the Sikhs In Bombay and Calcutta the Pathans are watched by Police officers of their province, and the Sikhs who as a race are more criminally inclined than any other race in India, should have a much closer and stricter watch

I am sorry to have taken up so much of your time, but as a Muslim I feel it my duty to do all in my power to safeguard the future of my people, and if we do not wake up, we will find that overnight the enemy [is] in power

I could not write this to Shaheed[2] as I do not think he treats such correspondence with the secrecy that it deserves

Yours sincerely,
MIRZA AHMAD

[1]After the Calcutta riots of August 1946, the Suhrawardy Ministry had reinforced the armed police in Calcutta by recruiting Punjabi Muslims In April 1947, the Ministry inducted 609 Punjabi Muslims into Calcutta police which caused resentment amongst the Gurkha policemen See Appendix XII 72

[2]Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy

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Mirza Ahmad Ispahani to M A. Jinnah

F 886/203-204

51 EZRA STREET, CALCUTTA,
28 April 1947

My dear Mr Jinnah,

The next 13 months are going to be critical in the history of India and the fate of a 100 million Muslims is in the balance I am one of those who consider that if Muslims have to live an independent life then the friendship and support of all Islamic nations is essential A Commercial Mission was recently sent by the Government of India to the Muslim countries of the Middle East and Iran but Afghanistan has been, to my astonishment, omitted Owing to its proximity, its trade connections, and its influence amongst the warlike tribes of the N W F P , I consider it most important that we the Muslims of India should establish close and friendly relations with the people and the Government of Afghanistan and I urge that the Trade Delegation which is now in Cairo should be directed to visit Kabul before it completes its mission In this connection, I would like to draw your attention to a significant announcement in this morning's papers to the effect that the Interim Government (same thing as the Congress) are sending a goodwill mission to Khatmandu consisting of Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai and Brigadier Rudra [1] Both these gentlemen are no friends of Muslims and this visit, coming as it does, after the visit of Dr Moonje[2] is not without significance to the Muslims

Yours sincerely,
MIRZA AHMAD

[1]Bajpai and Rudra had visited Kathmandu on behalf of the Government of India ostensibly for the employment of Gurkha troops in the British Army See *TP*, XI, Enclosure to No 388, p 722

[2]The leader of the Hindu Mahasabha

358

Iftikhar Husain Khan Mamdot to Evan Jenkins
(Copy to M A Jinnah)

F 126/3-4

MAMDOT VILLA, LAHORE,
28 April 1947

My dear Sir Evan,

Following my letter to Your Excellency dated April 23rd, 1947,[1] you were kind enough to have a long talk with me this afternoon, during which we discussed in detail the points raised in my afore-mentioned letter In view of the extreme importance of the matters discussed in our talk, and of the necessity of formulating the conclusions in an authoritative and veracious form so that they may, if necessary, be fairly placed before the people of the Punjab, I must request Your Excellency to give me a final answer to the questions raised in my letter of April 23rd, 1947 As I am anxious that I should not give an impression that is unfair or incorrect in emphasis or in detail, I hesitate to trust my recollection of our talk, and am therefore requesting an authoritative answer from you

It is my impression that during our talk no doubt was cast on my claim that I possess the support of a clear majority of the present members of the Punjab Legislative Assembly In this respect I would like to emphasize my position that, having been invited by you to form a Ministry, it is my constitutional right to prove my majority on the floor of the House To stress the democratic correctness of my stand, I would go further and request that, if Your Excellency chooses, previous arrangements may be made so that I can face the Assembly within twenty-four hours of being called upon to take office I hope Your Excellency will agree that I am at least as anxious as yourself not to undertake responsibilities which I cannot prove and justify by the most immediate and stringent democratic test

I would also like to assure Your Excellency that I am eager to secure the fullest co-operation of all the minority communities in the formation of a Ministry It is my claim that I have already the assurance of the support of the representatives of some minority communities With regard to the Congress with whom we have to deal not only in the Punjab but in every province in India, my position is that I am willing to co-operate with them in the Punjab on exactly the same terms as

they are prepared to offer to the Muslim League in the provinces where they represent a majority of the population An all-India question, by its very definition, cannot be tackled on any other basis On the other hand, since it is possible to reach a settlement with the Sikhs on a provincial basis, I have already assured them of the fullest satisfaction of all their reasonable demands in the sphere of administration in the province I am prepared to pursue my efforts in this direction, but I cannot accept their unreasoning veto on the functioning of democracy in the Punjab

I shall be grateful for an early reply from you

Yours sincerely,
IFTIKHAR HUSAIN KHAN

[1] No 341

359

Dina Wadia to M A Jinnah

F 510/4-7

PEDDER HOUSE, CUMBALLA HILL, BOMBAY,
28 April 1947

My darling Papa,

First of all I must congratulate you—we have got Pakistan, that is to say the principal [*sic* for principle] has been accepted I am so proud and happy for you—how hard you have worked for it

I hear you have sold "South Court" to Dalmia for 20 lakhs It's a very good price and you must be very pleased—if you have sold I wanted to make one request of you—if you are not moving your books, could I please have a few of Ratty's old poetry books—Byron's, Shelley's, and a few others and the Oscar Wilde series—this request is only made if you are selling the books & furniture and if you don't intend to keep them, perhaps you could give me just a few for sentimental reasons I always used to read them and as you know I am very fond of reading and it is difficult to get nice editions in Bombay

I do hope you are keeping well—I get lots of news of you from the newspapers The children are just recovering from their whooping cough, it will take another month yet

I am taking them to Juhu on Thursday for a month or so Are you

comıng back here? If so I hope you wıll drıve out to Juhu and spend the day ıf you lıke Anyway I have a phone so I wıll rıng you up and drive ın to see you ıf you don't feel lıke comıng out

There ıs little news to gıve you—Bombay ıs faırly empty as everyone has left for the hılls Its quıte cool here I thınk the cyclone we had has made ıt so pleasant Sokhey [?] and Leela came to dınner the other nıght and asked after [*sıc* for about] you

You must be very busy Do wrıte a lıne ıf you have a moment I wıll wrıte agaın

Take care of yourself Papa darlıng

Lots of love & kısses,

DINA

360

Stuart E Abbott to Iftıkhar Husaın Khan Mamdot
(Copy to M A Jınnah)

F 126/2

NO G S 240

LAHORE,
29 Aprıl 1947

Dear Khan Sahıb,

I am desıred to acknowledge the receıpt, late last nıght, of a letter addressed to Hıs Excellency [1] The letter bears the date Aprıl 23rd, but clearly thıs ıs a slıp of the pen for Aprıl 28th I am desıred to say that the letter has been placed before Hıs Excellency, but owıng to the fact that Hıs Excellency had to make an early departure thıs mornıng ın connectıon wıth H E the Vıceroy's vısıt to Rawalpındı, H E the Governor regrets that ıt ıs not ımmedıately possıble for hım to send a reply, but he hopes to do so ın the near future on hıs return from tour

Yours sıncerely,
S E ABBOTT
ICS
Prıvate Secretary to the Governor of the Punjab

[1] No 358

361

Nawab of Bhopal to M A Jinnah

F 238/35-36

PERSONAL QASR-I-SULTANI, BHOPAL,
SECRET *29 April 1947*

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

This is just a line written in great haste to request you to take serious and urgent notice of the proceedings of the Constituent Assembly relating to the States

The Congress has gone out of its way to placate and allure States, and I fear that, unless immediate steps are taken by you to meet this game, there may be a big landslide in the very near future.

It appears to me imperative that an authoritative declaration should at once be made by you on behalf of the Muslim League to indicate what the position of the States would be *vis-a-vis* Pakistan and what would, broadly speaking, be the terms and conditions of alliances between individual or group of States, should they desire to associate themselves with Pakistan There can be no question of a union for reasons which I fully appreciate, and this is why I have deliberately used above the word "alliance" The terms which you may decide to indicate should of course be far more liberal and should give far greater freedom of action to the States, which would be independent and which will not be molested or interfered with by Pakistan in regard to their internal matters etc

I am writing this to draw your attention to the situation as I see it and to the danger of a landslide The decision, of course, rests in your hand and you will know what to say and how much to say The need for such a declaration in my judgement is urgent and of great importance

Yours very sincerely,
HAMIDULLAH

362

Abdul Qaiyum Khan to M A Jinnah

F 324/8-9

CENTRAL JAIL, PESHAWAR,
29 April 1947

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

Nishtar has been extremely helpful He will explain to you the latest position in the N W F P

This morning the Provincial ML, after hearing me on the talk with the Viceroy yesterday, came to the conclusion that this talk and the joint communique did not meet our demand We have decided to continue the struggle

At the close of our talk the Viceroy suggested that I should come over and meet you He added that he would then like to further discuss the situation with you while I am there We consider it a sign of weakness if I or anyone else were to go to meet you Moreover, it may not be desirable otherwise, as Nishtar will explain

It is left to you to call anyone from here if and when you like Siddique Ali's arrival brought about the much-needed unanimity in our Provincial body For this we thank you

Those who wish to call off the fight are in a minority The majority is determined to fight on and I have not the least doubt that our masses will back us

We have achieved two things No one can now say that the Leaguers here are incapable of sacrifices Secondly, the public opinion has swung over to us—a thing which we could not achieve from our speeches and propaganda

We pray to Allah to grant you long life and health to lead us to victory which is now definitely in sight Amen

Yours sincerely,
ABDUL QAIYUM

363

M A Hassan Ispahani to M A Jinnah

F 309/333-334

INDIAN TRADE DELEGATION TO THE MIDDLE EAST,
SHEPHEARD'S HOTEL, CAIRO,
30 April 1947

My dear Mr Jinnah,

I last wrote to you from Beirut on the 9th instant [1] Since then the Delegation have visited Transjordania and Turkey, and are on the last lap of our mission In the Lebanon I met the President of the Republic, the Prime Minister, the Commerce Minister and some other important officials and non-officials In Transjordania I had the pleasure of paying my respects to His Majesty King Abdullah and of having very interesting and heartening talks with him and other important and influential persons in Amman We spent 12 memorable days in Turkey where we were entertained royally by the Government and the Chambers of Commerce and Industry We visited Ankara, Izmir, Bergama, Istanbul and Bursa In the course of our stay in that beautiful country, I had the pleasure of meeting and talking with many persons who were not slow in appreciating our point of view

We arrived here last Saturday and will remain in Egypt till the morning of 11th May From here we proceed to the Hedjaz The Saudi Arabian Government have officially asked us to be their guests during our 9 days' stay in their country On our return to Cairo, the Delegation will disperse If you want me to proceed to London to check up our publicity organization which was established during my last visit to England, kindly cable me on receipt of this letter The cable may be addressed care of Shepheard's It will amuse you to learn that I am occupying the suite of rooms that was placed at your disposal when you stopped in Cairo on your way back to India I shall be spending some busy days in this city doing in my spare time work that is extremely urgent and important to us I had the privilege of calling on the Grand Mufti a couple of days ago He has invited some of us to dinner tomorrow I have received some pamphlets from London and the USA which I propose to translate into Arabic and distribute freely in the Middle East

My Muslim colleagues and I have been very worried about developments in India, particularly because the news that we have been

receiving has been sparse and not too clear I am glad to find that after years of obstinacy the Congress have at last conceded the principle of the division of India, although while claiming a United India they want to hand over to us a truncated and partly worthless Pakistan I suppose we have to carry on our struggle because I cannot see generosity and fair play in the Hindus I hope your talks with Mountbatten have been more fruitful than your interviews with his predecessor I hope you are well

With my best regards,

Very sincerely yours,
HASSAN

[1]No 300

364

M A Jinnah to Nizam of Hyderabad

F 696/121

30 April 1947

Your Exalted Highness,

Many thanks for your letter of the 26th April,[1] which reached me yesterday According to my present programme I don't think it will be possible for me to go to Hyderabad in connection with the Ittehadul Muslimeen's Annual Session, which probably may take place by the end of May next

As regards paragraph 2 of your letter, we shall always help Hyderabad and I am extremely grateful to you for your warm personal references to me

I shall be glad to see any of your representatives here in Delhi, if you decide to send them here, and my friendly advice and services will be at your disposal But if there is something urgent and you wish me to go to Hyderabad for a few days, I shall try my very best to meet you personally

Hoping you are well,

Yours sincerely,
M A JINNAH

H E.H The Nizam,
Palace,
Hyderabad (Deccan)

[1]No 346

365

Rao Muhammad Ashfaq Khan to M A Jinnah

F 886/205-206

OLD BOYS' LODGE, ALIGARH,
30 April 1947

Loved and Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

I do not think I can do anything better than begin this letter with a sense of profound gratitude which the entire nation in general and youth in particular owe to you You have given us new aspirations, new tendencies, new way of life and infinite courage by giving us a lead in fixing the goal of Pakistan at the most critical time in the changing world of today In the words of a poet

You gave us eyes, you gave us ears,
Humble cares and delicate fears,
A heart the fountain of all tears,
And love and thought and joy

Quaid-i-Azam, your selfless sacrifices, rejecting all material goods, honours and testimonials from the Government, have exalted the position of the Muslims of India in the eyes of the world, who take legitimate pride in following the command of no less a person than your good, revered, loved and respected self, who is essentially born for the leadership of the nation, whose past is full of glories and adventures, and whose mission is to preach obedience to God

If I go for retrospect and give valuable quotations from your precious speeches with the necessary interpretation, then I think I will have to compile a voluminous book However, I cannot afford to overlook the words of increasing importance, which have gained so much currency and favour that they have become the talk of the day One is the description of "Maulana", who should be called more appropriately as "Mir Azad" (as he is following in the [foot]steps of Mir Jaffar and Sadiq) as a "show boy", and the second one is the addition of "brutal" to "majority" (brutal majority) Its significance is very great These words have no parallel in the history of oration and eloquence.

However, to come to the point, we are proud that everything is great of our great leader

Quaid-i-Millat, the Aligarh youth want to have access to you It's long since we had the pleasure and honour of welcoming you amongst ourselves There is no denying the fact that you have been unsparingly

busy for the advancement of the national interest, but, Sir, if you are still so busy as not to [be able to] honour us with your kind visit, then please allow those to be near to you who had the good fortune of bidding farewell to you at the Karachi Airport while you were on your way to England, and where His Excellency the Viceroy and Pandit Nehru sank into insignificance due to your royal reception at the aerodrome

May I dare reminding [*sic*] you of your promise of entertaining [*sic* for to entertain] us to tea at 10 Aurangzeb Road, New Delhi Now, Sir, your children demand this favour from you

Please allow me to say a few words about myself I have dedicated the whole of my life to the service of Islam under your able, far-sighted, courageous, bold, straightforward and fair guidance I have collected lakhs of rupees, touring to the extent of Ceylon, for the Medical College, which I most heartily wish should have been in Karachi, in the majority province I have worked most enthusiastically in the League elections in U P , Sind, the Punjab and Peshawar, where I had to suffer at the hands of the Red Shirts

Please be so kind as to encourage your children by bringing them nearer and nearer We are fifteen in number, who were promised of being called to Delhi

Whether the request is considered or not, please do encourage us with a favour of reply to this letter

Praying for your long—long life and prosperity and with best regards,

Your devoted and humble follower,
RAO MUHAMMAD ASHFAQ KHAN

366

Jogindra Nath Mandal to M A Jinnah

F 673/30-31

3 COOPER STREET, CALCUTTA,
30 April 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am sending Mr G D Pramanick with this letter He belongs to the Scheduled Sunsi Community and is a trusted friend of mine

I have set up the organization to carry on our work in Western as well as Eastern Bengal I had a long discussion with Mr Suhrawardy yesterday I have collected a number of workers from both Eastern and Western Bengal I have already put in a number of workers in the Districts of Khulna, 24-Parganas, Howrah, Burdwan and Midnapore It will be necessary to carry on a very extensive and intensive propaganda in Western Bengal, i e in Burdwan Division and 24-Parganas The Scheduled Caste people thereof being very backward in education, we shall have to meet with difficulty But if I could put in a large number of workers we are sure to achieve success

I now propose to start with a sum of Rupees twenty-five thousand I shall be able to send you a report of the progress of work after ten days It is an encouraging aspect that our workers do not cost me much

Kindly send the above-mentioned sum with Mr Pramanick with your instructions, if any

I am well Hope this finds you hale and hearty

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
J N MANDAL

367

Firoz Khan Noon to M A Jinnah

F 399/166

PESHAWAR,
30 April 1947

Dear Mr Jinnah,

I have spent a week here and addressed 20 meetings and covered about 250 miles outside Peshawar, [including the] districts [of] Kohat, Mardan and Peshawar There is a great swing over to the League.

You must press for Section 93[1] There will be a referendum on the Pakistan issue and on such occasions one of the contesting parties cannot be allowed to remain in charge of the elections There is, of course, the danger that Olaf Caroe may, like Jenkins, become a Ranjit Singh in the N W F P and procrastinate and not hold elections, but try and get the Viceroy committed to holding elections

If there are new elections in the Punjab, some Sikhs in the Western

Punjab may split from Tara Singh on the United Punjab issue.

Yours sincerely,
FIROZ NOON

PS. If Caroe behaves like Jenkins and continues to rule under Section 93, then a movement would develop here against the British which will finish the Congress for ever and put the League at the top

[1]Application of Section 93 of the Government of India Act, 1935, meant assumption by the Governor of a Province through a Proclamation of powers vested in or exercisable by any Provincial body or authority

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Messrs S Mohammad Umar & Sons to M A Jinnah

F 169/14

TAILORS & DRAPERS,
17 REGAL BUILDINGS, NEW DELHI,
30 April 1947

Dear Sir,

We are in receipt of your cheque No BB/3/40I95 of 28 4 47 on Imperial Bank of India, New Delhi for Rs 375 in full payment of our account for which we thank you

Our formal stamped receipt No 2926 is enclosed herewith together with the bill which was returned

Always at your service,

Yours faithfully,
For S Mohd Umar & Sons
W S JANI
Accountant

Enclosures 1 & 2 to No 368

F 169/15 & 17

[*Not Printed*]

Enclosure 3 to No 368

F 169/18

DETAILS OF MAKING CHARGES OF A 3-PIECE SUIT

S No	Particulars	C Coat	W Coat	Trousers	Total Yardage	Rate Rs as ps	Amount Rs as ps
1	Lining Silk	$1\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{3}{4}$	$\frac{1}{4}$	$2\frac{1}{4}$	12/-/- yd	27-00-00
2	Lining Silk Sleeve	$\frac{3}{4}$	$\frac{3}{4}$	-	$1\frac{1}{2}$	10/-/- yd	15-00-00
3	Pocketing cloth	$\frac{3}{4}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$1\frac{3}{4}$	6/8/- yd	11-06-00
4	Hair Buckram	1	$\frac{3}{4}$	-	$1\frac{3}{4}$	6/-/- yd	10-08-00
5	Shoulder Buckram	$\frac{3}{4}$	-	-	$\frac{3}{4}$	2/8/- yd	1-14-00
6	Padding Cotton	$1\frac{1}{2}$	-	-	$1\frac{1}{2}$	-/6/- yd	0-09-00
7	Buttons	15	6	-	21 Nos	1/8/-doz	2-10-00
8	Buttons	-	-	13	13 Nos	1/-/-doz	1-01-06
	Thread						
	Reels				2 Nos	-/7/-each	0-14-00
	Thread ball for *Kachcha*[*Karai*]				1 Nos	-/2/- each	0-02-00
	Twist for Button-holes 8 yds each				3 Nos	-/8/- each	1-08-00
	Labour						
	Kachcha Karai for suit						1-02-00
	Tailoring charges	5	2	2	9 days @ Rs 84 per month of 26 days		29-00-00
	Charcoal for ironing						0-10-00
	Cutter's pay, establishment charges, rent, electricity, wear & tear of machines, etc & profit						21-12-00
					TOTAL		125-00-00

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Statement by Anonym on Division of the Punjab

F 131/2-8

Undated [*April 1947*]

The resignation of Sir Khizar Hayat Khan on 3rd March 1947, provided the Sikhs and the Muslims—the two dominant communities in the Punjab—a unique opportunity of shouldering the responsibilities of the Government for the general good of the province Both these communities have much in common To enumerate a few instances

only of similarity of outlook and interest both have martial traditions, both are democratic in outlook, both believe in monotheism and shun idolatry, both are predominantly agriculturalist, educationally backward, and subject to the exploitation of the *banya*, both require assistance towards industrialisation, and the interests of both have been subjected for sometime past to Hindu big business, which has reserved trade and industry for itself by persuading a too willing Coalition Government, in which the Hindu Congress was the dominant partner, to preserve these vocations only for the existing Hindu vested interest The prospect of a Muslim-Sikh partnership in power in the Punjab on the dramatic crash of the Coalition Ministry, could on no account be tolerated by the Hindu Congress especially in view of His Majesty's Government's Statement of 20th February It immediately set to work to leave no stone unturned to prevent this natural development [from] materialising The Congress even went to the length of giving up its fundamental principles by demanding a partition of the Punjab on a religious basis—thereby accepting the principle of the Muslim demand for Pakistan A Goebbelian effort was made to depict Sikhism as in danger and to beguile the frank and simple Sikh community in the heat of this propaganda into believing that they will stand to gain by partition We invite our Sikh brethren to understand the issues involved in partition clearly and to consider earnestly if partition of the Punjab will be in their best interests

Partition of the Punjab, unless it is to be consequent on the rule of might as a result of prolonged and devastating civil war, can only take place in accordance with recognised democratic principles In other words, Punjab can be divided if the community or communities forming a majority in an area (the unit being a village or part of a village even) contiguous to other majority areas of the same community or communities, wish to have a partition and to form a separate province with contiguous majority areas of their community Now, so far as the Hindu community is concerned it can only demand partition in the Muslim majority provinces like the Punjab, if the Muslims are given a like concession in the Hindu-majority provinces The Congress has not expressed its willingness of granting this *quid pro quo* and until it does so the case for partition of the predominantly Hindu Ambala Division and parts of Hoshiarpur and Kangra district does not arise. The Sikh community, however, since Punjab is its only homeland, may possibly like to have a separate well-knit state of contiguous parts in which it forms a majority of its own Let us examine where this can possibly take place The statistics of population given below, taken

from the 1941 Census, will help us in discovering these areas

NAME OF DISTRICT OR TEHSIL	TOTAL POPULATION	COMMUNITY-WISE POPULATION		PERCENTAGE	
		Sikh	Muslim	Sikh	Muslim
I FEROZEPUR	1423076	479486	641448	33 70	45 00
(1) Ferozepur	290286	70782	160371	24 30	55 20
(2) Zira	210819	50209	137586	23 80	65 20
(3) Moga	279763	181454	66855	64 80	23 90
(4) Muktasar	269579	106240	115350	39 40	42 80
(5) Fazilka	372629	70771	161286	43 30	19 40
II LAHORE	1695375	310646	1027772	18 03	60 60
(1) Lahore	890024	103312	55907	11 50	62 05
(2) Chunian	390852	83888	237829	21 50	60 90
(3) Kasur	414499	123446	237036	29 70	57 10
III AMRITSAR	1413876	510845	657695	35 40	46 50
(1) Amritsar	789159	242297	359025	30 70	45 50
(2) Tarn Taran	387668	199562	157731	51 40	40 60
(3) Ajnala	237049	67986	140939	28 60	59 40
IV GURDASPUR	1153511	221261	589923	19 10	51 10
(1) Gurdaspur	328819	76695	171498	23 30	52 10
(2) Batala	380053	116413	209277	30 60	55 06
(3) Pathankot	153134	7580	59548	4 90	38 80
(4) Shakargarh	291505	10573	149600	3 70	53 10
V SIALKOT	1190497	139409	739218	11 70	62 09
(1) Sialkot	392764	25306	241505	6 40	61 40
(2) Pasrur	251424	26031	166549	10 30	66 20
(3) Narowal	267598	46694	146982	17 50	55 30
(4) Daska	278711	41378	184212	14 80	66 09
VI HOSHIARPUR	1170323	198194	380759	16 08	32 50
(1) Hoshiarpur	323740	62517	145985	19 30	45 09
(2) Dasuya	273246	40509	132105	12 80	41 70
(3) Garhshankar	289539	70310	67584	24 20	23 30
(4) Una	283798	24858	35085	8 70	12 30
VII JULLUNDUR	1127190	298741	509804	26 50	45 20
(1) Jullundur	443010	86996	226623	19 50	51 10
(2) Nawanshahar	236028	79972	74449	33 80	31 50
(3) Phillaur	219369	80258	72814	36 50	33 10
(4) Nakodar	228783	52037	135918	22 70	59 40
VIII LUDHIANA	818615	341175	302482	41 60	36 90
(1) Ludhiana	436627	168011	171482	38 40	39 20
(2) Jagraon	225932	110061	81380	48 70	36 03
(3) Samrala	156056	63103	49620	40 40	31 70
IX AMBALA	847745	156543	268999	18 30	31 70
(1) Ambala	236031	18504	90637	7 80	38 40
(2) Kharrar	173514	68508	39156	39 40	22 50
(3) Jagadhri	155773	4124	47856	2 60	30 70
(4) Naraingarh	131498	3530	38950	2 60	22 01
(5) Rupar	150929	61847	52400	40 90	34 70
X HISSAR	1006709	60731	285208	6 03	28 30
(1) Hissar	239857	15712	64499	0 60	26 80
(2) Hansi	224370	165	45551	0 07	20 30
(3) Bhiwani	158587	533	29554	0 03	18 60
(4) Fatehabad	169491	7664	67556	4 50	39 80
(5) Sirsa	214404	36657	78048	17 09	36 40

From these figures it will be seen that the Sikhs, if they so desir
can form a Sikh State comprising the following areas

(i) One block of Tarn Taran Tehsil and contiguous parts o Amritsar Tehsil where the Sikhs form a majority,
(ii) Parts of Muktasar Tehsil in which the Sikhs may form a absolute majority,
(iii) the whole of Moga Tehsil,
(iv) the whole of Nathana and Shahna Sub-tehsils,
(v) the whole of Jagraon Tehsil except the riverain belt alon the Sutlej and Muslim Rajput villages round Raikot—thi will give the Sikhs an absolute majority in the rest of th Tehsil,
(vi) the whole of Ludhiana Tehsil except the riverain Musli belt and the predominantly Muslim city of Ludhiana—thi will give the Sikhs an absolute majority in the rest of th Tehsil,
(vii) the whole of Samrala Tehsil except the predominantly Muslim riverain areas—this will give the Sikhs absolute majorit in the rest of the Tehsil,
(viii) parts of Kharrar and Rupar Tehsil contiguous to Samrala Tehsil in which the Sikhs form more than 50% of population

The above areas joined on to Kalsia and the Phulkian States o Faridkot, Patiala, Nabha and Jind will form a compact block, which i shown in the attached map No 1 in pink [1] The percentage of Sik population in this Sikh State will be 46 91 as a whole, though some what over 50% of the total population so far as British Punjab territor is concerned The Muslims will have no objection to granting thei Sikh brethren a homeland in case they wish to form a separate prov ince in this majority area of theirs But it is doubtful whether the Sikh would consider partition seriously, as not more than 8,60,000 out o their total population of 37,57,401 in British territory will be in thi Sikh province

It is possible, though not likely, that the Congress may agree t allow Muslims in Hindu-majority provinces the right of partitionin off contiguous Muslim-majority blocks as a *quid pro quo* for its demand for partitioning similar Hindu majority blocks in Muslim majority provinces In such an eventuality, the line of partitioning would be as in the attached map No II [2] The population statistics for these zones will be as follows

	Total	Muslim	Sikh	Hindu	Scheduled Castes
		I			
		PUNJAB			
Population	28,418,819	16,217,232	3,757,401	6,301,737	1,592,320
Percentage	100	57 065	13 221	22 171	5 600
		II			
		MUSLIM MAJORITY AREAS			
Population	19,017,448	13,475,745	2,288,544	2,274,588	506,620
Percentage	100	70 085	12 033	11 960	2 663
		III			
		NON-MUSLIM MAJORITY AREAS			
Population	9,401,371	2,741,497	1,468,857	4,027,149	1,085,700
Percentage	100	29 160	15 623	42 825	11 654

The Sikhs, it will be seen, will stand to gain no advantage, if partitioning were to take place in accordance with map No II Their population will be cut in two—some 15,00,000 remaining in the Non-Muslim majority portion and about 22,88,000 in the Muslim majority portion of the partitioned Punjab As for communal percentages, Muslims will be 70% in the Muslim majority areas and [would be] able to form a Ministry in their zone, without the help of the 12% Sikhs and 11 96% Hindus, while the Hindus and Scheduled Castes will together form about 54 48% of the population in the Non-Muslim-majority areas and will not depend on the 29% Muslims and 15 6% Sikhs for Ministry formation The Sikhs will, therefore, in the event of partition, not have any effective voice in these two partitioned areas Far and away, the most prosperous (both agriculturally and industrially) parts of the Punjab, as well as of the Sikh community, together with the most important sacred places of the Sikhs will be in the northern Muslim half The Sikhs will lose all the important positions which they at present occupy in the Punjab taken as a whole

These are the plain political realities, which our *Khalsa* brethren must face if they are to have any real grasp over the present political tangle in the Punjab If they are to escape from the policy of drift or, what is worse, of being tied to the chariot wheel of the Hindu Congress, the *Khalsa* must know that the Congress is creating an artificial division between the *Khalsa* and Muslims It is doing so purely to gain its selfish, narrow communal ends, regardless of the ruination this is bringing to the Punjab Is there any guarantee that as soon as the Congress

has succeeded in its game of being the sole custodian of power, it will have any use for the *Khalsa* community, which would then be relegated to the position of an insignificant minority?

We would invite our Sikh friends to consider dispassionately the pros and cons of partitioning the Punjab It must be plain to anyone endowed with common sense that partitioning of this prosperous province, while it may enable the Hindu Congress to rule the districts or parts of districts of Gurgaon, Rohtak, Karnal, Ambala, Hissar, Kangra and Hoshiarpur, will not only not improve but, if anything, worsen the lot of the *Khalsa* if the partitioned area becomes part of the strong Congress-dominated Centre

Baba Kharak Singh, the eighty-year old veteran Akali leader has, as President of the Central Akali Dal and All India Sikh League, stated that "the demand for the partition of the Punjab is a clear deviation from the path set by the great Sikh *gurus* and is a betrayal of the fundamentals of Sikh religion Such schemes are highly detrimental to the fundamental and larger interests of the *Khalsa Panth* and are very injurious to the religious structure of the Sikhs" Our *Khalsa* friends may ask what then can be done to safeguard and promote the interests of Sikhs To this the answer is that if the Sikhs, instead of being deluded by the Congress into fighting battles of the Hindus, face realities and negotiate an honourable settlement with Muslims, their interest[s] can be fully safeguarded and promoted, for they will not find the Muslims lacking in warmth or sympathy After all Mr Jinnah has admitted the claims of the Sikhs to autonomy in their majority areas [3] The interests of the Sikhs really demand devising a friendly and harmonious partnership with the Muslim majority in the governance of the Punjab If they extend their hand of friendship in a spirit of brotherly feeling and compromise, they may find that the Muslim League deals with them generously, and satisfies their aspirations to a far greater extent than the Congress is ever likely to do We appeal to all the Sikhs who are not entirely carried away by the Goebellion propaganda of hate engineered by the Congress, to ponder whether some of their present leaders, at the bidding of the *banya* politicians of the Hindu Congress, are leading them, by supporting the plan for partition of the province

[1 & 2]Not available in *QAP*

[3]On 17 April 1947, the Raja of Faridkot in an interview with Mountbatten informed the latter that he had the personal assurance of ML leaders in the Punjab, i e Mamdot and Noon, about certain areas being included in "a new Sikh State" Mountbatten, however, held out no hope of supporting a "separate Sikh State" *IOR, Mountbatten Papers, Mss Eur F 200/24, Viceroy's Interview No 71*

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Memorandum by Jogendranath Hazarika

F 10/2-10

TRIBALS AND THEIR CONSTITUTIONAL POSITION

A Memorandum to the Members of the Constituent Assembly and the Advisory Committee on behalf of the twenty-five million Souls of Tribal India

By

Jogendranath Hazarika[1]

April 1947

1 TRIBALS—A RACIAL MINORITY

The Tribals or Aboriginals of India are a people who are the oldest inhabitants of the country and they do not belong to the Aryan stock of the human race and hence they do not belong to Four Castes of Hinduism Therefore, they compose a community of people based on ethnic affinities irrespective of religious affiliations, forming a racial minority of a culture, more or less varied, of history and traditions, aptitudes and ambitions, and having a distinctive outlook of their own

2 TRIBALS—A POLITICAL COMMUNITY

The Tribals or Aboriginals are Hindu, Christian, Buddhist or Animist, yet they are not in any way a community divided into strictly separate societies, especially when they are of the same tribe, their religious difference is not a bar to their inter-marriage and inter-dining and to other social intercourse They are a political community

The *Statesman*, Calcutta, says, "It is true that the Tribals can be Animist, Hindu, Christian or Buddhist, that some organize their lives on tribal lines and some do not, that some live scattered among more advanced communities and others, particularly in Assam, in homelands they share with none, that some are Mongolian and some of primitive Indian stock, and that they range in culture from wandering forest tribes of the South to highly developed settled communities of the North-East, yet they have something in common which makes them a community in the political sense, and what is of some importance, their communalism, unlike ordinary Indian type, cuts across religious differences, and they should be given representation in future Legislatures in accordance with their numerical strength "

3 TRIBALS—A COMMUNITY OF MANY TRIBES

The Indian Tribals or Aboriginals of India are a community of the following tribes

(a)

- (i) The Kocharies (namely the Sonowals or "Hazars", Thengals, Laloongs, Dimasas, Hazangs, Rabhas, Madahis, Mechas, Soronias or Sarukoche, including Rajbangsis), the Deories, Miris, Khamtis or Phakials of the plains of Assam
- (ii) The Garoes, Khasis, Lushais, Nagas, Mikirs, Chinfaus, Bhotans, Akas, Daffalas, Michimis, Kukis, etc , of the Hills of Assam
- (iii) The Tea-garden and ex-Tea-garden tribes of Assam, who include the Santhals, Mundas, Orangs, Gonds, etc
- (iv) Though their population has been mixed up with Caste Hindus in the census record of 1941, the mighty Ahoms, Chutias, Muttaks-Morans and Kochas constitute a great bulk of the Tribals of Assam

(b) The Tribals or Aboriginals of Bihar and Orissa, Gonds, Bhumijs, etc

(c) The Aboriginal tribes in the Central Provinces, such as the Gonds, Baigas, Kurkas, etc

(d) The Tribals of Rajputana States and Bombay are known as Bhils

(e) The Kurumbers, Kanikars, Irulars and Yanadis in South India are also known as Tribals or Aboriginals of India

4 TRIBALS—A PEOPLE OF 25 MILLIONS

The Tribals have a population of 25,441,480 throughout India, of which 16,713,250 are the subjects of British India and 8,728,230 are the inhabitants of the Native States

The British India Tribals are scattered as follows.

(1) Assam	24,84,990 (plus the Ahoms, Muttoks-Morans and Chutias whose population is more than five lakh)
(2) Bengal	19,25,457
(3) Bihar	50,55,640
(4) Orissa	17,21,000
(5) Central Provinces & Berar	29,37,360
(6) Madras	5,62,037
(7) Bombay	16,14,290
(8) United Provinces	2,92,826

To reproduce the opinion of Mr. A V Thakkar, "the total population of all the tribes or of the so-called Aboriginals and Hill Tribes of India is not less than 254 lakh out of the total population of 3,890 lakh according to the census record of 1941 "

5 TRIBALS—AN UNDER-REPRESENTED COMMUNITY

Under the Government of India Act, 1935, the Tribals have been most inadequately represented in the Legislatures of the provinces as shown in the following manner

Province	Seats
Assam	9 seats
Bihar	7 seats
Orissa	5 seats
C P	1 seat
Bombay	1 seat
Madras	1 seat

No provisions were made for the representation of the Tribals in the Provincial Legislative Councils and the proposed Federal Legislature There are two members in the Assam and Bihar Councils nominated by the Governors

6 PLACE OF THE TRIBALS IN THE FUTURE CONSTITUTION OF THE COUNTRY

The following safeguards are necessary for the security of the interests of the Tribals in the Free Constitution of the country

A The Nature and Scope of Safeguards Required

(i) Provisions should be made in the Constitutions of the Union and the Provinces for separate representation and separate electorates If, of course, separate electorates are to go, under Hare's System or List System, "Proportional Representation" must be introduced, but still reservation of seats is necessary for the Tribals

(ii) Adult franchise must be introduced

(iii) Representation must be given on the population strength of 1941 census

(iv) All the Tribes mentioned above should be treated as one "Entity of People" and recognized as a Statutory Minority

B Political Safeguards

No Constitution shall be acceptable to Tribal India unless it contains the following safeguards

The Tribals must have adequate and genuine representation in the

(i) Central(Union), Group (if any) and Provincial Legislatures in both Houses,

(ii) Central, Group and Provincial Executives,

(iii) Public services and Public Service Commissions—Union, Group and Provincial, and
(iv) Local Bodies

C *Economic Safeguards*

(i) Landless Tribals should be provided with land and given settlements with proper safeguards Lands should be reserved for their future generations
(ii) Sufficient scope should be given to them in business enterprise (a) representation should be given in the services of the State industrial concerns, including Railways, Mines, etc , (b) quotas of contracts under the Public Works Department of the Central and Provincial Governments should be given to them proportionately
(iii) A substantial portion of the annual revenue should be reserved for their general uplift, sanitation, agriculture, etc

D *Other Safeguards*

RELIGIOUS

(i) (a) The Hindu Tribals should be treated as equal to the Caste Hindus in all religious matters They should be free and entitled to the entry of all sacred places of the Hindus
(b) Uniform code of Hindu Law should be immediately evolved (We thank the Indian Government for introducing a Bill for such modification)
(c) Brahmin theocracy should be discouraged by legislation
(ii) Christian and other Tribals should be given freedom to follow their own faiths as are given to other religious communities

EDUCATIONAL

(i) Primary education should be compulsorily given
(ii) Scholarships and stipends should be given to them for their studies in various schools and colleges—medical, agricultural, engineering, etc
(iii) Scholarships for higher education in foreign countries should be reserved for them
(iv) A substantial portion of the provincial budget should be kept apart for their education, to be spent in the manner stated above For instance, one lakh of rupees for each lakh of people of the Tribal population may be spent yearly for a period of at least 25 years

(v) Seats should be reserved in the Government schools and colleges for the Tribal boys and girls
Hostel accommodation also should be provided to them with reservation [sic]

CULTURAL

Cultural and social safeguards are concurrent and co-ordinated with religion, but unless facilities are given to develop their mental and physical culture, they cannot grow healthy

The States should endeavour to establish physical and cultural centres in the Tribal areas

E *Machinery to effect the Safeguards*

(i) With a view to effecting the safeguard measures, "Statutory Commissions" for the Tribals in the Centre and Provinces should be set up
   (a) The life of the Commission should be 5 years
   (b) Members of the Legislatures and social or political organizations of the Tribals should be represented [on the commissions]
   (c) Non-Tribals may also be represented from organisations like "Servants of India Society"
   (d) Non-Tribals should be only advisers to the Commissions having no vote whatsoever

(ii) Functions
The Commissions should recommend to their respective Governments as to what measures should be taken every year in general or in particular regarding their education, health, agriculture, sanitation, etc , before the Budget Session begins
Commissions should travel in their respective Tribal areas once a year to study their conditions and report to the public and the Governments

F *Period for which such Safeguards are Necessary*

(i) All safeguards mentioned above are necessary only for the transitional period, say, until a socialist regime comes
(ii) We cannot contemplate to go entirely on communal lines for an indefinite period, yet it should perforce continue for 15 years at least
(iii) After 15 years, a Commission should be set up to study and report on the future statutory position of the Tribals

7 EXCLUDED AND PARTIALLY EXCLUDED AREAS

All the Excluded and Partially Excluded Areas should be brought under full measure of reforms and given representation in the Legislature along with other Tribals

Savage practices, such as head-hunting, prevailing in some parts of the Hills, should be ended by means of strict legislation

8 SEPARATE COLONIES

Exclusively separate settlement of the Tribals from the rest of the people should not be encouraged by creating separate Tribal belts, districts and provinces in a way detrimental to the interests of the society as a whole

9 THE FOLLOWING CONDITION SHOULD BE IMMEDIATELY FULFILLED

One Tribal representative should be immediately taken in the Interim Government

10 GENERAL NOTE

(i) *Census* Some Hindu leaders do not like to recognize the census record of 1941 so far as the Tribal population is concerned, and decline to give representation on the strength of that figure

We really regret that our Caste Hindu brethren do feel unhappy at the progress of the Tribals, but we cannot agree to any population figure other than that of 1941

(ii) *Literacy* The percentage of illiteracy is the highest among the Tribals, the literacy being less than that of the Scheduled Castes (below 5%)

(iii) *Economic conditions* The Tribals are the poorest lot of the land and most of them are half naked and subject to frequent starvation and perpetual want People living in the Hills and sub-mountain areas and in the barren lands of the plains are mostly cut off from the modern world and its civilization

To the poor—those who have no economic liberty—political freedom has little or no meaning India's independence has nothing to do with them if their economic condition cannot be brought to a standard level

(iv) *Political condition* Except a few voters, none cares to know what is Government, Legislature or State Since their right of citizenship has been recognized by the Government of India Act, 1935, and they have been given representations in

a few Provincial Legislatures, though deliberately inadequately, their political organizations, however scanty, grew rapidly, especially in the provinces like Assam and Bihar Assam Tribal League and Bihar Adibasi Mahasabha are worthy of mention

(v) *System of Electorate* Some leaders tried to persuade the Tribals of Assam before the Simon Commission not to ask for separate representation, but the Simon Commission recognized their right of good citizenship and gave 24 seats in 6 provinces

In future, the best method of safeguard to be introduced for their security will be the system of separate electorate, and for this they have been fighting so long

The Congress leaders now should recognize that only separate electorates will be the best machinery to safeguard their political interests in the absence of proportional representation and adult franchise

Appendix A

CONGRESS PLEDGE

It is really a happy gesture on the part of the All India Congress that its Working Committee, in a meeting held in Calcutta from 7th to 11th December, 1945, resolved to declare in its Election Manifesto that the State shall provide all necessary safeguards for the protection and development of the backward or suppressed elements in the population so that they might make rapid progress and take full and equal part in the national life "In particular, the State will help in the development of the Tribal areas in a manner most suited to their genius, and in the educational, social and economic progress of the Scheduled classes "

But while fully appreciating this Congress pledge and also what Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had said in his election tour in Assam, we feel it is quite [an] unpleasant remark when Acharya J B Kripalani, Congress President, recently said that the "demand for special recognition and special protection for a group of people (referring to the Tribals) was a demand for perpetuation of distinctions which in the long run would prove detrimental to the country " Supporting this, Mr P Kodandaramyya, Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Sixth Annual Session of All India Excluded and Partially Excluded Areas and Tribal People's Association, said, "I appeal to the members of the Constituent Assembly in the name of humanity to treat the Tribal people on the same footing as others, and thereby avoid

the creation of another minority and another perpetual problem "

We regret we cannot wholly subscribe to this view Tribals would not rest content if their legitimate demands are not conceded by the Congress and other political parties of the country They must be treated as a statutory minority and given due representation in the Legislatures, the Executive, etc , as demanded herein

Appendix B

The *Statesman*, Calcutta

I propose to reproduce the comment made by the *Statesman*, Calcutta, on my brochure, *Twenty-Five Million Souls of Tribal India and the Constituent Assembly*, which deals with the political and constitutional problems of the Tribals The comment runs thus

"It is to be sincerely hoped that the members of the Parliamentary Delegation will see and find time to read this little brochure by the Editor of the Assamese monthly magazine *Nayak*, for it is an attempt to set out a case for recognition of the fourth largest and least vocal community in India

"It is easy to argue that because it is well-nigh impossible to define a Tribal, no such person exists, but the man who regretted his inability to define a giraffe but said he knew one when he saw one, uttered a truth which it is always wise to bear in mind in constitutional discussions It is true that the Tribals can be Animist, Hindu, Christian, or Buddhist, that some organize their lives on tribal lines and some do not, that some live scattered among more advanced communities, and others, particularly in Assam, in homelands they share with none, that some are Mongolian and some of primitive Indian stock, and that they range in culture from the wandering forest Tribes of the South to highly developed settled communities of the North-East, yet they have something in common which makes them a community in the political sense, and what is of some importance, their communalism, unlike the ordinary Indian type, cuts right across religious differences, and they should be given representation in future legislatures in accordance with their numerical strength

"In his little book the author included the various memorials submitted on behalf of the Tribals during the last four years, and prefaces them with an exposition of the grounds on which he holds that the Congress can never adequately represent their interests and that they should be given special representation in future Legislatures in strict accordance with their numerical strength "

Appendix C

EXCLUDED AREAS

1 *Dr B R Ambedkar's view*

"In the present state of their development it seems to me that the proper thing to do for these backward communities is to establish a Statutory Commission to administer what are now called the Excluded Areas on the same basis as was done in the case of the South African Constitution Every province in which these Excluded Areas are situated should be compelled to make an annual contribution of a prescribed amount for the administration of their areas "

(In his visit to Calcutta I met Dr Ambedkar in 1945 and apprised him of the movements of the Tribals in Assam and Bihar, and he assured [me] that he would also fight for the just demands of the Tribals He was then Labour Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council)

2 *The Central Organization of Assam Tribes' Convention*

"The Convention is of opinion that with a view to promote progress and self-government among the Tribes inhabiting the Excluded and Partially Excluded Areas of Assam, they be brought under the full measures of reforms of the Constitution Act " (Resolution 5)

3 *Mr A V Thakkar*

"Assuming that there is no sufficient number of Tribal graduates competent to represent their people, who are larger in number than the Sikhs, Anglo-Indians, Indian Christians and Parsees, in the Legislatures, Dr Ambedkar says that there should be "Statutory Commission" which will administer the Excluded Areas But as a matter of fact, there are sufficient number of Tribal graduates in different provinces who are fit for going to the Legislatures "

Therefore Mr A V Thakkar, the great protagonist of the "Servants of India Society" says, "During the last ten years, many Tribal graduates have passed out from colleges from among the backward Gonds and Bhils of Western India as well as the Santhals of the East In Assam, where given opportunities, three persons have held the posts of Ministers "

Quoting that Bihar has 72 graduates, Madras 21, Bombay 4 and C P 5, Mr Thakkar says, "Thus it is quite clear that even now there is an appreciable intelligentsia from these Tribes, who may be drawn upon to represent them in the Legislature, the Executive as well as the Services "

Urging upon the Government, Mr Thakkar says, "Unless the State comes forward with schemes of special measures of advancing their

education and social betterment, private agencies cannot be expected to give them the needed fillip This is needed as an immediate constructive programme to better the lot of a backward section of the people which is not less than 6 5 per cent of the total population of the country."

4. *Mahatma Gandhi*

In reply to a number of questions put by me to Mahatma Gandhi about the rights and privileges to be given to the Indian Tribals as a whole, Mr B G Kher, Premier of Bombay, President Adibasi Seva Mandal, wrote on the former's behalf that the questions drew the attention of Mahatmaji That means that Mahatma Gandhi has been interested in the matters I dealt with and we have sufficient grounds to say that Mahatma Gandhi would not oppose any measures sought by the Tribals as their rights in the future constitution of the country

5 *Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru*

We submitted a memorandum on the rights of the Tribals to the Conciliation Committee of Sir Sapru who included the same in his Committee Report

6 *Parliamentary Delegation*

We also submitted a memorandum before the British Parliamentary Delegation and the Cabinet Mission on their visit to India on the rights and demands of Tribal India

Appendix D

TRIBAL LEAGUE ELECTION MANIFESTO

The Assam Plains Tribal League have passed numerous resolutions demanding separate electorates even in the Local Bodies The Tribal League Election Manifesto of [for] the last provincial election, published by the General Secretary, the Hon'ble Sj Bhimbar Deori, the President, Sj J C Khaklari and some others, reads, *inter alia*, thus

"The Tribal League demands adequate representation for the Assam Tribal Plains in the Central and Provincial Legislatures in both Chambers on the population strength of 1941 Census through separate electorates for which provisions must be made in the Constitution of free India "

[1]Editor, The *Nayak*, Borooah Press, Dibrugarh, Assam

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Report by Anonym on Tribes of the NWFP

F 917/149-151

REPORT NO 1

Undated [*April 1947*]

Information received so far indicates that the Tribes are in sympathy with the Muslim League Some people wish that they take an active part in the present agitation against the Congress Government of the N W F P We are resisting this but if the present tempo of the movement continues and resort to firing takes place in the administered areas of the N W F P , then Tribes might plunge in This will not be in our interest We do not want a clash while the British Government is in power and we are not ready Our aim should be to husband our resources, organize [ourselves], and when the time comes, and there is no other course left, to attack from Kalat to Nandihar Nothing much has been done yet towards the formation of an Islamic Confederation of the North-West though our agents have put the tribesmen wise about the real situation in India and resolutions condemning the Congress Government of the Frontier Province and expressing sympathy with the Muslim cause have been passed by the Mohmand, Waziri, Mahsud and Afridi tribes

A factor which is significant and which must be tackled as early as possible is the pro-Congress attitude of the Afghan allowance-holders amongst the Mahsuds The following three leading *Maliks* (all Afghan allowance-holders) have been reported by my agents to be working in the Congress interest

1 Col Zehrudin
2 Col Musa Khan Abdullai, and
3 Parmana Khan Shami Khel

We should build up an organization which can contact authorities in Kabul quickly

A reliable report has also been received by me that Afghan authorities have been putting pressure on Badshah Gull, son of the late Haji of Turangzai, to restrain the Mohmands from taking sides in the Indian quarrel It therefore appears that the attitude of Mahsud *Maliks* holding Afghan allowances, is not accidental but that the Afghan Government is following a policy inimical to Muslim interests

I suggest a goodwill or Trade Mission to Afghanistan at an early

date The Afghans want an outlet to the sea We might be able to come to some terms on this issue

I have been concentrating on long-distance work in Waziristan as this is the most troublesome area The following is the situation there

1 Ahmadzai Wazirs inhabiting the Wana area are 100% [pro]-Muslim League
2 Besides the three Afghan allowance-holders, there is one important Shabi Khel Malik, Pir Rehman Shabi Khel working for the Congress
3 In North Waziristan the following important *Maliks* are pro-Congress
   (i) Khom Shah Deur of Tappi
   (ii) Darya Khan Tori Khel, and
   (iii) Atta Mohammad Tori Khel

There are contradictory reports about the Fakir of Ipi He has taken Rs 30,000 recently from Abdul Ghaffar Khan for his *langar* But my information is that he will support Muslim League and we should not give credence to rumours to the contrary spread by Congress agents

I am doing little work in other tribal areas but will increase pressure as soon as I am in a position to do so

I have had exploratory talks in regard to the supply of firearms These are required practically all over India I think we might make a beginning by having a secret arms factory at Bahawalpur Once I am free from here and can go to Peshawar, I hope to get the necessary men

The question is will Bahawalpur [State] co-operate? With whom could I work in Bahawalpur? Is Nawab Gurmani 100% reliable?

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Constitution of the Muslim Council of World Affairs (India)

F 908/3-6

Undated [April 1947]

NAME

The name of the Association shall be the Muslim Council of World Affairs, hereinafter mentioned as "the Council"

REGISTERED OFFICE AND PLACE

The registered office of the Council shall be situated at New Delhi

OBJECTS

The objects of the Council shall be

(1) promoting the study of national and international questions so as to develop a body of informed opinion on world affairs, specially the Muslim countries, and Indian Muslims' relations thereto [*sic* for therewith], through study, research, discussions, lectures, exchange of ideas and information, etc , with other bodies in India and abroad engaged in similar activities,

(2) organising, maintaining and co-ordinating the activities of the Council's branches in and under various centres in India and elsewhere so as to facilitate the study and discussion of matters mentioned above,

(3) publishing books, monographs, periodicals, journals, reviews, papers, pamphlets, and other literature on these subjects,

(4) arranging conferences to discuss and frame Indian Muslims' attitude and policy towards international problems,

(5) serving as a clearing house of information and knowledge regarding world affairs,

(6) establishing contacts with other organisations with similar objects in India and abroad, and

(7) in general undertaking such other things from time to time as shall be deemed necessary for the promotion of the ideas and attainment of the objects of the Council

MEMBERSHIP

Membership of the Council shall be open to any adult Muslim, man or woman, resident in India at the time of his election, and to any corporate body in India who [which], (a) shall be in agreement with the objects of the Council and shall be prepared to work for their furtherance, (b) apply in writing on the printed application form to be had from the office, (c) shall pay an annual subscription of Rs 20 in the case of an individual and Rs 50 in the case of corporate bodies, payable in advance, and (d) shall be recommended by two members and accepted by the Executive Committee

ORIGINAL MEMBERS

All the members who received and signified their consent to the first circular issued in January 1947 and paid their subscriptions before 31st March 1947 shall be deemed original members of the Council

PATRONS AND LIFE MEMBERS

Any person may become a Patron or Life Member by paying Rs 5,000 or a minimum of Rs 500, as the case may be, without any liability to pay annual subscription In other respects they will have the rights and privileges of Ordinary Members

FUNDS

To carry out the objects of the Council as outlined above it is proposed that funds be raised in the following ways

(1) subscriptions from Patrons, Life Members and Members
(2) donations in cash or kind, and
(3) such other sources as may be available from time to time

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

(1) The management, property, and funds of the Council shall be vested in an Executive Committee, hereinafter called the Committee It shall consist of elective office-bearers of the Council, 16 members to be elected at the annual general meeting, and others, not more than eight, who may be co-opted by the foregoing The office-bearers, who are members, shall hold office for two years but are [shall be] eligible for re-election The 16 members elected at the annual general meeting shall hold office for three years provided that every year a third of them shall retire and their places shall be filled in at the annual general meeting The decision as to which members shall retire in the first and second year shall be made by lot Thereafter the oldest third shall retire in rotation Retiring members shall be eligible for re-election The co-opted members shall hold office for one year No salaried office-bearers or employees of the Council shall be members of the Committee

(2) Except what is expressly declared to be [*sic*] decided upon by the general meeting or a matter of policy or a change in the Constitution, the Executive Committee shall be responsible for the fulfilment of the objects of the Council through such methods as it may consider necessary subject to the ultimate authority of the Council

(3) Every member of the Committee shall have one vote to be exercised in person except in the case of the President who shall have the casting vote in the case of a tie

Provided that a member whose subscription has not been paid shall not be entitled either to vote or to be elected to the Committee or any office

(4) The Committee shall meet at least once in six months

(5) The Committee may appoint any sub-committee with powers to

co-opt, and open any branches as will, in its opinion, be for the cause of the Council

(6) Every sub-committee or branch so appointed or opened shall function under the guidance and control of the Committee and carry out such directions as may be given to it from time to time by the Committee

(7) The Committee may frame from time to time such bye-laws as may be necessary and consistent with the purposes and objects of the Council

MANAGEMENT

The funds and other assets of the Council shall vest in the Executive Committee of the Council as described in the rules and [shall] be deposited in the name of the Council in such banks as may be decided [upon] by the Executive Committee and shall be operated by such officer or officers of the Council as may be authorised to do so The funds of the Council shall be expended solely for the purpose of the aims and objects for which the Council has been established and in the manner approved of by the Executive Committee

TREASURER

(1) The Treasurer of the Council shall be an honorary office-bearer to be elected at the annual general meeting and [shall] hold office for 2 years

(2) He shall be responsible for the handling of all property vested in the name of the Council and shall prepare and submit statements of account for the years he shall be in office before the general annual meeting and shall also furnish the Committee with such information regarding the financial position of the Council when called upon to [do] so by the Committee

(3) The accounts of the Council's income and expenditure shall be the responsibility of the Treasurer who shall see that they are properly maintained and audited by the auditors appointed at the annual general meeting, which shall also fix the remuneration of the auditors, if any

(4) The auditors shall have access to the account books of the Council whenever such is necessary for successfully carrying out their duties

ANNUAL MEETING

(1) There shall be one Annual General Meeting of the Council at a time and place decided upon by the Executive Committee

(2) Notice for such a meeting shall be addressed to every member at

the address given in the membership application or as changed thereafter, 15 days before the date of the meeting Non-receipt of a notice either absolutely or at a future time, for accidental reasons, shall not in any way invalidate the meeting or any decision taken therein

(3) The Annual General Meeting shall

(a) consider the annual report submitted by the Executive Committee together with audited accounts of the Council for the preceding year,

(b) elect member to the Executive Committee in any vacancy which has occurred,

(c) shall elect members to the Executive Committee to fill in the vacancies that shall occur every third year by the method of rotational retirement of one-third of its members,

(d) shall appoint auditors and legal advisers for the ensuing year,

(e) shall elect office-bearers, and

(f) shall transact such other business as may be pleased [placed] before it for disposal by the Executive Committee and which shall have been stated in the notice for the Annual Meeting

EXTRAORDINARY MEETING

(4) Every other meeting shall be an Extraordinary Meeting An Extraordinary General Meeting of the Council will be summoned by the Executive Committee for a specified purpose which, in their opinion, cannot wait for decision till the Annual General Meeting

(5) Fifteen days' notice shall be given to all members of the time, place, and agenda of the meeting, and at such meetings no subject other than that specified in the notice shall come up for discussion or disposal

OFFICE-BEARERS

The Council shall have the following office-bearers, the elective ones to be elected at the Annual General Meeting of the Council, and the paid ones to be appointed by the Executive Committee

(1) The President
(2) Eight Vice-Presidents
(3) A Treasurer
(4) A Paid Secretary, and
(5) One or more Paid Assistant Secretaries or Clerks, if required

BRANCHES

The Executive Committee may from time to time provide for the constitution and management of branches whether at home or abroad and give any directions or make any bye-laws applicable to such branches

[FINANCIAL YEAR]

The financial year of the Council shall be the calendar year

MUSLIM COUNCIL OF WORLD AFFAIRS (INDIA)

President Mr M A Jinnah

Vice-Presidents Mr Liaquat Ali Khan, Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar, Begum Shah Nawaz, Nawab Mohammad Ismail Khan, Syed Hossain Imam, Mr Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy and Sir Mohammad Usman

Treasurer Mr Hussain Malik or Mr Yousuf Abdoola Haroon

Executive Committee 16 persons and 8 persons to be co-opted

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Syed Mazher Abbas to Inspector-General of Police, Bihar
(Copy to M A Jinnah)

F 142/13-17

1 PAHARPUR ROAD, GARDEN REACH, CALCUTTA,
1 May 1947

Sir,

During the Bihar riots of 1946, in which the Muslim population suffered heavy losses both in life and in property, it was decided by the Government that the number of police stations in the interior should be increased so as to afford protection to the minority community and to put down lawlessness

2 The Government has been pleased to sanction a Police Station at Dhore-Asthan in the jurisdiction of Baniapore Police Station, Sadar Sub-division, District Saran, but before this is put into force I have to advise you that the setting up of a Police Station at Dhore-Asthan will not be of much use as this place was all along a temporary centre for the police force in the past

[*Para 3 omitted*]

4 I must put forward the claim of the Muslim population and lay before you the resolution of the community that instead of the new Police Station being operated at Dhore-Asthan, it should be set up at Lashkaripore

5 The importance of Lashkaripore is so great that the village was attacked by over ten thousand rebels on 28 10 46 just after the general massacre of Paighambarpore in the jurisdiction of the same police station The rebels were fully armed, their leaders being mounted on elephant, and compelled us to hand over our firearms, viz myself, Mr Karimul Haque (the elder brother of the late Khan Sahib Syed Azizul Haque D S P) and his father-in-law

6 A complaint was lodged at the police station duly signed by all three of us This letter was addressed to the Superintendent of Police, Saran, through the Sub-Inspector, Baniapore, and was sent by Ram Prosad, *Chowkidar*, but alas [there was] no response

7 Just two days after the above incident, Pandit Grish Tewari, MLA, visited the place and took me to Kataya Bazar and held a meeting, speaking in favour of Muslims and myself This meeting resulted

in something extraordinary, the B C s [bad characters] and the *goondas* thereupon blamed me for giving a bribe to the Panditjee to make him speak against the Hindus of the area in general Hence open meetings were called day and night at Kataya at the door [*sic* for house] of one Jagdis Narayan, a *zamindar* of this village, [demanding] unconditional apology and my presence in their meeting was demanded, on failing this a general *qurbani* of the Muslims was threatened on the *Baqr 'Id* day Dozens of Muslims of Kataya were asked to leave the village and take shelter at Lashkaripore When the Muslims of Kataya came to my place, they failed to find me there as I had already escaped in the dead of night, dressing myself as an ex-Civic Guard Group Commander (Bengal) and rushed straight to the S P [Superintendent of Police]

8 The S P was kind enough to ask the S I [Sub-Inspector], Ekma, to escort me and my family to Ekma Railway Station and at the same time Pandit Grish Tewari, MLA, did not lack in supplying some volunteers to accompany us all along On the day of *Baqr 'Id*, when my brothers in faith were observing their prayers, I was looking for a house for shelter in Chhapra We stayed for some weeks at Chhapra and on my special request to the District Magistrate and the Superintendent of Police an armed force of 10 constables was posted to Lashkaripore for 7 days during the *Moharram* to enable us to go and observe the *Moharram* at Lashkaripore, and on the departure of the police force we also left for Calcutta for safety, leaving all the property and belongings uncared [for]

9 On the 26th ultimo, when I reached Lashkaripore to realise the collected money from the *zamindari* and to pay the taxes as revenue, it was found that the police was there in connection with a theft in my house The thief had entered the room by breaking the *pukka* wall, and three steel trunks containing valuables and a suitcase were emptied by breaking the locks. The total value of the stolen articles is roughly estimated at Rs 3,000 It may please be noted that this is the third time since the last year that burglary took place in my house besides the theft of animals and other removables

[*Paras 10 to 11 omitted*]

12 To facilitate the Government on the basis of our proposals, I like to suggest that the Hospital Building with staff quarters on 3½ *bigha* land with a *pukka* well which has been constructed by me at an approximate cost of Rs 40,000 up till now, can be had on rental basis, purchase or even gift, whatever the choice of the Government may be I shall be glad to welcome the decision of the Government But [in the] case of free gift the Government will have to give two undertakings,

the building to be substituted by another charitable hospital from post-war accounts with a compulsory representation of a member of my family (to be chosen by my family members themselves) to be on the Board of Trustees or the Managing Committee In case of temporary occupation on rental basis surely the Government will require land to build the *thana* buildings We are prepared to gift land from the *purti* [fallow] lands belonging to the *zamindar* (i e ourselves)

13 Under the above circumstances I hope this would be the first offer of its kind in strengthening the hands of the Government on the one hand, and serving the public on the other, and I expect it will receive due consideration of the Government

I have the honour to be , Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
SYED MAZHER ABBAS
Ex-Commissioner,
Garden Reach Municipality

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Yusuf A Haroon to M A Jinnah

F 274/308

NAPIER ROAD, KARACHI,
1 May 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I read your statement[1] in to-day's papers I felt so proud as a Muslim We are fortunate that we have in you a great leader of magnificent foresight and sagacity Your unequivocal demand for the division of military forces and for two separate constituent assemblies is really a lead in the right direction

As President of the Sind Provincial Muslim League, I respectfully offer the services of the Sind Muslim League in this direction I am convinced that Karachi would be the most suitable place for being the venue of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly, both because of its historical traditions and also because of the various political advantages it offers us In Sind we have our own Government and under your guidance and instructions they could set up a political secretariat well-manned and well-equipped, which our All-India Organization could utilise for forging our Pakistan Constituent [Assembly]

I also feel that under the Presıdentshıp of our Quaıd-ı-Azam the Government of Sınd should ınvıte leaders of all the Muslım countrıes at Karachı for a World Muslım Cultural Conference Thıs would enable us to establısh contacts wıth our Muslım brethren ın all parts of the world and these are bound to stand us ın good stead when our ındependent sovereıgn State of Pakıstan comes ınto beıng I am sure I voıce the sentıments and wıshes of the Muslıms of Sınd when I say that ıt wıll be a day of proud rejoıcıng for us ıf our Quaıd-ı-Azam gıves our Provınce and Cıty an opportunıty to serve the cause of Muslıms ın Indıa as suggested by me above

May God gıve you long lıfe and health to steer our shıp of polıtıcal destıny to ıts cherıshed goal

Wıth best wıshes and kınd regards,

Yours sıncerely,
YUSUF A HAROON

[1]See Enclosure to No 379

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Alı Asadullah Khan to M A Jınnah

F 976/141-142

1399 KOOCHA HABIB MUHAMMAD,
OLD MALAKPET, HYDERABAD (DECCAN),
1 May 1947

My Dear Quaıd-ı-Azam,

Enclosed please fınd a draft copy of Manıfesto[1] of the Muslım League's Left Wıng and other artıcles[2] I thınk your glance through them would not be a waste of tıme

2 I want your ınstructıons about the formatıon of the Left Wıng I ıntend proceedıng to Delhı by the 10th ınstant If I do not get any ınstructıons from you I shall take ıt for granted that you have no objectıon, so ıt wıll be publıshed

3 I ıntend to go to Kashmır to study the condıtıons of the Muslıms there I maıntaın that States should be democratısed Thus Kashmır wıll have to be affılıated wıth Pakıstan I would be glad to have ınstructıons from you

4 A very ımportant suggestıon ıs that hereafter ıf the Muslım League lıkes to collect any fund, tıckets of varıous values should be ıssued

under your signature or the Secretary's That would be much more convincing to the people as there will be no room for suspicion of fraud or misappropriation by the collecting media

5 I would like to have an interview with you after the 12th instant, of which I may be informed before the 10th

I remain,
Yours obediently,
ALI ASADULLAH KHAN

[1]Enclosure 1
[2]Enclosures 2 and 3

Enclosure 1 to No 375

F 561/91-94

MANIFESTO OF THE MUSLIM LEAGUE'S LEFT WING

30 April 1947

FOREWORD

It is needless to advocate the organisation of Left Wing of the Muslim League Left Wing of a party is never harmful to it On the contrary, Left Wing is welcomed as it furnishes healthy and constructive criticism Some people suspect it to be akin to the quisling party, whereas the real fact is that it is the deadliest enemy of the quislings An attempt has been made to draw up aims and objects of League's leftists These are tentative and would be finalised in due course

PAKISTAN STRUGGLE UNIQUE AND UNPARALLELED IN THE WORLD HISTORY

The struggle of the Indian Muslims for Pakistan is unique and unparalleled in the history of mankind After the decline of religion, the mankind submerged into the feudal system which at last gave rise to Nationalism But this Nationalism became a disastrous enemy of mankind The man then contrived Internationalism to counteract it but that too has deplorably failed (League of Nations and U N O) The Cerberus of Nationalism and the imbecile Racialism are still uncontrolled This has caused the Renaissance of Religion in the domain of the Human Heart A ray of hope, a feeling, conscious or sub-conscious, is now prevalent throughout the world that religion—true religion, not a hotchpotch of traditions—is the only remedy and salvation for the physical and spiritual sufferings of man

This is the background of the unique and epoch-making struggle

for Pakistan The struggle is unique as it is the first and perhaps the last of its kind, which is being carried on for the preservation and elevation of the prestige of religion against Nationalism Pakistan struggle is in fact Religion *versus* Nationalism Hindus want the settlement of Indian political problems on the principles of Nationalism But the Muslims want Pakistan on the basis of religion Religion will certainly come out successful as every Indian Muslim is prepared for every sacrifice required This triumph would mean a death-bell [*sic* for knell] to Nationalism Soon the religion's forward march would sweep away the menace of Nationalism and Racialism, the man-made infernal barriers of caste, country and colour against the equality of man Of course, there will still remain the disputes of Capitalism and Socialism to be settled The religion will provide a sound compromise for them

But what is the conception of my "Religion"? It is the message and instructions of the All-Wise Almighty Creator graciously sent to every human society throughout earth, the complete and final form of which is embodied in the *Qur'an*

I anticipate the rise of Islam, Pakistan causing and initiating it The so-called absurd religious wars would never occur now The primary object of Pakistan would be to cause general awakening of the Muslim—making him an ideal and exemplary Muslim so that non-Muslims may of their own accord be attracted towards Islam

This would mark the end of the world This world would be no more as it would be transformed into a paradise

Now to the principles and objects of the League's leftists

PRINCIPLES

1 The Left Wing will always uphold the cause of the Right

2 The Left Wing declares that Pakistan must be quite a separate sovereign Islamic Republic Any idea of a common Hindu-Muslim Centre with a particle of sovereignty surrendered to it will not be acceptable

3 Until fundamental principles of Islam are not [*sic*] violated by any party, the Left Wing will not act detrimental[ly] to it [*sic*] (be it individual or group, majority or minority)

4 The Left Wing recognises the right of an individual's free expression of opinion The individual may act against the majority in such a way that his acts do not harm the integrity of the *millat* (nation on the basis of religion) as a whole *The Left Wing does not recognise the liberty of a Muslim to desert the Muslim party and join a non-Muslim party* [1] In this case he will be considered a traitor to the Muslims If any individual

has differences with the majority, he should either remain quiet or oppose the majority, remaining a part of the Muslim party It shall be incumbent upon him to co-operate with the majority when called upon to do so In short, decentralisation should never occur except in accordance with principle No 3 above

5 The Left Wing is of the firm opinion that the Pakistan State must urge all the Muslim States to adopt Islamic constitution and finally forming a confederation of the Islamic States

6 Pakistan should aim at the liberation of all the Muslims and other oppressed people throughout the world

7 Muslims scattered as minorities in non-Muslim States should be affiliated to any of the Islamic States and later on to the centre of the confederation of Islamic States when it comes into existence

8 Islamic States should begin an organised propaganda of true Islamic teachings, in the first instance, among all the Muslims throughout the world A special state machinery should be set up for this purpose

9 The Left Wing's aim is to give progressive suggestions to make healthy and constructive criticism

PRESENT ISSUES

1 It shall propagate real Islamic democratic spirit among the Muslims to strengthen the foundation of Pakistan

2 It holds that the constituent body for Pakistan must draw up a constitution of an Islamic State

3 The Left Wing is opposed to the *jagirdari* system and conferment of titles

4 The Left Wing supports partition of the Punjab and Bengal and insists for [*sic* for on] a corridor connecting Eastern Pakistan with Western Pakistan The corridor will include a northern slice from Bihar and the Muslim-majority portions of U P Exchange of populations can be easily managed in these portions

5 The Left Wing considers that Buthidaung and Maungdaw districts of Arakan should be attached to Pakistan In fact every Muslim group, who so desires, should be included in Pakistan But the leftists agree with the views of the President [of the AIML] that the Burmese Muslims should co-operate with the Burmese in their struggle for independence

6 The Left Wing considers that Muslim League should declare its policy towards the Indian States in unequivocal terms Its policy should be continuation of non-intervention policy until, of course, the people of the States themselves seek Muslim League's intervention in the

State affairs The Muslim League will act in accordance with its principle of democratisation of States

ALI ASADULLAH KHAN

[1]Emphasis in the original

Enclosure 2 to No 375

F 561/95-96

HYDERABAD, DECCAN,
26 April 1947

THANKS TO HINDUS

Only for the sake of easy and quick settlement of the Indian political problems the Muslims had drawn up the Pakistan boundaries in accordance with the existing boundaries of the provinces, thus leaving a great number of Muslims in Hindustan But the Hindus deserve many thanks for their insistence on going through a detailed vivisection of India Their demand for the partition of the Punjab and Bengal necessitates this vivisection It will be noticed that a much better and complete Pakistan and Hindustan will be obtained

The British Government will appoint a commission for the final settlement of partitioning Almost a division like that shown in the map[1] will have to be done Pakistan from east to west will consist of Buthiadaung and Maungdaw from the Burmese Arakan, Bengal and Assam Hindu-majority Divisions of Bengal should be annexed to Bihar, and the Hindu-majority Divisions of Assam amalgamated with the Imphal State This Eastern Pakistan will be connected with Western Pakistan by the middle Pakistan consisting of the upper rectangular portion of Bihar, north of the Ganges, bounded by Nepal in the north, Bengal in the east and running in the west to Shahjahanpur, turning round Farrukhabad and including Agra, Aligarh, Moradabad, Meerut, Delhi, etc This middle Pakistan may be called Agra-Darbhanga Province The rest of the territories of Pakistan are of course indisputable, i e Kashmir, the Punjab, the N W F P, Sind and Baluchistan

The Punjab problem may be tackled in two ways, first by annexing non-Muslim majority Divisions to Patiala, Nabha and Jind, thus Hindus may live with Sikhs in Sikhistan This might be beneficial to both of them If the Hindus do not agree to this an exchange of population of Hindus and Muslims may take place, the Hindus migrating to

Hindustan and the Muslims for [sic for from] Hindustan migrating to their vacated places

If, however, the Hindus choose the third way of becoming autonomous, this move will be naturally counteracted by a Muslim demand for autonomous States throughout India

Delhi will be the capital of Pakistan and Bombay or Nagpur may be the capital of Hindustan

A few words to the British A Cabinet Member recently stated that the British would not partition India, the Indians should themselves settle their problems This is an irresponsible statement If the British feel no responsibility for Indian settlement, they should go away just now and expose their irresponsibility, inefficiency, weakness and cowardness [sic] in tackling the problems of their dependencies This weakness has already slighted them in the case of Palestine tangle

The new Viceroy, Lord Louis Mountbatten, also seems to be a weakling He hesitates to take any brave step The Viceroy and Governor-General cannot effect the dismissal of the Khan Ministry and is obliged to visit N W F P [2] himself and perhaps will again request and entreat the Khan Ministry to resign, until the gallant and great Attlee Cabinet orders its dismissal The fact is that the British Isles have been shattered politically and economically The English nation is passing through a difficult ordeal I am confident England's noble soul, who has so creditably upheld the cause of right against odds, will no doubt be polished and the above-mentioned infirmities will be remedied soon

ALI ASADULLAH KHAN

[1]The "Middle Pakistan" was shown by the correspondent in a sketch map which has not been printed
[2]The Viceroy visited the NWFP on 28 April 1947

Enclosure 3 to No 375

F 561/98-100

5 April 1947

THE PARTITION OF BENGAL AND THE PUNJAB

The Hindu Congress by her resolution[1] on the partition of the Punjab, has again given another proof of her being ruled by the communal orthodoxy, short-sightedness and narrow-mindedness The Indian National Congress is in fact a communal body, more communal than others It obstructs the progress of different nationalities living in India

The solution of the communal and political problem is admirable as it complicates the problem even more [*sic*] The Congress realizes the right of self-determination [and] grants this right at once when the Hindus of the Punjab demand it The *banyas* see a profit an increase in the Hindustan [area] and a decrease in the Pakistan areas The Muslims are ever so broad-minded and fair dealers that they would never hesitate to agree to a right thing The partition of the Punjab and Bengal is right but I would like to remind the Congress what if, on the same principle of safety and self-determination, the Muslims demand separate sovereign States all over India wherever they form or will form a majority Would it like an India torn to thousands of pieces like that?

Alternatively if one coolly thinks over the proposal of Pakistan consisting of Kashmir, the N W F P , the Punjab, Sind, Baluchistan, Bengal and Assam, with their present boundaries, it would be clear that this proposal is most easy and practicable There would be no headache of going through the unpleasant disputes of partitioning The Muslims would never ask the non-Muslims to go out of Pakistan, on the contrary, they would welcome any newcomer for safety The Muslims believe that the land belongs to God and every man—God's beloved creation—should have every right to it They would give every non-Muslim full equality and complete liberty to their satisfaction However, the Muslims would not object to or hinder their migration if they liked Similarly if the Muslims will be satisfied in Hindustan, naturally they would not leave it But if they liked they would come into Pakistan

Such a state of affairs will result in very cordial and friendly relations between Pakistan and Hindustan There is no reason for being afraid of Pakistan lest it will [*sic*] later on become aggressive and trample over Hindustan Times of such aggression and injustice have gone The aggressors will soon be taken to task and doomed to their destiny There is yet time that the Hindus gladly agree to the establishment of Pakistan as soon as possible This friendly settlement will ensure their future cordial and friendly relations even with the possibility of a United Centre (of course dilute)

If the Hindus pay heed to this, they must realize clearly and fully that the Muslims have now seriously decided to establish Pakistan, at any cost and as soon as possible, without caring whether the Hindus, Sikhs, the English or the U N O agree to it or not The Muslims are sure that they are doing right They would [neither] care nor ask for help of the Englishmen, Americans, Russians, or even Muslim States

They are strictly forbidden to commit such a cowardly act They pray for help from God God helps those who are right If the Hindus fail to accept the Muslims' friendly offer, no Centre dreamed of will be possible and future relations are bound to be unpleasant and disastrous

The Hindu Congress is very anxious to safeguard their wards the Sikhs I may be excused for reproducing the general impression that as far as Sikhs are concerned, their desire for self-preservation is appreciable The Muslims too support them But the Hindus, as usual, befooled them like the Harijans They have used them as tools, sometimes making them their husbands [sic] and induced them to fight for them like buffers I wonder why Hindus and Sikhs are so cowardly as though guilty at heart (of illegitimate fears) that they avoid free and friendly settlement with the Muslims

As regards Sikhistan, there exists a Sikhistan already, i e the Patiala State What more do they want? If they do not want to live in Pakistan, they can go to Patiala The other States—Pakistan, Hindustan, Harijanistan and Native States—will of course recognise it as Sikhistan and treat it according to international law

A few words about the Harijanistan In my opinion the Harijans should try to establish a sovereign State of their own In case this be quite impossible, they should by any means try to secure separate representation lest their slavery be perpetuated to the eternity Their satisfaction at the bones thrown to them proves their depression

ALI ASADULLAH KHAN

[1]Annex to No 124, Resolution No 3

376

Louis Mountbatten to M A Jinnah

F 22/24-25

No 1427/3 THE VICEROY'S HOUSE, NEW DELHI,
1 May 1947

Dear Mr Jinnah,

I want to let you know about the results of my visit to the North-West Frontier Province I am sure you will be gratified to hear that the enormous meeting, which you told me was being held, proved to be very orderly and well-behaved, and carried out your instructions not to hold a procession At the suggestion of the Governor,[1] I went with my

wife and showed myself to the meeting and had a very friendly reception

As promised I received a deputation of six from the meeting, and also six of your leaders came out of jail to see me I also saw members of the Women's Committee and two Muslim Members of the Legislative Assembly

I enclose a copy of the minutes of the main meeting from which you will see that I offered selected leaders, which [*sic*] I hope will include Abdul Qaiyum, parole and full facilities to come down and have a discussion with you I should like to have a discussion with you before you meet these representatives I am sure it is essential that they should see you, otherwise I should not be in a position to give an unbiased and unforced decision

I have heard from the Governor of the North-West Frontier Province that Khurshid Anwar has been making speeches which openly advocate violence both against the Government and against the minorities The line he has taken has been directly contrary to your announcement[2] and to the joint appeal[3] that you made with Mr Gandhi

I shall be grateful if you could arrange to have Khurshid Anwar withdrawn from the North-West Frontier Province since, although he appears to be a League worker, he is clearly operating contrary to the policy of the party The Governor also informed me that processions have not yet ceased in some areas

I had an opportunity of meeting Brigadier Nazir Ahmed at Rawalpindi As you probably know, he is the third senior Muslim officer in the Indian Army, and I am told he is the outstanding Muslim officer I told him I was going to mention his name to you, as I considered you should make his acquaintance In case you wished to see him in the near future I have arranged with his General to give him leave to come to Delhi, should you wish to see him If you do, I suggest you write to him at 25 Brigade,[4] Rawalpindi

My wife and I propose to go to Simla for a week and are postponing all engagements I hope you will not mind therefore if our luncheon party is postponed to the following week

Yours sincerely,
MOUNTBATTEN OF BURMA

[1]Olaf K Caroe
[2]Annex I
[3]Annex II
[4]The Brigade number as given in *TP* (X, No 265, p 514) is 26

Enclosure to No 376

F 22/26-27

MINUTES OF THE MEETING BETWEEN THE VICEROY AND 12 MUSLIM LEAGUE LEADERS HELD ON 28 APRIL 1947 AT 5 30 P M AT PESHAWAR

H E explained the policy on which he had come out to India, in order to transfer power He said that his first desire had been to secure a strong united India to take over from the British, failing that he hoped to secure acceptance of the Cabinet Mission Plan, and finally, if that failed, power would be transferred to authorities which functioned in accordance with the wishes of the people of India, in so far as it was possible to ascertain these He added that the N W F P presented one of the most difficult problems, and therefore he had come first to see it He described his meeting with Ministers and officials and asked for views of the Muslim League representatives

2 Abdul Qaiyum Khan presented a memorandum[1] which embodied their demands He explained the background of some of these, such as the case of the Sikh girl, the fines levied on the Hazara tribes, and the system of weightage[2] in the Assembly which resulted in Congress securing a majority with the support of one-third of the Muslim members He complained of the election machinery at the time of the last election, at the lack of independence in the judiciary, the plethora of trials under the Frontier Crimes Regulations, and ended by stating that the Ministry had lost the confidence of the people, that the machinery of Government was at a standstill, and that fresh elections should be held under a Section 93 regime In reply to a question by H E , he stated that the only by-election which had been held recently (another should have been held but was postponed) had resulted in an increased majority for the Muslim League candidate

3 H E then described his two meetings in Delhi, the first with the Governor of the N W F P , Pandit Nehru and Mr Liaquat Ali Khan, the second with the Governor, Pandit Nehru and the Chief Minister, and the results of that meeting, which were that all political prisoners should be released, that the Frontier Ministry would permit meetings and freedom of speech, but not processions or picketing, and that the Viceroy would visit the Frontier at once H E congratulated the Muslim League on the discipline which had been shown at the mass meeting today and was gratified that they had obeyed Mr Jinnah's orders that there was to be no procession

4 He went on to explain that he was being put in a very awkward position the British would hand over power in June 1948 and wished

that the hand-over should be both peaceful and in accordance with the wishes of the people Up to that time, therefore, it was necessary that the Viceroy and Governors should be guided by the advice of responsible ministries, and should support them in the face of any attempt to overthrow them by violence Hence, it was not possible, even if he thought it right, to take separate line at this moment in the N W F P in advance of a general settlement, because he would rightly be accused by his Congress colleagues in the Central Government of yielding to violence *Nor could he give any details of what he had in mind If, however, the Muslim League called off a programme which resulted in violence (he did not make any accusation that they were solely responsible for the violence) then he would be able to make not only a fair decision (which he would hope to do in any case) but to reach a decision in consultation with the leaders in Delhi, who included Mr Jinnah and Mr Liaquat Ali Khan If these two leaders and the N W F P Muslim League Party were not satisfied with the decision, it would be open to them at that time to consult together as to their future plan of action It was not to be expected that the League High Command would be satisfied with any decision concerning the N W F P which was not likely to meet with the approval of the local Muslim League*[3] It was necessary that he should be left to make his decision, free from any implication that he was acting under duress

5 H E went on to say that within about two months he hoped to be in a position to announce how the British were going to hand over their authority He pointed out that the future of India and the N W F P depended on the building of their resources and not on destruction and carnage

6 Abdul Qaiyum Khan stated emphatically that in their view the only solution was a clear-cut division into Pakistan and Hindustan He was supported by all the others in stating that the Muslim League party in the Frontier would certainly follow the instructions of Mr Jinnah He entirely agreed that it was *necessary to preserve* peaceful conditions in the country, and appreciated H E 's difficulty in not being *able to yield to force* He demanded that the Government should be under Section 93 for three or four months prior to fresh elections, and the rest of the Muslim League representatives vehemently agreed He maintained that H E and the British had not threatened, and therefore there was no yielding involved *He said* that he and his *colleagues could not* return to their people without taking any *answer back, or they would be in an impossible position*

7 H E replied that it was not a question of force being attempted against himself, but against a duly constituted ministry, which, acting

as a constitutional Head of a State, he was bound to *support* He pointed out that he would reach a decision *as soon as possible*, consistent with considering the *overall situation in India*, and with the need for H M G to acquaint themselves fully of [sic for with] his proposals and consider the parliamentary aspect of them He said that he wanted the Muslim League to stop *embarrassing* the N W F P Government, for he could easily reach the *right decision if they did not use* unconstitutional *pressure at this moment* He suggested that they should come out of the jails and tell their people that Mr Jinnah had said in a public statement that he trusted the Viceroy, and that the Viceroy had asked them only one thing that *until a decision* was announced about the *transfer of power to all provinces, they should* withdraw their unconstitutional pressure against the N W F P Government He said that they could also point to the need to honour the Jinnah-Gandhi appeal for peace, and say that the Viceroy had said that if the N W F P was in conflagration at the time when he made his decision, the calm atmosphere necessary for making the right decision *would be absent*

8 The various members of the delegation stated that allegations of violence against the Muslim League were encouraged, that in fact the *provocation had come either directly from the Ministry by the manner of their interference with the Judiciary etc or indirectly by the black marketeering caused by the distribution of essential commodities*

9 *Finally, they asked that the leaders should all be lodged in one jail so that they could meet together, that they should be free to consult with each other, and that a representative (or group) should be allowed on parole to go to Delhi and consult with Mr Jinnah*

10 H E agreed and asked the Governor to arrange this

I D SCOTT

[1]Annexure to the Enclosure

[2]The Lucknow Pact (1916) gave weightage to Muslims and non-Muslims in those provincial legislatures where they were in minority This principle of weightage was incorporated in the Communal Award of 1932 though Muslims were also allowed to contest in special constituencies like those reserved for landholders, commerce industry, universities, etc The weightage formula went against the interests of Muslims in provinces where they were in majority Their percentage of representation was reduced as follows

Province	Percentage of Muslim Population	Percentage of seats held in the Assembly
Punjab	57 07	49 14
Sind	70 74	56 67
NWFP	91 79	72 00
Bengal	55 00	48 40

[3]The original document carries no italics The portions italicized here are the ones which were found underlined or marked, probably by Jinnah

Annexure to Enclosure to No 376

F 22/28-30

MEMORANDUM SUBMITTED TO THE VICEROY
BY THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE N W F P MUSLIM LEAGUE

A meeting of the N W F P Provincial Muslim League was called at Peshawar Central Jail, for which facilities were provided by the Government Having met on 24th April, the deliberations went on till 27th instant The members took stock of the whole situation and resolved to present the following memorandum to Your Excellency through their accredited representatives

1 With the assumption of office by the Congress Party in the year 1945, active preparations were set on foot to crush the Muslim League in the Frontier Province, and to strengthen the Congress by the abuse of their official power

2 Immediately after the announcement regarding the general election in 1946, the Congress Ministry resorted to manifold malpractices in order to win the election, some of which are set down below in brief

(a) In this overwhelmingly Muslim-majority province, a Hindu, i e Mr Dhawan, son-in-law of the Hindu Minister, Mr M C Khanna, was appointed as an Election Officer He was comparatively a junior officer without any previous experience for the job Although there were several senior and experienced Muslim officers available, yet they all were passed over

(b) Numerous Muslim League voters were deliberately left out, while thousands of Congress bogus voters were enrolled

(c) Only such officers were appointed as Presiding, Returning, Revising and Polling Officers, who were openly pro-Congress

(d) The introduction of the system of coloured boxes for the first time in this Province made it easy to tamper with the ballot boxes, which were found broken in several cases after the polling

(e) The distribution of essential commodities, and the issue of licences, permits, depots, etc , was manipulated strictly in party interest

(f) In order to enlist their support in the elections, arms licences were freely and liberally issued to many people It is a well-known fact that a Pathan attaches the highest value to the much-coveted arms licences

(g) There was frequent and unjustified interference in the administration of justice, and there was repeated and frequent abuse of the Frontier Crimes Regulations for party purposes

(h) Recruitment to various branches of administration as well as promotions and transfers were made on party lines In short, the Congress Ministry allowed themselves to indulge freely in favouritism, nepotism, jobbery and corruption, which became a regular feature of their administration, in order to come out successful in the general election

3 By these unfair and questionable means, they won the elections and formed the present Congress Ministry with the aid of Hindu and Sikh Members, who have been unjustly given a weightage of 25 per cent in this Province, where they are only about 5 per cent

4 Having firmly established themselves in power, and feeling quite secure in office, the Congress Ministry launched a well-planned and systematic offensive against the Musalmans in general and the Muslim League organization in particular, in compliance with the all-India policy of the Hindu Congress, with a view to prevent the establishment of Pakistan

Then followed the flagrant infringement of the civil liberties of the Musalmans, denial to them of the bare necessities [*sic* for necessaries] of life, the administration of justice on party lines, nepotism and jobbery, and atrocities and the use of repressive laws in Hazara District, and wholesale fines, etc

This quite naturally created widespread resentment, and the feelings of the Musalmans shot up to the highest pitch of indignation

Such were the conditions in this Province when a woman convert to Islam of Hazara, in spite of her voluntary profession of Islamic faith twice before the District Magistrate, and even before the Hon'ble the Chief Minister, was handed over, in the teeth of the Muslim opposition, to Sikhs, after being detained in the Premier's house for several days [1] This reprehensible act of the Ministry resulted in an immediate upheaval on both sides of the border, where the cup of patience of Musalmans was already full to the brim

5 Under these circumstances, the Provincial Muslim League met at Peshawar on 20th February 1947, and after carefully and thoroughly considering the whole situation, adopted a resolution,[2] demanding

(a) the amicable and just settlement of the dispute about the convert girl,

(b) the withdrawal of Hazara Public Safety Ordinance, and the cancellation of actions taken thereunder,

(c) the withdrawal of all orders imposed under Section 144 Cr P C , and

(d) the refund of all fines imposed under Section 22 F C R , in the Province, and cancellation of all steps taken under the Frontier Crimes Regulations

6 The Muslim League started a province-wide struggle, which was quite peaceful and non-communal in nature It is needless to recapitulate in detail the course of this movement Suffice it to say that the entire machinery of the administration in this province has been completely paralysed and is at a standstill The deliberate mishandling of the situation by the Congress Ministry, and indiscreet and irresponsible statements made by some of the Ministers from time to time, have resulted in some unfortunate and deplorable acts of violence in the province and in serious consequences The most provocative speeches, statements, and false communiques issued from time to time by the Congress Ministers simply added fuel to the fire It would not be out of place to mention here that the Congress Ministry, instead of making any attempts to meet out demands, intensified their repressive measures against us

The statement of the British Prime Minister dated the 20th February 1947,[3] which was announced shortly after the Muslim League meeting of the same date, promising complete transfer of power by June 1948, gave further impetus to the nature and scope of the struggle It became imperative for the Muslim League to rectify the present unnatural position of a Hindu-dominated party (Congress) to be in power in an overwhelmingly Muslim-majority province, and install in its place a Ministry truly reflecting the general public opinion, to enable this province to line itself up with the rest of the Muslim India

7 In view of the above facts we, therefore, make the following demands

(a) All our previous demands enumerated in the Resolution of 20th February 1947, stand and should be met in full

(b) The immediate application of Section 93 of the Government of India Act, 1935

(c) The dissolution of the Legislature, in order to hold fresh elections at the earliest possible moment, based on correctly and impartially prepared electoral rolls

We insist on the application of Section 93 because this alone
(a) will restore normal and peaceful conditions in this Province,
(b) avoid catastrophe on the Tribal Territory, and
(c) ensure free and fair elections in the Province

PIR SAHIB OF MANKI SHARIF
M SAMIN JAN
President, N W F P Muslim League
ABDUL QAIYUM
Leader, Muslim League Assembly Group

[1]See No 29
[2]See Annex III
[3]No 1

Annex I to No 376

JINNAH'S ANNOUNCEMENT REGARDING MOUNTBATTEN'S VISIT TO THE N W F P[1]

I have had talks with His Excellency the Viceroy more than once and, as a result, the first step has been taken by the Frontier Government in announcing

(1) their decision to release unconditionally all political prisoners as soon as conditions permit, and
(2) that they have no intention of interfering with the freedom of expression of political opinion or with peaceful meetings, but that processions and picketing cannot be permitted until normal conditions return

Since then the Viceroy last evening discussed with me specifically the grave situation that has arisen in the Frontier Province, and, notwithstanding his preoccupations, he has interrupted the important business with which he is so immediately concerned, and has decided to go to the Frontier on Monday next [29 April 1947]

The fact that His Excellency is going to the Frontier is undoubtedly a clear indication of his earnestness to examine the situation personally and to establish contact with the leaders in the Province, and of his determination to remove the root-cause of the serious trouble that has arisen in the Province

As a result of my talk, I feel that the Viceroy is determined to play fair, and, in view of these circumstances, I appeal to the Muslims generally and the Muslim Leaguers in particular to maintain peace, law and order, so as to give the Viceroy every opportunity to understand the situation fully

I am glad that Mr Nishtar is already there, and I feel confident that he will guide and help our people in every way he can —API

[1]Pakistan Times, 25 April 1947

Annex II to No 376

JOINT STATEMENT BY JINNAH AND GANDHI FOR COMMUNAL PEACE AND HARMONY ISSUED AT THE INITIATIVE OF THE VICEROY[1]

We deeply deplore the recent acts of lawlessness and violence that have brought the utmost disgrace on the fair name of India and the greatest misery to innocent people, irrespective of who were the aggressors and who were the victims

We denounce, for all time, the use of force to achieve political ends and we call upon all the communities of India, to whatever persuasion they may belong, not only to refrain from all acts of violence and disorder, but to avoid, both in speech and in writing, any incitement to such acts

[1]Pakistan Times, 16 April 1947

Annex III to No 376

RESOLUTION OF THE N W F P MUSLIM LEAGUE ON THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN THE PROVINCE PASSED ON 20 FEBRUARY 1947[1]

Whereas the Congress Government have deliberately embarked on a policy of crushing the Muslim League organisation and its legitimate constitutional activities, whereas in pursuance of that policy the Congress Government have been deliberately suppressing civil liberties in every possible manner as evidenced by the unnecessary and uncalled-for promulgation in Hazara of the medieval and black laws, and whereas the Government have intentionally been encroaching on the Muslim religious rights as has been evidenced by the recent high-handed and unjustified action of the Ministry in enforcing apostasy on a Muslim convert under duress which has led to a province-wide resentment amongst Muslims of the N W F P and the Tribal Areas—the Council feels that it can no longer allow matters to pass unchallenged It condemns, in strongest terms, the unprovoked interference by authorities in the peaceful mass protest meeting held at Mardan in this connection, by the arrest of leaders, use of tear gas and indiscriminate *lathi*-charge

The Council is of the opinion that the situation is highly grave and will lead to disaster, the entire responsibility for which would rest on the shoulders of the Government unless this policy is immediately reversed We, therefore, emphatically urge upon the Government to call an immediate halt to this unjustified policy and urge that they should instantly restore civil liberties in the Province, withdraw all black laws, and remove all checks on the Muslim convert

The Council has, in view of the above, appointed a war-council to watch the developments and carry on the struggle which has been forced upon them by the Government, in a strictly non-communal manner The Council also urges upon the Muslim public to hold themselves in readiness for all eventualities

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 22 February 1947

377

C E Gibbon to M A Jinnah

F 493/2

CONFIDENTIAL

14 RATENDONE ROAD, NEW DELHI,
2 May 1947

Dear Mr Jinnah,

I have read your recent statement[1] calling on the leaders in the Punjab to prepare themselves for "a separate Constituent Assembly" for Pakistan In that statement, reference is made to the guaranteeing of "minority rights" I am not clear as to whether this embraces "minority representation" in this Assembly, and am naturally perturbed in my mind on this issue

I am writing to ask you kindly to keep the question of "minority representation" in mind before any scheme is finally devised I realise that this is a complex matter, but I have no doubt that you will give it your anxious consideration, and devise ways and means whereby my Community will not be forgotten and incorporated in a constituency in which either the Congress Party or the Hindu Mahasabha will have the upper hand

It has occurred to me that a possible solution would be for you to give Anglo-Indians direct representation, or an allotment of seats from the *majority quota* [2] In the latter case, Anglo-Indian representatives could

be elected in the same manner as has been done by the majority party in the existing Constituent Assembly

If you can spare some time to see me, before I leave for Lahore, on the 6th or the 7th May, I shall be grateful, as I have now to shoulder the task of consolidating the Anglo-Indian community in the Western Pakistan area.

With my kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
C E GIBBON
MLA[2]

[1]It is not clear which statement is exactly being referred to here Jinnah's statement (Enclosure to No 379) does not refer to a separate Constituent Assembly for Pakistan or to minority rights in the manner stated by Gibbon
[2]Emphasis in the original

378

Mohammad Hifzur Rehman to M A Jinnah

F 667/4-5

JAM'IYYAT AL-ULAMA-I-HIND, DELHI,
2 May 1947

Dear Mr President, All India Muslim League,

I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated 23rd of April 1947[1] Owing to my continued tour, I am sorry I could not reply earlier

Whatever I have up to this time placed before you, it was in the light of the Qur'anic precepts and for the general welfare of the Musalmans of India I still believe that no political party from amongst the Musalmans has a right to bypass the religious obligations and put off the national interests of the community

A right decision can only emerge from a consultative body commissioned by the Qur'anic Law If such a body decides that Pakistan remains the only means to serve the best interests of the Indian Muslims, the Jam'iyyat would, without any hesitation and delay, join the Muslim League to serve its goal of Pakistan, and, in the case of the contrary, the Muslim League must abandon its goal in the interest of the Musalmans This is the only way to truth and righteousness

I find from your letter that you can, under no condition, agree to the calling of any consultative body, neither are you ready to give to any

other political body of the Musalmans the right to meet in [sic for and] consult with you

Under the circumstances I find no other alternative but to give up every hope for the unity of the Musalmans and wait for the eventual consequences

Yours faithfully,
MOHAMMAD HIFZUR REHMAN

[1]No 286 The date 23 April has probably been erroneously typed instead of 3 April

379

M A Jinnah to Winston Churchill

Chur 2/43 f 98[1]

10 AURANGZEB ROAD, NEW DELHI, INDIA,
2 May 1947

Dear Mr Churchill,

I thought I should send you the accompanying statement that was issued by me recently, as perhaps your attention may not be drawn to the full text

I hope you will give very careful consideration to it, as I understand His Majesty's Government are about to take their decision regarding the grave issues that are facing us

Yours sincerely,
M A JINNAH

Rt Hon'ble Winston S Churchill,
Leader of the Opposition,
Houses of Parliament,
London

[1]*Churchill Collection*, Churchill College, Cambridge

Enclosure to No 379

Chur 2/43 ff 99-100
Statement by Jinnah on Partition of India

[*30 April 1947*]

I find from Press reports that the Congress has now started

emphasising that, in the event of Pakistan and Hindustan being established, the Punjab will be partitioned,[1] while the Hindu Mahasabha has started a vigorous propaganda that Bengal should be partitioned.[2]

I would point out that there is a great deal of confusion created on purpose The question of the division of India, as proposed by the Muslim League, is based on the fundamental fact that there are two nations, Hindus and Muslims, and the underlying principle is that we want a national home and a national State in our homelands, which are predominantly Muslim and comprise the single units of the Punjab, the Frontier Province, Sind, Baluchistan, Bengal and Assam

This will give the Hindus their national home and their national State of Hindustan, which means three-fourths of British India

Now the question of partitioning Bengal and the Punjab is raised, not with a bona fide object, but as a sinister move actuated by spite and bitterness, as they feel that India is going to be divided —firstly to create more difficulties for the British Government and the Viceroy, and secondly to unnerve the Muslims by repeatedly emphasising that the Muslims will get a truncated or mutilated and moth-eaten Pakistan

This clamour is not based on any sound principle, except that the Hindu minorities in the Punjab and Bengal wish to cut up these Provinces and cut up their own people into two in these Provinces The Hindus have their homelands, as I said, consisting of six vast Provinces

Merely because a portion of the minorities in the Pakistan Provinces has taken up this attitude, the British Government should not countenance it, because the result will be logically that all other Provinces will have to be cut up in a similar way, which will be dangerous To embark on this line will lead to the breaking up of the various Provinces, and create a far more dangerous situation in the future than at present If such a process were to be adopted, it would strike at the root of the administrative, economic and political life of the Provinces, which have for nearly a century been developed and built up on that basis and have grown and are functioning under the present Constitution as autonomous Provinces

NO COMPARISON

It is a mistake to compare the basic principle of the demand for Pakistan and the demand for the cutting up of the Provinces throughout India into fragmentation I hope neither the Viceroy nor His Majesty's Government will fall into this trap and commit a grave error

It is obvious that if the Hindu minorities in Pakistan wish to emigrate and go to their homelands of Hindustan, they will be at liberty to do so and, vice versa, those Muslims who wish to emigrate from

Hindustan can do so and go to Pakistan, and sooner or later an exchange of population will have to take place, and the Constituent Assemblies of Pakistan and Hindustan can take up the matter and subsequently the respective Governments in Pakistan and Hindustan can effectively carry out the exchange of population wherever it may be necessary and feasible

The Congress propaganda is intended to disrupt and put obstacles, obstructions and difficulties in the way of an amicable solution It is quite obvious that they have put up the Hindu Mahasabha in Bengal and the Sikhs in the Punjab and the Congress Press is inciting the Sikhs and misleading them

The Sikhs do not stand to gain by the partition of the Punjab, but will be split into two halves More than half of their population will have to remain in Pakistan even if a partition of the Punjab takes place according to their conception, whereas in Pakistan, as proposed by the Muslim League, they will play, as one solid minority, a very big part

SMOOTH TRANSFER

We have always been very willing to meet them in every reasonable way Besides, the White Paper of February 20[3] lays down that power will be transferred to the authority or authorities in a manner that will be smooth and will create the least amount of difficulty and trouble

If power is to be transferred to various Governments, it can only be done successfully to the Pakistan Group and the Hindustan Group, which will establish stable, secure Governments and will be able to run these Governments peacefully and successfully

The transfer of power to the Pakistan and Hindustan Governments must mean a division of the Defences as a *sine qua non* of such a transfer, and the Defence Forces should be completely divided and, in my opinion, can be divided before June 1948 The States of Pakistan and Hindustan should be made absolutely free, independent and sovereign This is a clear-cut road and the only practical solution of India's constitutional problem [4]

[1]See Annex to No 124, Resolution No 3

[2]The Hindu Mahasabha passed a resolution at Calcutta on 16 March calling on the British Government as well as the Interim Government and the Constituent Assembly to partition Bengal immediately and to set up a separate province for Bengali Hindus before any transfer of power *Civil & Military Gazette*, 18 March 1947 Shyama Prasad Mookerjee had insisted on the division of Bengal into Hindu and Muslim provinces irrespective of the partition of India See *IOR, Mountbatten Papers, MSS Eur F 200/22, Bengal, Partition, Notes by Mookerjee*

[3]No 1

[4]This statement has also been reproduced in *TP*, X, Annex I to No 276, pp 543-545

380

Mohammad Siraj Ahmad to M A Jinnah

F 681/173-174

93 TAGORE ROAD, NEW DELHI,
3 May 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I deposited a sum of Rs 50 with the Habib Bank, Chandni Chowk, Delhi, towards the Bihar Relief Fund, but have not been favoured with a receipt so far The Bank receipt No is 117 and the date of deposit 27 11 46

This is all in accordance with your wish published in the Papers[1] [Press], otherwise I am quite satisfied even without a receipt, but at the same time I wish that the money should reach the safest hands

In conclusion, I pray for you as under

May you live until the Day of Judgement,
and may the Day of Judgement never dawn [2]

And I close this letter with the following verse

There frequently have been and there are even now many Pharaohs lying in ambush for you,
but don't you worry about them as you have in your sleeve that dazzling light that would sear them out of existence [3]

Yours most loyally,
MOHD SIRAJ AHMAD

[1]No 340
[2-3]Translation of Urdu couplets

381

M A Hakim to M A Jinnah

F 681/190-191

23/1-A GIRI BABU LANE, CALCUTTA,
3 May 1947

Sir,

In response to your recent statement[1] in the Press, I beg to state that a sum of Rs 4 (Rupees four) was deposited by me in Habib Bank Ltd

at Ezra Street, Calcutta, as subscription to the Bihar Relief Fund just after your declaration for opening the Bihar Relief Fund but the *pukka* receipt of the money has not yet been received by me I am sorry that I cannot remember the exact date of depositing the money but it is sure that the money was deposited on any day before 9th November 1946 after your declaration

Yours most obediently,
M A HAKIM

[1]No 340

382

Mohamed El-Attar to M A Jinnah

F 1137/380
[*Original in Arabic*]

FAROUK I HISTORY MUSEUM,
27 QUEEN FARIDA ROAD, CAIRO,
5 May 1947

My Lord, Orator of the Nations, the Great Leader of Islam and India,

My lord, emerging from a heart which holds you in the highest position in itself, I express loyalty, "because I hold you in high esteem in the heart, similar to the mother of the entire earth And this is God's Grace on you, which He has ordained on the people, towards you" And love with true loyalty, love of the Prophet in the *Qur'an*, pride like the pride of the eye for its light and like the sincerity of the body towards the spirit God willed to order His creatures to obey you You, therefore, proceed and behind you are millions in the world, following in your footsteps [divinely] guided towards freedom and glory "Verily those who pledge allegiance, they only pledge allegiance to God" [and] "God's hands are above their hands "

You are Lord of freedom fighters and leader of the workers God has raised your status and protected you from the [troubles] of the world and has guarded the garden of your knowledge and the ocean of your kindness, your gate which is not closed, your soothing tongue, which is like a talking balsam, your visage, on which the forehead is impressed with full moon and has rendered you bright like the light of the sky and protected you and strengthened you, as the result of which the pulpits tremble when you speak And nations feel glorified when you talk and Freedom gets activated by your struggle I have come having been honoured by raising history dear to you, seeking

your pure graph and your noble and glaring history, with loyalty and sincere prayer May I be the slave of your copious kindness

MOHAMED EL-ATTAR
Curator

383

Nizam of Hyderabad to M A Jinnah

F 696/120

PERSONAL & CONFIDENTIAL

HYDERABAD, DECCAN,
5 May 1947

My dear Mr Jinnah,

I was glad to receive your letter of 30th April,[1] in answer to that of mine of 26th April 1947 [2] I quite understand what you say about your not coming to Hyderabad in connection with the Ittehadul Muslimeen's Annual Session which is going to come off by the end of May On the other hand, there is no immediate necessity for our meeting just now, therefore, this can wait till June or July, as the case may be, when you are free from your important engagements In the meanwhile, should necessity arise for me to take your advice in all the important matters of State, I shall send my trusted representative or messenger to you when the need be, no matter where you may be at that time

2 Besides this, Sir Walter Monckton saw me this morning (who, you know, is my Constitutional Adviser as far as Hyderabad affairs are concerned, and who has just returned from Delhi) and told me the gist of his talk with you in Delhi as well as his talk with the Viceroy and other people of position there regarding the political situation in and outside the country and he thinks that under these circumstances it is absolutely necessary to be careful, as times are critical, therefore, wisdom and sagacity are badly required before taking final decision in all matters of importance—an opinion with which I entirely agree

Hope you are well

Yours sincerely,
MIR OSMAN ALI KHAN

[1]No 364
[2]No 346

384

Ahmed Ispahani to M A Jinnah

F 68/39

51 EZRA STREET, CALCUTTA,
5 May 1947

My dear Mr Jinnah,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 30th April,[1] enclosing a cheque Your instructions contained in the letter have also been noted

Yours sincerely,
M A ISPAHANI

[1]Not available in *QAP*

385

S Muzaffar Hasan Kazmi to M A Jinnah

F 908/83

KALLOOMALL STREET, CAWNPORE,
5 May 1947

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

I feel pleasure to inform you that an Association under the name of the All-Pakistan Olympic Association has been formed under the Presidentship of Mr Ahmad E Haroon Jaffer, MLA (Central)

It is proposed to hold the First All-Pakistan Olympic Meet this year at Karachi, and I am glad to inform you that Hon'ble Ghazanfar Ali Khan, Health Member to the Government of India, has very kindly consented to preside over this meet A few items of the proposed meet shall be Wrestling, Arrow-throwing, Shooting, Boxing, Swimming, Races and Track Events

As this shall be the first Association of its kind after the establishment of our cherished goal of Pakistan, I shall request you kindly to accept the *Chief Patronage of our unique association,*[1] as without your patronage we cannot march an inch

I hope in the interest of the cause of the *millat*, which is so dear to you, you will very kindly accept it

Waiting for an early reply,

Obediently yours,
S MUZAFFAR HASAN KAZMI
B A, LL B
Secretary,
All-Pakistan Olympic Association

Encls [2]
Copies of letters of
1 Hon'ble Ghazanfar Ali Khan
2 Ahmad Haroon Jaffer, MLA

[1]Emphasis in the original
[2]Not printed

386

Louis Mountbatten to M A Jinnah

F 22/31

No 1446/2 THE VICEROY'S HOUSE, NEW DELHI,
5 May 1947

My dear Mr Jinnah,

Mieville has told me the result of his conversation with you this morning,[1] and I must express to you my disappointment He said that you had turned down the draft statements[2] that had been put before you on the ground that no mention was made of an election I thought that I had made it quite clear to you and Mr Liaquat Ali Khan last night that any question of the use of the word "election" would rule out any chance of the statement being accepted by Pandit Nehru, whose agreement, as I told you, I was anxious to obtain in order to present the case for your statement as strongly as I could to the Prime Minister and with the best hope of success Mieville further showed me the rough draft of the statement which you told him you would like to issue on your own responsibility I can only say to you that any statement that would imply that a decision has been reached would cause me the gravest embarrassment His Majesty's Government would, I feel sure, resent it and I should be forced immediately to telegraph to London explaining the full facts of the case As you know, conversations are now taking place in London

and, much as you dislike it, you must realise that the Cabinet Mission Plan still holds the field Only if this is finally disposed of at my official meeting with the leaders on Ismay's return will a decision be taken that India should be given the chance of Partition

I hope, however, that in any case you will make your statement against the use of violence and explain the position about Direct Action and that you will be able to convince your people on the Frontier of the folly of further violence and disturbance

Yours sincerely,
MOUNTBATTEN OF BURMA

[1]For an account of this conversation see Annex I
[2]Annex I, note 2

Annex I to No 386
Eric Mieville to Louis Mountbatten[1]

TOP SECRET
No 1446 *Undated* [*5 May 1947*]

Your Excellency,

I had an unsatisfactory talk with Mr Jinnah this morning He flatly turned down the two drafts[2] on the grounds that there was no mention that the referendum would be held under your agency and that there was also no mention of an election I went over the grounds once more on the lines that you took last night but he was unshaken [3]He said that the people on the Frontier were not particularly intelligent and unless it were made clear that an election would follow the referendum they would not be satisfied He therefore felt that it would be best for him to issue a statement on his own responsibility, but assured me that he would not do so until he heard further from you He added that so much of the plan had now leaked in the Congress press and was known to so many people that it was being freely and openly discussed, that he felt you would raise no objection to what he proposed to say The gist of his statement would be as follows

"He had reason to believe that Your Excellency had recommended to H M G a referendum in the N W F P This could only be done by the Viceroy through his own agency and he hoped that H M G would accept the recommendation If, as a result of the referendum, the people voted in favour of Pakistan, in his judgement elections were inevitable and must be held and would give an opportunity to the people to choose their representatives A new Ministry would be formed to carry out the

verdict given by the people In these circumstances, he most earnestly appealed to the members of the Muslim League to remain strictly peaceful and not allow the movement to take a communal turn, whatever the provocation might be from the other side He would not advise them to call off the movement, but he again repeated that they should remain strictly peaceful, and as far as possible not give a case to the other side to use violence or force which he had already denounced in unequivocal terms They must remember that the All India Muslim League had only changed its policy as it was bound to pursue according to its constitution strictly constitutional methods, but it had never up to now decided to resort to Direct Action The resolution made it clear that they would launch the movement as and when necessary Even if they were forced to resort to such extreme measures it had never been contemplated that they would use violence or force It was quite obvious that people without arms would be ill-advised if they were to resort to violence and force against the organised power of the Government "

I then asked him whether under any conditions he would agree to accept the Cabinet Mission Plan He replied "Under no conditions whatsoever", and then trotted out the old slogan of accepting a portion of the Sind desert rather than the Plan I warned him that in all probability the fact that the Cabinet Mission Plan had been turned down would probably fall entirely on his shoulders, although I was not in a position to say under what conditions the Congress could accept it He was unmoved

I finally mentioned the Punjab and told him that I had seen Sikhs and Hindus from that Province who one and all had complained to me that in the 17 districts that were going to him all the rich, arable and fertile land would be his He laughed and said that that was not his fault[1] This reinforced my belief that he is quite ready to accept the division of the Punjab in spite of his recent statement[4] to the contrary in the Press

E C MIEVILLE

[1]Reproduced from *TP*, X, No 322, pp 630-631

[2]Not available on file See *TP*, X, No 322, note 2

[3]This refers to Mountbatten's interview with Jinnah and Liaquat on 4 May 1947 during which they had demanded the imposition of Section 93 and holding of fresh elections in the NWFP The Viceroy did not agree to the proposition and instead suggested holding of a referendum in the Province to determine whether it was to join Pakistan or Hindustan The ML leaders thought that if the referendum went in favour of the League, the Pakistan Constituent Assembly could then ask for fresh elections Both the ML leaders had insisted that the holding of a general election should be mentioned in the statement Jinnah was to issue The Viceroy agreed with their arguments but desired to leave it out in order to get concurrence of the Congress to that statement See Appendix XIV

[4]Enclosure to No 379

Annex II to No 386
Draft by M A Jinnah on the Situation in the NWFP

F 22/93-96

[*Undated May 1947*

I have had the opportunity of fully discussing with the Frontie League leaders the situation and developments that have taken plac recently in the North-West Frontier Province The League movemen in the Frontier was started because the people and especially the Mus lim Leaguers, and the League organization in the Province were sough to be crushed by the Khan Sahib Ministry by fair or foul means Th victimization, persecution, suppression and oppression on the part o the Government knew no limits The very vestige of civil liberties di not exist Ordinances, Frontier Crimes Regulations, Section 144 an prohibition of meetings and any expression of political opinion o criticism were gagged

These were the conditions prevailing in the Province when the top ranking leaders of the Muslim League were arrested for asserting thei right of civil liberties and the situation deteriorated to such an exten that there was popular resentment and the movement assumed th character of mass civil disobedience It is absolutely false and a com plete misrepresentation of the facts that the All India Muslim Leagu have decided to resort to direct action The Bombay resolution of 29t July[1] merely indicated a change of policy that we shall no longer b restricted to constitutional methods which were scrupulously followe by the All India Muslim League up to July, 1946 The Congress creed on the other hand, not only permitted them to resort to unlawfu means, but it was the very soul of the organisation that they were fre to resort to mass civil disobedience any time they considered prope and this sword of Damocles hanged over the Muslims and the Britis Government and the Congress have repeatedly launched movement and used the weapon of mass civil disobedience since 1921 on variou occasions creating grave situations in the country The last time the decided to launch the movement was in 1942

The Muslim League by their Resolution of July 29th made it clear tha they were now free to launch a movement of mass civil disobedience, which is the same as Direct Action, as and when they thought it necessary It is quite obvious that the meaning of Direct Action which is attributed to us maliciously, that it is based on the principle of force and violence and bloodshed, is without any foundation and untrue Direct Action means social pressure, strike or revolt constituting moral pressure upon the

authority in power to redress our grievances and meet our demands Th movement in the North-West Frontier Province is obviously tense re sentment [sic] because it was becoming intolerable that the presen Ministry be allowed to continue their ruthless policy of crushing th Muslim League organisation in particular The entire public has lost it confidence in this Ministry and there is a Province-wide cry for th application of Section 93 and fresh elections Dr Khan Sahib and hi co-Ministers were challenged to seek the verdict of the people whic they, in their extreme obstruction, refused

From all the information that is available to me, and I have gon through this matter most carefully, I cannot disagree with the facts as the exist and the only honourable course for Dr Khan Sahib and his co Ministers is to resign and seek fresh election And as a result of th situation created by the Frontier Ministry, thousands of people have bee arrested, sentenced to various terms of imprisonment and detained an clapped under the Frontier Crimes Regulations Later on, I note, that th Frontier Government issued a Communique[2] in which *inter alia* they said

"The Government have for their part decided . unconditionally t release, as soon as conditions permit, all political prisoners who ar not charged with offences of violence", and "The Government have n intention of interfering with the freedom of expression of politica opinion or with peaceful meetings, but they must impress on all in th province that processions and picketing have, in the past, proved a incitement to acts of lawlessness, and that they cannot be permitte until normal conditions return "

But the root cause still continues I had hoped that better counsel would prevail—and I do still hope that the situation will be examine dispassionately and in its true perspective by those concerned The Work ing Committee of the Provincial Muslim League had, after full consider ation, come to the conclusion (before the Frontier leaders came to Delhi t meet me)[3] that they cannot possibly call off the movement until the roo cause was there and their grievances were met and demands satisfied, no could they agree to their being released for they had not gone to the jail merely to be released I sympathise with them and I am unable to disagre with them in the decisions that they have taken Nevertheless, we mus recognise that the question of the Frontier, in all its aspects, is now before His Majesty's Government and Lord Ismay is in the Unite Kingdom now and in my opinion it is a question of a few weeks whe all over India proposals are likely to be announced

It is no longer a secret, as it has been broadcast in the Press that a regards the Frontier Province, a referendum will be made to the peopl

of the Province to decide whether the province wishes to join Pakistan or Hindustan and the Musalmans must remember that if the verdict is in our favour, as I fully hope it will be, the root cause will disappear and the present Ministry, as it must follow, cannot continue and, if necessary, fresh elections must take place and as I have always said, let us hope for the best and be prepared for the worst

In these circumstances, I most earnestly appeal to every Muslim, especially Leaguers, to do all in their power to maintain peace, and without any reservation I say that on our side there should be no resort to violence or force and we must bear up in the spirit of tolerance and suffer it despite the gravest provocations and not depart from our strictly peaceful path which we are determined to follow, and secondly in no circumstances should the movement be allowed to take a communal turn Our fight is not against the Hindus or the Sikhs, we are fighting for a true verdict of the people of the province to be obtained by fair and free methods to declare whether they have any confidence in the present Ministry It is against the canons of morality and civilisation and the teachings of Islam that we should harm the weak On the contrary, it is the duty of every Musalman to protect the minorities in spite of whatever provocation that may be there I know it can be said that it takes two to keep peace, but on our side, I say keep peace at any cost, and to the other side I may say don't provoke and keep peace

I pray to God that during the few weeks that are now ahead of us, pending the final announcement, both sides will do their best and save people from destruction of life and property, especially, the innocent and the womenfolk and children And when the final announcement has been made, it is entirely for us and we will be free to decide as to the course of action we should adopt

[1]Annex III
[2]The communique was issued on 19 April 1947
[3]The Frontier Muslim League leaders met Jinnah in Delhi on 3 and 4 May 1947

Annex III to No 386

TEXT OF RESOLUTIONS PASSED BY THE COUNCIL OF THE ALL INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE AT ITS MEETING HELD AT KAISER BAGH, BOMBAY, ON THE 27TH, 28TH AND 29TH JULY 1946 UNDER THE PRESIDENTSHIP OF M A JINNAH

[*Resolution No 1 omitted*]

RESOLUTION NO 2

Whereas the Council of the All India Muslim League has resolved

to reject the proposals embodied in the Statement of the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy dated 16th May, 1946,[1] due to the intransigence of the Congress on one hand, and the breach of faith with the Muslims by the British Government on the other, and

whereas Muslim India has exhausted, without success, all efforts to find a peaceful solution of the Indian problem by compromise and constitutional means, and

whereas the Congress is bent upon setting up Caste-Hindu *Raj* in India with the connivance of the British, and

whereas recent events have shown that power politics and not justice and fair play are the deciding factors in Indian affairs, and

whereas it has become abundantly clear that the Muslims of India would not rest contented with anything less than the immediate establishment of Independent and fully Sovereign State of Pakistan and would resist any attempt to impose any Constitution-making machinery or any Constitution, long-term or short-term, or the setting up of any Interim Government at the Centre without the approval and consent of the Muslim League,

The Council of the All India Muslim League is convinced that now the time has come for the Muslim nation to resort to Direct Action to achieve Pakistan to assert their just rights, to vindicate their honour and to get rid of the present British slavery and the contemplated future Caste-Hindu domination

This Council calls upon the Muslim nation to stand to a man behind their sole representative and authoritative organisation, the All India Muslim League, and to be ready for every sacrifice

This Council directs the Working Committee to prepare forthwith a programme of Direct Action to carry out the policy enunciated above, and to organise the Muslims for the coming struggle to be launched as and when necessary

As a protest against and in token of their deep resentment of the attitude of the British, this Council calls upon the Musalmans to renounce forthwith the titles conferred upon them by the alien Government [2]

[1]Appendix III
[2]Reproduced from *Resolutions of the All India Muslim League, January 1944 to December 1946, Delhi*

Annex IV to No 386

Draft by Abdur Rab Nishtar of a Statement on the NWFP for Consideration by M A Jinnah[1]

F 394/17-21

6 May 1947

I have had the opportunity of fully discussing with the Frontier League leaders the situation and developments that have taken place recently in [the] N W F P They explained to me how the Muslims of the N W F P, particularly the Muslim Leaguers and League Organization in the Province, were sought to be crushed by the Khan Sahib Ministry by every means, fair or foul, that the victimization, persecution, suppression and oppression on the part of the Government knew no limits and the vestige of civil liberties did not exist Ordinances, prohibition of meetings and processions, etc, under Section 144, abuse of Frontier Crimes Regulations, suppression of political opinion and gagging of criticism were the order of the day Such were the conditions prevailing in the Province when the top-ranking leaders of the Muslim League were arrested for asserting their right of civil liberties and the situation deteriorated to such an extent that popular resentment assumed the character of mass civil disobedience

It is absolutely false and complete misrepresentation of facts on the part of interested persons to say that the All India Muslim League has decided to resort to direct action No such decision has been made by the All India Muslim League No doubt, on the 29th July, 1946,[2] the Muslim League passed a resolution that they were free to launch a movement of mass civil disobedience whenever they thought it necessary, but our opponents maliciously propagated that our direct action was based on the principle of force, violence and bloodshed By direct action was meant social and moral pressure upon the authority in power to redress our grievances and meet our demands

From all the information that is available to me, and I have gone through this matter very carefully, I cannot disagree with the facts as put before me by the League leaders and I feel that the only honourable course for Dr Khan Sahib and his Ministers is to resign and bow to the wishes of the people of the province If there was any doubt about the lack of confidence by the people in the present Khan Sahib Ministry, it was removed by the result of the recent Mardan by-election, which Dr Khan Sahib himself made a test case Because the Khan Sahib Ministry failed to adopt the constitutional procedure of resigning and seeking fresh election, the result was that the people were driven to mass civil

disobedience and now we find that thousands of people have been arrested, imprisoned, detained and kept under the Frontier Crimes Regulations and other repressive laws A few days ago, the Frontier Government issued a communique in which, *inter alia*, they said, "The Government have for their part decided unconditionally to release, as soon as conditions permit, all political prisoners who are not charged with offences of crime", and "The Government have no intention of interfering with the freedom of the expression of political opinion or with the political meetings but they must impress on all in the province that processions and picketing have in the past proved an incitement to all those acts of lawlessness and that they cannot be permitted until normal conditions return This means that the root-cause of the whole trouble still continues "

Later, H E the Viceroy visited the Frontier and had discussions with some of the Frontier Muslim League leaders After that the Provincial Muslim League leaders held a meeting wherein it decided that after full consideration of the announcement of the Provincial Government and hearing the account of the talk between the Viceroy and the Muslim League leaders, it felt that the steps proposed in no way met the demands of the League and therefore, it was unable to call off its movement and accept the offer of the Government It called upon the Muslims of N W F P to continue their agitation on strictly peaceful and non-violent lines

It was after this resolution that five of the Muslim League leaders came to Delhi to apprise me of the situation I sympathise with them and I am unable to disagree with them in the decision that they have taken, but I want to make it clear that some incidents have taken place in the N W F Province which have pained me very much and therefore I most earnestly appeal to every Muslim, especially Muslim Leaguers, to do all in their power to confine their movement within strictly peaceful and non-violent limits, and without any reservation I say that on our side there should be no resort to violence or force and the Muslims must bear up in the spirit of tolerance and despite the gravest provocation should not depart from strictly peaceful path I must also urge upon the Muslims of the N W F Province that in no circumstances should the movement be allowed to take a communal turn Your fight is not against the Hindus or Sikhs, you are fighting for a true verdict of the province to be obtained by fair and free methods It is against the canons of morality and civilization and the teachings of Islam that we should harm the weak On the contrary, it is the duty of every Muslim to protect the minorities I know it can be said that it

takes two to keep peace, but on our side I say keep peace at any cost, and to the other side I may say do not provoke and keep peace I had hoped that better counsel will prevail and I do still hope that the situation will be examined dispassionately and in its true perspective by those concerned It is no longer a secret that certain recommendations have been made by the Viceroy to His Majesty's Government and within a few weeks the result may be known This is an additional factor which should be borne in mind by all of us

I pray to God that during the few weeks that are now ahead of us pending the final announcement, both sides will do their best and save the people from destruction of life and property, especially the innocent and the womenfolk and children When the final announcement has been made, it is entirely for us and we shall be free to decide as to the course of action we should adopt

[1]The statement, when issued, was different from this draft See Annex to No 391
[2]Annex III

387

Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy to Liaquat Ali Khan[1]
(Copy to M A Jinnah)

Bengal III 21/33[2]

BENGAL SECRETARIAT, CALCUTTA,
5 May 1947

My dear Liaquat Ali Sahib,

I am sure that you have seen the statement of Maulana Akram Khan[3] on my scheme of undivided sovereign Bengal and he finds in it an opposition to the Muslim League and to the Quaid-i-Azam It is people like these who destroy the best-laid [out] schemes by their foolishness and their partisan spirit He has sabotaged my plan definitely and given a setback to the headway which I was making amongst the Hindus If Bengal is divided, both sections will be weak and negligible More so, our section, which, although it has got a large enough population, is so deficit in foodgrains that no amount of intensive cultivation will be able to produce a sufficiency I am also just unable to realise how a weak Eastern Bengal can be of any assistance to the Muslim cause or be any strength to the Muslims or help the Muslims in the minority areas The old Maulana's and his party's antagonism to Mr Abul Hashem blinds

him to the folly in coming out with statements injurious to the Muslim cause

I may be coming over to Delhi on the 16th or the 17th in spite of the heat

Yours sincerely,
SHAHEED

The Hon'ble Mr Liaquat Ali Khan,
Finance Member, Interim Government,
New Delhi

[1]The upper left-hand margin of this letter has the following minute, dated 12 May 1947, by Wazir Ali, Private Secretary to Liaquat Ali Khan, and marked to Shafaat Ahmad "HM [Honourable Member] has seen This may be recorded by Mr Shafaat Ahmad "

[2]*SHC*

[3]In his statement of 4 May, Maulana Akram Khan said that the protagonists of a separate sovereign Bengal were playing into the hands of the enemies and that the Muslims of Bengal could not isolate themselves from the "Muslim National State" *Pakistan Times*, 6 May 1947

388

Mrs K L Rallia Ram to M A Jinnah

F 487/35

5 MASSON ROAD, LAHORE,
5 May 1947

Dear Mr Jinnah,

Today's editorial entitled "Jinnah's Land Hunger" is an insolent writing [1] Just look how he talks about you One can only say that the Hindus are now losing balance of their mind in desperation

Then the other cutting captioned "Anglo-Muslim Axis"[2] also shows how the Hindu Congress is desperately fighting to deprive the Muslims of their rights They want to hide their own secret alliances that have been made on the sly and now blame you for it

The other cuttings[3] are also worth reading, particularly the one relating to the Frontier

Hope you are keeping fit

Sincerely yours,
MRS K L RALLIA RAM

[1 2 & 3]Not available in *QAP*

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Nisar Ahmad to M A Jinnah

F 1108/26

SAHIBGANJ, BIHAR,
6 May 1947

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

For the progressive attainment, nay the propagation, of Urdu literature, its admirers and advocates laid the foundation of the Muslim Library at Sahibganj town in the district of Santhal Parganas (Bihar) in the year 1942, which, through Almighty's Grace, is considered to be a first-grade public reading institution and a disseminating [*sic*] machinery to-day in the district

At this critical juncture, when India is on the verge of transitional political change for freedom, awaiting ahead [*sic*] to make Urdu the *lingua franca* is the surest need of the period

In view of the same, the third Anniversary of the library is to take place in the last week of May 1947 with great pomp and grandeur

Therefore, I, on behalf of the reception committee, most sanguinely crave your indulgence to enlighten us with your learned message on an occasion like this, and to create new life, inspiration and encouragement for the fitting [*sic*] success of the Anniversary

Amen

Yours faithfully,
NISAR AHMAD
Chairman, Reception Committee,
Muslim Library

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B N Banerjee to K H Khurshid

F 22/32

VICEREGAL LODGE, SIMLA,
6 May 1947

Dear Sir,

The Viceroy thought that Mr M A Jinnah might like to see the

report which Her Excellency made out for him after her tour in the Punjab and N W F P I attach a copy of this report which I should be grateful if you would kindly place before Mr Jinnah

Yours faithfully,
B N BANERJEE
Secretary to Her Excellency
The Viscountess Mountbatten of Burma

Enclosure to No 390

F 22/117-118

REPORT BY EDWINA MOUNTBATTEN ON A TOUR OF THE N W F P AND THE PUNJAB

2 May 1947

During my four-day visit to the N W F P and the Punjab from April 28th to May 2nd, I visited nine hospitals, seven refugee centres, varying in numbers accommodated from a small unit of forty to Wah Camp of 8,700 and four areas devastated by communal disturbances The itinerary included Peshawar, Rawalpindi, Kahuta, Wah, Dera Ismail Khan, Tank, Amritsar and Lahore Unfortunately, my visit to Multan had to be postponed as a dust-storm prevented the aircraft from landing, I have promised however to carry out my proposed visit at the earliest day available

At the Refugee Centres, I spoke with some hundreds of the refugees, and in hospitals I met Hindu, Sikh and Muslim patients who had been victims of the riots and were still undergoing treatment I heard harrowing descriptions of atrocities that had been committed and of damage to property In the areas visited, the larger proportion of the victims were Hindus and Sikhs, but Muslims and Muslim property also had suffered in the mad disturbances

I met administrative heads and officials of the Civil, Military and Police Departments, as well as representatives of the communities, in the areas visited and was fully informed by them on the local situation Having previously heard statements that there had been cases of the police showing partiality to one or other community in the restoration and maintenance of order after the riots, I particularly enquired into this but no concrete evidence could be produced to substantiate these vague complaints and it appeared that no action had been taken by the police which had not been justified under the prevailing circumstances Further, the police and military deserve considerable praise for their action and behaviour under the

very trying and dangerous conditions of the communal rioting

I was most touched by the welcome given to me on the various visits both to the riot districts and refugee centres, and to the hospitals

In regard to the riot districts, I felt that, while the policy of encouraging refugees to return to their homes, if still habitable, to stay with friends and relations or be taken care of temporarily by their own religious fraternity, is reasonable, there are obvious difficulties involved·

(1) the great fear by which the refugees are obsessed, which is infectious and may give rise to further trouble,

(2) the damage to property, both partial and complete, which will take a long time to repair, and

(3) the question of what compensation will be given was constantly raised by refugees with whom I talked and this uncertainty of the future, combined with fear and hatred, is a bad factor for morale

In regard to the refugee centres (apart from Wah at which amenities are quite good as this was previously an Army hutted camp and adequate supply arrangements are operating) the present accommodation is unsuitable for more than the purpose of temporary shelter The buildings are all that are available, but the inevitable conditions of overcrowding, the refugees' ignorance of hygiene accompanied by lack of facilities such as adequate drainage, water, soap and clean clothing, and their lack of occupation, entail risks that are apt to result in epidemics and disturbances among the refugees as well as further degeneration of morale Superhuman efforts have obviously been made by the Civil, Military and Police authorities to meet the emergency and their action during and after the riots and in setting up the centres has done much to prevent further loss of life The possible partition of the Punjab, the future of the N W F P, and other factors of this nature however would seem to make it well-nigh impossible for the authorities either to advise or plan at present for the future of these unfortunate people

With the exception of one hospital, all the hospitals visited were handicapped in varying degrees by all or some of the following

Lack of adequate financial support from Provincial Governments and Municipal Committees

Inadequate and unsuitable accommodation for patients, staff and departments

Shortage of nursing and orderly staff

Shortage of essential equipment and supplies

It was evident that insufficient interest and practical support is [*sic* for are] being given by the Government and Municipal authorities to

the development of Health Services and, in view of these great obstacles to hospital administration, it was remarkable what fine service is being provided by the existing Medical and Nursing Staffs

This four-day tour, during which I covered 1,500 miles by air and long distances by car and jeep, as well as on foot, has given me some idea of the magnitude of the devastation caused by recent riots and the appalling loss of life and property, as well as the ghastly injuries sustained No words can describe the moral and physical suffering of the unfortunate victims and the present seeming hopelessness of their future

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M A Jinnah to Louis Mountbatten

F 22/33

7 May 1947

Dear Lord Mountbatten,

I am enclosing herewith a copy of my statement[1] issued on 30th April, copies of which I have already posted to the Prime Minister and the Leader of the Opposition in the British Parliament, and also a copy of the statement[2] I have issued with regard to the Frontier Province today

Yours sincerely,
M A JINNAH

[1]See Enclosure to No 379
[2]Annex

Annex to 391

"FRONTIER MOVEMENT MUST CONTINUE"
QUAID-I-AZAM SUPPORTS LEAGUE LEADERS' STAND
HMG'S DECISIONS ON ALL INDIA ISSUES DUE IN A FEW WEEKS'

NEW DELHI
7May 1947

Mr M A Jinnah, President of the All India Muslim League, in a statement on the Frontier this afternoon, says he cannot disagree with the decision of the Frontier League leaders, taken on May 1, not to call off the movement

He continues, "Nevertheless, we must recognise that the question of the Frontier is now before His Majesty's Government and that Lord Ismay is in the United Kingdom In my opinion, it is a question of only a few weeks before decisions concerning the whole of India are likely to be announced

"In these circumstances, I most earnestly appeal to every Muslim, and especially every Leaguer, to do all in his power to remain peaceful We are fighting for a true verdict of the people, to be obtained by fair and free methods It is against all canons of morality and civilisation, and against the teaching of Islam, that we should harm the weak "

"I have had the opportunity," says the statement, "of fully discussing with the Frontier League leaders the situation in that Province and the developments that have taken place recently The League movement there was started because the people, and specially the Muslim Leaguers and their organisation, were sought to be crushed by the Khan Sahib Ministry, by fair means or foul, ever since the Ministry was formed

"The victimisation, persecution, suppression and oppression on the part of the Government knew no limits Every vestige of civil liberties had ceased to exist Ordinances, the Frontier Crimes Regulations, Section 144 and other repressive provisions of the law were being freely and ruthlessly used to deprive the people of their rights of political expression and criticism of the Ministry

PEOPLE'S RESENTMENT

"These were the conditions prevailing in the Province when the top-ranking leaders of League were arrested for asserting their right of civil liberties, and the resentment caused among the people assumed the character of mass civil disobedience

"It is absolutely false, and a complete misrepresentation of the facts, to say that the All India Muslim League ever decided actually to resort to direct action The Bombay resolution of July 29, 1946,[2] merely indicated a change of policy By it we declared that we would no longer be restricted to those constitutional methods which had been scrupulously followed by the All India Muslim League up to that time

"The Congress creed, on the other hand, not only permitted them to resort to unlawful means, but it was of the very essence of the organisation that they were free to resort to mass civil disobedience at any time they considered proper for the achievement of their objective through coercive methods

"This sword of Damocles was kept continually hanging over the Muslims and the British Government, and the Congress has repeatedly

launched movements and used the weapon of mass civil disobedience since 1921 on various occasions, creating grave situations in the country

"The last time they decided to launch the movement was in 1942—we all know with what disastrous consequences

"The attitude of the Congress towards the perpetrators of acts of violence in connection with movements launched by it is evident from what the Congress Ministries have been doing since their return to power in their Provinces Acts of violence committed during the war movement have been hailed by the Congress leaders as acts of heroism, and patriotism

"As against this policy and record of the Congress, the Muslim League, by its resolution of July 29, only made it clear that it was now free to launch a movement of mass civil disobedience as and when it was thought necessary, and it was in this sense that the phrase 'direct action' was used

FORCE AND BLOODSHED

"It is quite obvious that the meaning of direct action which is attributed to us maliciously, namely that it is based on the principle of force, violence and bloodshed, is without any foundation, and is absolutely untrue

"Direct action means social pressure, strike or revolt, constituting moral pressure upon the authority in power to redress our grievances and meet our demands

"The present movement in the Frontier Province developed because the situation had become intolerable, and the Ministry could not be allowed to continue its ruthless policy of crushing the Muslims, and the Muslim League organisation in particular The entire public has lost its confidence in this Ministry, and there is a Province-wide demand for the application of Section 93 and fresh elections

"Dr Khan Sahib and his co-Ministers were challenged to seek the verdict of the people, which they in their extreme obstinacy still refuse to do

THOUSANDS ARRESTED

"From all the information available to me—and I have gone through this matter most carefully—I cannot disagree with the facts as they exist, and as a result of the situation created by the Frontier Ministry, thousands of people have been arrested, sentenced to various terms of imprisonment, and detained and clapped into jails under the Frontier Crimes Regulations The only honourable course for Dr Khan Sahib and his co-Ministers is to resign and seek re-election

"I note that the Frontier Government subsequently issued a cor munique on April 19, in which, *inter alia*, they said

'The Government have for their part decided unconditionally release as soon as conditions permit all political prisoners who a not charged with offences of violence, and the Government hav no intention of interfering with the freedom of expression of politic opinion, or with peaceful meetings, but they must impress on all i the Province that processions and picketing have, in the past, prove an incitement to acts of lawlessness, and that they cannot be pe mitted until normal conditions return'

"But the root cause still continues I had hoped that better counse would prevail, and I do still hope that the situation will be examine dispassionately and in its true perspective by those concerned

LEAGUE'S DECISION

"The Provincial Muslim League had, on May 1—before the Frontie leaders came to Delhi to meet me—after full consideration, come t the conclusion that the steps so far proposed by the Frontier Goverr ment in no way met the demands of the Muslim League and wer therefore not acceptable to the League They therefore decided not t call off the movement

"The Frontier leaders could not also agree to their being releasec for they had not gone to jail merely to be released I sympathise wit them, and I am unable to disagree with them in the decisions that the have taken

"Nevertheless, we must recognise that the question of the Frontiei in all its aspects, is now before His Majesty's Government, and Lor Ismay is in the United Kingdom now In my opinion, it is a questioi of a few weeks before decisions concerning the whole of India ar likely to be announced

"It is quite obvious that the people of the Frontier Province must b given a chance to express their verdict, and the root cause of popula resentment must be eliminated There is not the slightest doubt wha the verdict will be, and the present Ministry cannot possibly thereafte continue Therefore, as I have always said, let us hope for the best anc be prepared for the worst

APPEAL FOR PEACE

"In these circumstances, I most earnestly appeal to every Muslim especially every Leaguer, to do all in his power to remain peaceful Without any reservation, I say that on our side there should be nc resort to violence or force, and we must bear up with fortitude and

show tolerance despite the gravest provocations We should not depart from the strictly peaceful path which we are determined to follow

"In no circumstances should the movement be allowed to take a communal turn Our fight is not against the Hindus or the Sikhs We are fighting for a true verdict of the people of the Province, to be obtained by fair and free methods It is against all canons of morality and civilisation and the teachings of Islam that we should harm the weak

"On the contrary, it is the duty of every Musalman to protect the minorities, in spite of whatever provocation there may be I know it can be said that it takes two to keep the peace, but, on our side, I say keep the peace at any cost, and to the other side I may say don't provoke us and keep peace

"I pray to God that, during the few weeks that are now ahead of us pending the final announcement, both will do their best and save the people from the destruction of life and property When the final announcement has been made, it will be entirely for us, and we will be free, to decide as to what course of action we should adopt "–API

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 8 May 1947
[2]Annex III to No 386

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Jalaluddin Khan to M A Jinnah

F 681/229
[Original in Urdu]

R 4, BOX 351, PHOENIX, ARIZONA, U S A,
7 May 1947

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,
Assalaamo 'Alaikum

I am sending herewith an amount of Rs 3,425 for those poor Muslims who have been injured or disabled during the riots I hope you would earn our gratitude by acknowledging this humble sum Of course, it is entirely up to you to spend this money in any manner you like Please accept the greetings of all the Muslims of this place

JALALUDDIN KHAN
Secretary,
Muslim Association of Arizona,
U S A

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Evan Jenkins to Iftikhar Husain Khan Mamdot[1]

7 May 1947

My dear Khan Sahib,

Thank you for your letter of 28 April[2] I am very glad to set out in writing the views I expressed to you during our talk on that date

2 The essential points in your letters of 24th[3] and 28th April, some of which you amplified during our talk, are, I believe as follows

(1) that my invitation to you of 3rd March to assist me in forming a Ministry still stands,

(2) that you have the support of 91 Members of the Punjab Legislative Assembly, including 84 Muslims, 4 Scheduled Caste Members and 3 Christians, or in other words an assured majority of 7 in a House of 175,

(3) that much as you regret the unwillingness of the Hindus and Sikhs to co-operate with you, and willing as you are to continue your efforts to secure their co-operation, their "unreasonable refusal to co-operate cannot be permitted to stand permanently in the way of the functioning of normal constitutional and democratic methods", and

(4) that you should be permitted to form a Ministry immediately and to prove your majority at a very early meeting of the Assembly

I deal with these points in order in the next paragraph

3 (1) We did not discuss directly the question whether my invitation to you to assist me in forming a Ministry still subsists It is clear that before the proclamation under Section 93 of the Government of India Act, 1935, can be revoked I must be satisfied that it is once more possible to carry on the Government of the Punjab in accordance with the provisions of that Act and I concentrated on this aspect of the situation

(2) I noted your claim to the support of 91 Members of the Punjab Legislative Assembly, but observed that some of these Members might not have decided finally to support you From recent statements in the Press it appears that the party allegiance of some at least of the Members representing the smaller minorities is doubtful

(3) and (4) These appeared to me to be the most important

points in our discussion Your argument, if I understood it correctly, was that since you had a parliamentary majority, you had a right to take office, and were confident of your capacity to carry on the Government of the Punjab in accordance with the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935 I did not admit your claim to a majority, but said that in my judgement a communal Ministry—whether Muslim or non-Muslim—would find it quite impossible to maintain itself in present conditions I reminded you that constitutional Government by a Ministry must be conducted in accordance with certain principles, and that when any large section of the population denies the validity of those principles, the position of a Ministry becomes impossible The Muslim League agitation of January and February was unquestionably directed at the removal of the Coalition Ministry by "direct action", at the time the Coalition Ministry had a parliamentary majority larger than that which you now claim, and the whole basis of the agitation was that no Ministry, whatever its parliamentary majority, should remain in office if it fails to represent any large section of the population The Ministry you proposed would in fact exclude all the Hindus and Sikhs, and I did not see how the Hindus and Sikhs could be expected to respect principles which the Muslims had themselves discarded In short, I felt that until there was some easing of the communal tension, and some prospect of agreement between Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs, the formation of a Ministry would be both dangerous and unwise I understood that the discussions now in progress in New Delhi might be expected to produce definite results in the near future, and it seemed to me most important that we should do nothing here to prejudice all-India agreement If the Congress and the Muslim League, and, for the Punjab, the Sikhs, could arrive at some agreement about the future of India, we might well have a fresh starting point in the Punjab My conclusion thus was that no Ministry should be formed immediately, but that we should review the situation as soon as the all-India position was clear

Yours sincerely,
E M JENKINS

[1]*TP*, X, No 334, pp 646-648
[2]No 358
[3]In fact, Mamdot's letter was dated 23 April and not 24 April See No 341

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M A Jinnah to Louis Mountbatten
F 22/34

8 May 19

Dear Lord Mountbatten,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 1st of May,[1] enclosing a copy the minutes of your meeting with the Frontier League leaders, ar also your second letter dated 5th of May[2] and I thank you for both

I have carefully considered the whole matter and have alreac issued my statement yesterday, the 7th of May,[3] a copy of which h been forwarded to you along with the one issued previous to that c 30th of April[4]

As regards my meeting Brigadier Nazir Ahmad, who is Rawalpindi, I need hardly say that I shall be glad indeed to do so ar it is very kind of you to have arranged my meeting [with] him I sha get in touch with Brigadier Nazir Ahmad for the purpose

I hope that Lady Mountbatten and you will enjoy your trip to Sim and have some rest which you both need after your strenuous wo since your arrival in Delhi

Yours sincerely,
M A JINNAH

His Excellency Viscount Mountbatten of Burma,
Simla

[1]No 376
[2]No 386
[3]Annex to No 391
[4]See Enclosure to No 379

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Maqbool Mahmood to M A Jinnah

F 22/35-38

PERSONAL

"DIMPLE", SIMLA
8 May 194

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

The information given below may be of some use to you It accordingly submitted

I (a) Three member-States of the United Nations Organisation h the smallest populations.

(i) Iceland	121,474
(ii) Luxembourg	296,913
(iii) Costa Rica	471,525

(b) Three member-States of U N O with the smallest revenues

(i) Liberia	Rs 0 44 crore
(ii) Haiti	Rs 0 558 crore
(iii) Honduras	Rs 1 01 crore

(c) Three member-States of U N O with the smallest area

(i) Luxembourg	999 sq miles
(ii) Haiti	10,204 sq miles
(iii) Belgium	11,775 sq miles

(d) Three member-States of the U S S R which are independent nbers of U N O

i) Byelorussia	
Area	48,940 sq miles
Population (1939)	5 567 million
Revenue (1945)	Rs 128,18 crore
ii) Ukraine	
Area	170,998 sq miles
Population (1939)	30 96 million
Revenue (1945)	Rs 497 crore
iii) U S S R	
Area	8,173,550 sq miles
Population (1939)	170 468 million
Revenue (1945)	Rs 16,411 crore

Some facts relating to the proposed partition of provinces and of ia

partition of India into Hindustan, Pakistan and the States (with on to remain independent or to join Hindustan or Pakistan or to r into particular political relationship with one or the other) seems generally recognised as the only solution of the present political gle Some parties, however, demand partition of the Punjab and gal as a necessary corollary of the partition of Pakistan from dustan. Following propositions have an important bearing on the posed partition of the Punjab and Bengal

i If at the present stage the existing provincial boundaries are disturbed, it will lead to serious economic and administrative complications and must involve similar partition in all the provinces of

India where any group or minority may claim partition of how soever small a compact area

(ii) The *first basis of approach must be to set up independent Pakistan States which are economically, strategically and administratively self contained and self-supporting units with necessary resources for the improvement of the standards of living of the people and the ordered progress of the territories* [1] This is the principle which has been kept in view in most partitions in other countries. If this principle is not strictly adhered to in India, it will lead to the weakness and difficulties of both Pakistan and Hindustan The self-sufficiency of the new States must, *inter alia,* ensure that it has requisite foodgrains and factories, producing essentials of life and a reasonable counterbalance of industrial and agricultural development

(iii) After (ii) above is fully ensured, it should be provided that non Muslim majorities in the Pakistan area which may be contiguous to, and may desire to join, Hindustan may be separated from Pakistan, *in due course within a prescribed period,* and in accordance with an agreed procedure *It being [sic for is] understood, however that such separation will not prejudice the agricultural, industrial strategic and administrative self-sufficiency of the Pakistan State*

(iv) It has recently been claimed that the partition of the Punjab should be on the basis of land held by the various communities This is a fallacious argument The land tenure of the Punjab is still based on the old community plan, and a substantial portion of the land is held in *occupancy tenancy* from which the tenants cannot be ejected and wherein the tenants have special rights in the land A substantial majority of the occupancy tenants is Muslim, even where the land holders are non-Muslims Similarly, the present-day trend in India and abroad is to recognise the claims of even ordinary tenants, who happen to be substantially Muslims

(v) The Sikhs attach special religious sanctity to Amritsar, so do the Muslims to Ajmer and Delhi In such cases, the principle of the Vatican State in Rome may be adopted, with such adjustments as may be required to suit local conditions This will not disturb the political sovereignty of the areas to which these towns may belong, but religious and cultural autonomy will be accorded to the community having special religious interests in the town

(vi) A special machinery should be set up which may work out in due course the credit balance of Pakistan in regard to sterling balances and dollar pool and in respect of the works constructed in the Hindustan area from the joint funds of

the whole of India such as Delhi Secretariat etc

(vii) Some of the big industrial towns like Bombay have been built up from profits made from the whole of India In such cases it is only fair that the whole of India should share returns of taxes in these towns such as death duties It is accordingly suggested that, if approved, a special machinery may be set up by a treaty for 10 years in the first instance, wherein returns of certain taxes collected by an all-India agency, with equal representation of the sovereign States of Pakistan, Hindustan and Rajasthan, may collect those taxes on behalf of all the States and distribute them on an agreed basis

(viii) It will save both Hindustan and Pakistan much money and man-power, which could be utilised for other constructive channels, if a treaty could be made forthwith between them, as in the case of U S A , Canada and Pan-American Union, that any aggression from outside against the territories of Pakistan or Hindustan will be regarded by the other State as an aggression against its own territory, and they will both collaborate fully to resist such an attack Similarly, they would both respect the territorial integrity of each State and solve any differences by arbitration

3 The Pakistan State would require diplomatic and commercial relaions with many Indian States to their mutual advantage It may, herefore, be reasonable

(a) to invite a few representatives of the States in the Constituent Assembly for Pakistan, and

(b) to have a small department in the Pakistan Government for the development of diplomatic, commercial and other relations with the Indian States This may be a part of the External Affairs Department of Pakistan There is reason to expect substantial results from such a department with a friendly policy towards friendly States, particularly in the initial five years of the setting up of the Pakistan State

4 I am collecting much useful material and literature which will help the Pakistan Constituent Assembly at the appropriate stage

I await your orders

With respects,

Yours devoted,
MAQBOOL MAHMOOD

Emphasis here and hereafter in the original

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Ghulam Ahmad Parvez to M A Jinnah

F 886/207

37 TURKMAN ROAD, NEW DELHI
8 May 194

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

Kindly excuse me for making this encroachment on your valuabl time, especially when you are so busy these days A friend of mine Khan Mohammad Aslam Khan of Mardan (N W F P), has sent me th enclosed cheque with the request that I should make it over to yo personally You perhaps know this gentleman He was the Privat Secretary to the late Nawab Sir Abdul Qayyum He presented to yo the address at Mardan when you last visited that Province He is pious and quiet sort of fellow The way in which this money should b spent, he leaves at your discretion If you do not mind, kindly sen him the acknowledgment direct His address is given on the ch enclosed with the cheque

2 I have been getting alarming news about the high-handedness o the military and the police in the western districts of the Punjab deputed to investigate into the recent riot affairs The position there i very serious and I would request you kindly to issue special instruc tions to the League people in the Punjab to devote their special atten tion to the matter, if they have not already done this Rawalpind District is specially to be mentioned

3 Kh Abdur Rahim, I C S , Punjab, has written to me to say that h would be coming to Delhi to discuss with me and then with yo certain important questions regarding the "distribution" [*sic* for divi sion] of the Punjab He will be here on the 10th of this month an desires to see you on the 11th I know it is difficult for you to mak appointments these days beforehand and he should therefore take hi chance when he comes, but in case you can conveniently spare som time for him, kindly ask Mr Khurshid to note it down so that w could ascertain from him about it on due date

4. I have a personal matter to discuss with you whenever conve- nient to you Can I expect the favour of a few minutes any time it i

possible for you to spare? Or, if you do not mind, I could accompany Mr. Rahim on the 11th

With all respects and sincere prayers,

Yours obediently,
G A PARVEZ

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Mujahid Husain to M A Jinnah

F 1090/1 (MFJ Register)

6-A STRACHEY ROAD, ALLAHABAD,
9 May 1947

Sir,

I have been trying to reach Delhi and pay my respects to you but, in view of your busy programme, I would not do so without your permission I can come to Delhi on any day and call on you at any time convenient to you

I take the liberty of enclosing a brief note which you may care to peruse at leisure

Wishing you and Miss Fatima Jinnah the best of health, and with respectful regards,

I remain,
Yours obediently,
MUJAHID HUSAIN

Enclosure to No 397

F 1090/2 (MFJ Register)

Mr Mujahid Husain, B A , LL B , serving under the Law Member as Assistant Registrar of the Income Tax Appellate Tribunal, Allahabad, seeks transfer to the Muslim Constituent Assembly as Assistant Secretary or as Private Secretary to its President He is now in the fourteenth year of service, six of which were spent as Clerk and Junior Assistant, and four on the staff of Secretaries and Hon'ble Members of Council, including Sir Evan Jenkins, Sir Mohammed Zafrulla Khan, Sir Homi Mody, Sir Sultan Ahmad, and Sir Asoka Roy He has been holding gazetted posts for the last four years and has worked both in executive and administrative capacities He has had considerable

experience of Secretariat routine and procedure and has toured extensively all over the country He is a First Class LL B , with special training in Drafting and Conveyancing He is also a fast shorthand-writer and typist He was bracketed with Mr Padmanabhan in the Merit List of LL Bs Mr Padmanabhan has since been appointed Assistant Secretary in the Hindu Constituent Assembly

[UNSIGNED]

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Besh Lall to M A Jinnah

F 908/86-89

INDIAN ACHHUTISTAN MOVEMENT,
CENTRAL HOTEL, QUEEEN'S ROAD, DELHI,
9 May 1947

Drafted en route *from Gaya to Delhi through* [*sic*] *7 Up on 8 May*

His Excellency Lord Mountbatten,
Governor-General and Viceroy of India,
Government House,
Simla

My relation between you and myself is the relation of sovereign and [his] subject, [between] the home and the foreign, and, moreover, [between the] favourite and the favoured Hence superiority and dignity must remain with me I and my forefathers were the masters of India and you and your forefathers were the servants to serve all their administrative affairs according to their (my forefathers') will and orders Similar relations they had with the High Caste Hindus who came later on from somewhere in Central Asia and [with] the Muslims who also came from Arabia, and then [with] the English [who came] from Europe But in the long run of their services all the three grew ungrateful servants and began to prove their ungratefulness to their masters, so much so that they conquered their all men and properties Consequently, in place [*sic* for instead] of remaining their masters they (my forefathers) happened to be their servants of their most menial degrees and misfortune overshadowed them by all means [*sic*] They (my forefathers) fell in the clutches of the High Caste Hindus and of the Muslims and then of the English successively

However, I have to forget all the past [misdeeds] and treat [them] according to the present I have to forgive you all for your consciousness [sic] you have felt during the period of your struggle in politics and also for the fact that you have been granting political rights to the real and original occupiers of India, which is certainly the sign of your honesty and efficiency of your gratefulness to your old masters, and thus you have been going to wash [sic] all your blames and abuses on behalf of your old masters But in the meantime you have not [yet] been left [sic] by your blunders for which you have been ever warned for paying proper attention and carefulness [sic] At present I have to draw your attention again towards your all activities and their results You have followed the wrong path of Indian administration and India is going to be destroyed by all means under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, of the high-caste Hindus and Mr Jinnah of the Muslims who are, notwithstanding [sic], going to establish friendly relations amongst all the nations of India rather have created bad feelings of animosity and invidousness [among them] and their followers have [been] bent upon to destroy one another by their all in all [sic] places of India, so much so that while they were fighting for freedom of India as one and whole they are [now] going to divide India into Hindustan and Pakistan, two separate States for which you must be included at the top of their list and thus be proved again [sic] ungrateful of the most heinous and torturous [sic] type who have not been paying a bit attention towards the call of your old Masters in the vanity of your masterly spirit of being master of India [sic] Mahatma Gandhi and Mr Jinnah may deem you as their masters as to take their Hindustan and Pakistan from you, but the President of the Achhutistan Movement, rather Emperor of Achhutistan Empire of India deem you as one of his servants of Achhutistan Empire invested with the post and power of the Viceroy of a country like India under him and you have to bow down before him as His Majesty the King Emperor of Achhutistan But, you did not take a bit care of your duty and you had entirely entangled yourself in netes [sic] of Mahatma Gandhi and Mr Jinnah who are the [harbingers of] misfortune, mischievous and torturous [sic] in the cause of the millions of people of India, including countless Achhuts of their most simple and honest characters It is admitted on all hands that the Britishers have been grateful to them (the Achhuts) for which [even] myself also cannot leave without expressing my personal gratitude along with the gratitude of all the masses of Achhut communities of India, i e Scheduled Castes and Depressed Classes, though they have lost their leadership

in Dr B R Ambedkar, Mr Jagjivan Ram and Mr J N Mandal who have become the puppets of the Congress and the Muslim League and have totally forgotten their own claims and thus they have proved themselves to be a curse and a burden over [*sic*] the Achhut masses When the complete separation of India into two States, Hindustan and Pakistan is going to be established, the fate and destiny of the Achhut masses will sink forever along with the above puppets and momentary enjoyers [of benefits] who lost both their awakening and straightforwardness at the very auspicious moment though they have been always pocked [*sic*] and invocked [*sic*] for laying strong and permanent foundations of their Achhutistan I am thankful to the Hon'ble Mr Mandal, Law Member of the Interim Government, for he has heard my voices [*sic*] and undertaken my cause of Achhutistan and he has gained my highest aspirations and admirations I wish him complete success

With my deep and strong observations all over [*sic*] the facts mentioned above, I now, conclude, again with my last version but not of their least importance of gravity [*sic*] You are going, rather [you are] ready to go out of India in June 1948, but you are going with your blunder[ing] remarks against yourself on behalf of the rightful people of India, who are known as Achhuts who demand the strong and complete establishment of their Achhutistan all over India, in your presence, urgently and immediately before [deciding] any issue of Hindustan and Pakistan and this is your first and foremost duty for the most downtrodden people of India who were totally and brutally crushed by the high caste Hindus and the Muslims before the British Government (British India) But [unfortunately] they are again being headed by [*sic*] their same misfortune even by the honest and justifiable administration of yours, who are also on the verge of proving [to be a] dishonest and unjustified administrator Please do not do so and [you] must not leave bad and heinous remarks on the part of your administrative capacities which may form black blocks [*sic* for blots] on the life sketch of your whole career Please arrange my interview and see me at once on or before the coming [of the] First Round Table Conference of the Achhutistan leaders at New Delhi on 17 and 18 May 1947 And for which we shall be ever happy and obliged to each other

Thanking you [in anticipation] for earlier compliances,

Yours faithfully,
BESH LALL
President,
All India Achhutistan Movement

Copy of the foregoing forwarded to the following

1. The British Prime Minister, Mr Clement Attlee, London
2. Mr M A Jinnah, Delhi
3. Mahatma Gandhi, Calcutta
4. Dr Bhim Rao Ambedkar, Member Constituent Assembly
5. Hon'ble Mr Jagjivan Ram, Labour Member, Interim Government
6. Hon'ble Mr J N Mandal, Law Member, Interim Government
7. Mr. Acharya Kirpalani, Congress President
8. Hon'ble Dr Rajindra Prasad, Food Member, Interim Government
9. H E. The Governor of Bihar, Patna
10. Hon'ble Mr S K Sinha, Premier, Bihar Government, Patna
11. H E The Governor of Bengal, Calcutta
12. H.E The Governor of Bombay
13. H E The Governor of Madras
14. Office of the Achhutistan Movement

399

Ahmad Ispahani to M A Jinnah

F 68/40

CONFIDENTIAL

51 EZRA STREET, CALCUTTA,
10 May 1947

My dear Mr Jinnah,

Mandal returned from his tour of North Bengal, and I gave him Rs 10,000 for which I hold a receipt [1] He is going on tour to other parts of West Bengal to do his job

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
MIRZA AHMAD

PS Shaheed[2] is talking too much on one Bengal I hope Gandhi and Bose will not dupe him These matters are best left for you to do best Please inform him

AHMAD

[1]Mandal sent a receipt to Ispahani on 2 May See Enclosure 3 to No 502
[2]Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy

400

M A Hassan Ispahani to M A Jinnah

F 309/335-336

INDIAN TRADE DELEGATION TO THE MIDDLE EAST,
CAMP, SHEPHEARD'S HOTEL, CAIRO,
10 May 1947

My dear Mr Jinnah,

We leave for Jeddah tomorrow Chundrigar is expected this afternoon and will be here a few hours, during which period I hope to get the latest information about happenings in India from him I have received a telegram from the Government of India suggesting a visit by the Delegation to Afghanistan I suppose I shall get more definite news on the subject from Chundrigar today

Since writing to you last, I have met several prominent people in Cairo and Alexandria and am glad to say that, as usual, the Muslim members have not wasted much of their time I met Nahas Pasha twice and the Grand Mufti twice We have met other prominent persons including Ministers, Under-Secretaries of State, politicians and the higher staff of the Al-Azhar University I hope to meet the Prime Minister today

Nahas Pasha told me that when you last visited Cairo, you promised to send Muslim League literature including the Jinnah-Gandhi correspondence to him Unfortunately he has received no such literature from you or from the Muslim League office By a stroke of good luck we had some pamphlets and books including the Jinnah-Gandhi correspondence These were handed to him yesterday

The Akhwan-al-Muslimeen, who are doing great service for our cause not only in Cairo but in every town and village of Egypt, were similarly assured of being sent Muslim League material from time to time Till now they have not received anything, and even their letters addressed to the Muslim League in Delhi have not been acknowledged This is indeed deplorable, as even our best friends are called upon to fight for us without being provided the ammunition to do so

The Shabban-al-Muslimeen are also doing good work for us through their social organization It is necessary that they should be kept fully posted with our activities and developments They are very keen to expand their propaganda but, of course, they cannot do so unless they have the material at their disposal

I must say that our Central Office's Propaganda Section is not

working at all If it is in existence, it has to be whipped into action If it does not exist, it should be created without delay, because, without a first-class pumping station in action, the material necessary to keep our case before the eyes of the world will not flow to countries and people outside India I am writing to Altaf Hussain today and am sending names and addresses of persons and institutions to whom copies of our literature and of the *Dawn* should be sent

I was keen on establishing an Information Centre here but have decided to defer it until I receive your consent A first-class Centre with a big office and capable men recruited here to run it will cost at least £ 250 a month I do not know if you desire to spend so much money in Cairo Of course this Centre will feed the entire Middle East if it is properly supported by the base at Delhi With a dreadfully weak Delhi Propaganda Office I consider it absolute waste of money to establish Centres and have nothing done through them except the distribution of a statement or a small contribution once in a blue moon The Shabban-al-Muslimeen actually emptied a room in their office and offered it to me for immediate occupation Had our Delhi section been a living organization, without further reference to you, I would have done the needful at this end

For the Middle Eastern countries, at least the Arabic-speaking part, it is necessary to send literature duly translated in India The Congress Party has an Arabic Section functioning at Allahabad and their weekly bulletins are written in Arabic and sent out here with clockwork regularity We need a first-class Arabic scholar in our Delhi office who can translate all the news and material that will help our cause and send it out to the various Centres that do not want news in English

Asaf Ali has made terrible mess of things in New York The Arabs are very annoyed over the stand he took on the question of Palestine I issued a statement a week ago saying that Asaf Ali is a nominee of the Hindu Congress and that neither he nor his views represent the feelings of the one hundred million Muslims of India This statement has had a good effect and it was a God-sent opportunity to me which I grasped without hesitation The statement was published in all the Muslim and Arabic newspapers and I do not know if it has been cabled out to India by one of the foreign news agencies

Cairo is gradually getting warm and Hedjaz will be really hot I hope you are well and looking after yourself

With respects and regards,

Very sincerely yours,
HASSAN

Enclosure to No 400

F 309/337

STATEMENT BY M A HASSAN ISPAHANI ON PALESTINE

I have been pained to read the press report[1] of the speech of Mr Asaf Ali recommending Jewish participation in the Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly convened to consider the Palestine problem It gives unwarranted importance to Jewish claims I would like to make it clear beyond doubt that Mr Asaf Ali does not represent the Muslims of India He was selected and sent to the United States by Pandit Nehru and the Hindu Congress, and the Muslim League had no hand in his appointment The statement of Mr Asaf Ali runs contrary to the feelings and sentiments of the one hundred million Musalmans of India, who have [stood] and will always stand by their Arab brethren of the Middle East over the Palestine issue

[1]See Annex

Annex to No 400

"TERMINATE MANDATE AND DECLARE PALESTINE INDEPENDENT"
OPPOSITION TO ARAB MOTION FOR FULL DISCUSSION IN UNO
KHOURY'S SPIRITED REPLY TO ASAF ALI'S PLEA "NOT TO BE IMPATIENT"[1]

FLUSHING MEADOW, New York, April 30 The British delegate, Sir Alexander Cadogan, today opposed the Arab demand for full discussion and declaration of independence of Palestine in the United Nations Special General Assembly He pointed out that the British proposal for the appointment of a committee was already endorsed by the Steering Committee He added "I doubt whether it is possible for the same Committee to endorse the Arab proposal These items are really alternatives and the Committee must choose one or the other It cannot logically adopt both Our proposal excludes no solution whatever It is a much broader proposal than Egypt's and provides for a more workmanlike procedure

If the Commission of Inquiry found independence desirable for the well-being of Palestine, it was free to make findings in that sense Sir Alexander refuted remarks about trying to dictate to the General Assembly and added, "no one can dictate to the General Assembly "

He said he would like to assure the Indian delegate, Mr Asaf Ali,

that he had never had the impression that the Indian delegate was employing any taunts in his speech yesterday, on the contrary the Indian Ambassador had spoken with "his customary courtesy"

When the Steering Committee resumed, China's delegate, Quo Ta Chi, said that he could not vote for the Arab proposal as it was necessary to have more facts before making a decision

ASAF ALI ASKS ARABS "NOT TO BE TOO IMPATIENT"

Mr Asaf Ali, India Government's delegate appealed for Jewish participation in the United Nations Special General Assembly's consideration of the Palestine problem

He said "Today and yesterday we have been playing Hamlet without the Prince of Denmark Where are the people whose actual rights we have to consider? Where are the representatives of the Jewish people who are so interested in this problem? We find neither of them here We have received certain communications from the latter but unfortunately they seem to conflict with one another"

Mr Asaf Ali said that he wished to correct an assumption by the Press that as a result of his remarks yesterday he "taunted" the British delegate, Sir Alexander Cadogan "I never approach these serious questions, these great matters, in a spirit of sarcasm or taunt"

Mr Asaf Ali said that Britain "very courageously" took over the mandate in 1923

"The question we have gathered here to consider is of utmost importance," he concluded "It is not merely a question of followers of Israel, it is a question fundamentally of human rights and international security and peace"

He congratulated the Arab States on the ability with which they had put their case

Jews in India had never suffered, he said "My country has looked upon them as a people who should be respected There are large numbers of people living in Afghanistan, in the North-West Frontier Province and in Kashmir, all of whom claim descent from Israel They constitute a very large body of people, something I should think between 20 and 50 million people"

He reiterated the appeal for Jewish representation and added an appeal to the Arabs not to be too impatient in wishing to discuss the merits of the case at this stage and to allow the Committee to proceed with its work

A spokesman of the Indian delegation told Reuter that Mr Asaf Ali's appeal to the Arabs not to be impatient was not intended as a request to them to drop the present demand for discussion of Palestine independence and termination of the British mandate He merely wished to stress that it was undesirable to discuss the merits now especially when the Jewish people were unrepresented

Sweden's delegate, Herman Eriksson, said "There is need for a thorough analysis before passing judgment on the substance of the problem There have been many investigations of Palestine but never an impartial international commission We cannot hope to have a discussion at the present stage with any useful results For these reasons I cannot support inclusion of the Arab item on the Agenda "

The Equador delegate, Neftali Ponce, also opposed the Arab demand for full discussion and declaration of independence but supported the Jewish plea for representation in the General Assembly's consideration

The Czechoslovakian delegates, Jan Papanek, said that he favoured a full discussion on the future of Palestine but would not support the Arab proposal in its present form He favoured Jewish participation in the discussion

Informed observers believe that in the present line-up, voting on the Arab proposal is likely to receive a maximum of four in favour, six against and four abstentions though last minute surprises are possible

The virtually certain defeat of the Arab motion as it stands, sent all the chief Arab delegates into earnest lobby conference immediately after the Steering Committee's first session

Syria's delegate Faris Al-Khoury said that the Arab leaders would meet to discuss whether to amend their proposal so as to obtain a full discussion of the Arab case before the General Assembly

Khoury then emphasised that the Arabs were not trying to force the General Assembly to take a decision on the future of Palestine as it was not within the General Assembly's jurisdiction

"The General Assembly is entitled to make recommendations and nothing more Our request is that the recommendation to Britain will be directed towards termination of the mandate and recognition of Palestine's independence "

He concluded that the Arabs had not fixed any date for termination of the mandate which they left to the September session of the Assembly to decide

"PATIENCE NOW HARMFUL TO ARAB CAUSE"

Khoury said "We are asked to have patience But meanwhile Zionists are forcing immigration until they get a majority The position of the United States is well known. They also are exerting pressure on Great Britain to allow more immigration so as to create Jewish domination in Palestine "

He added "If immigration is stopped we have no objection to being patient But at present patience is harmful to the Arab cause "

Khoury declared that the question of displaced persons was separate and it was the responsibility of other nations to find homes for them

ATTACK AGAINST ZIONISM

Iraq's Foreign Minister Fadil Jamali, began a bitter attack against Zionism which, he said, was "poisoning the atmosphere in Palestine," when the Chairman called him to order —Reuter

[1]*Pakistan Times*, 2 May 1947

401

K H Khurshid to B N Banerjee

F 22/39

10 May 1947

Dear Sir,

I have received your letter of the 6th of May,[1] enclosing a report[2] made out for the Viceroy by Her Excellency after her tour in the Punjab and the N W F P , and, as desired, I have placed the enclosed copy before Mr Jinnah

Yours faithfully,
K H KHURSHID
Private Secretary to M A Jinnah

B N Banerjee, Esq ,
Secretary to Her Excellency
The Viscountess Mountbatten of Burma,
Viceregal Lodge,
Simla

[1]No 390
[2]Enclosure to No 390

402

Louis Mountbatten to M A Jinnah

F 22/40

VICEREGAL LODGE, SIMLA,
10 May 1947

[No] 1446(2)
Dear Mr Jinnah,

I have spent very many hours during the last month in talking over the problems which confront us with the leaders of opinion in India, and you yourself have been good enough to spare me a great deal of your time

Convinced as I am that an announcement ought to be made at the earliest possible moment as to how H M G propose to transfer authority to Indian hands by June 1948, I am most reluctant to postpone a decision on this matter for even a day longer than is necessary

I have now reached certain conclusions, with which I have reason to believe H M G will agree I should like to have a final talk about these conclusions before they are announced and I am therefore inviting the following, in addition to yourself, to meet me round the table in Delhi at 10 30 a m on 17th May

Pandit Nehru
Sardar Patel
Mr Liaquat Ali Khan and
Sardar Baldev Singh

I earnestly trust that you may see your way to accepting this invitation

Yours sincerely,
MOUNTBATTEN OF BURMA

PS You kindly said you would call your Working Committee to Delhi to be available to you during this meeting

403

Mrs K L Rallia Ram to M A Jinnah

F 487/37-40

5 MASSON ROAD, LAHORE,
10 May 1947

Dear Mr Jinnah,

Here are today's cuttings[1] showing the speculation going on in the Punjab press Just read the *Tribune*'s special cable It is all Hindu wishful thinking May God never bring it about They are all wishing ill for your plans, but I know God is above who sees justice and is sure to reward your honest and good intentions

Look what Dr Khan Sahib says about you He is now stooping to low and mean tactics and has begun to make personal attacks on you He says that you can argue well in the imperialist corrupt code where justice is never done to the poor man Does he forget that all his comrades in the Congress fold also sail in the same boat and have had to follow the so-called imperialist corrupt code! Pandit Moti Lal Nehru earned all his money arguing in the same corrupt code! And he forgets his right-hand hand [*sic*] Mehr Chand Khanna, who has lived under the corrupt Mahasabhite Code and now he is the brain of the Frontier Congress and has drowned the Pathans under his own dictation [*sic*] In fact I think all these bitter statements emanating from the Frontier are doings of the "Brain of the Frontier", as he is called by the Punjab Hindus By stooping to these low tactics he is lowering his own prestige in the eyes of the world It's a pity that the Pathans should be so losing their balance of mind under the fast approaching avalanche of the League's strength

I am very glad that the Muslim League is now coming out to make counterclaims for the partition of Hindu provinces on the same plea that the Sikhs and Hindus are demanding partition of the Punjab and Bengal[2] This is the only way to expose the ridiculousness of the Hindu and Sikh claims If 17½ lacs of Sikhs can demand a separate homeland, leaving 20 lacs in the Pakistan area, then surely 84 lacs of the U P Muslims should shout for a separate homeland and also 47 lacs of Bihar Muslims Then a strong block of Moplahs and Dravidians, who are out for a separation, could also be demanded by them Why should the Sikhs be allowed the privilege of breaking up the solidarity of the Punjab where the hydro-electric scheme and the irrigation plans are unbreakable features?

The international situation demands that the Pakistan state should be a strong bulwark against the so-called Russian bogey of the U.K and the U.S.A All Muslim lands are coming into a military alliance with the chain of Muslim countries Iran has been roped in with the military stores worth 30 million dollars Turkey previously made the same alliance. Taking all these things into consideration the Hindus are not in the world picture. The Muslims have to be appeased if Russia is to be kept in its place I do hope the Viceroy will bring round Pandit Nehru to this view during his three-day visit to his house

In the mean time let Muslims of all Hindu provinces bring forth demands for separate homelands for themselves in contiguous areas The Hindu argument should be cancelled with its own way of argument till it reaches the limit of absurdity and I do hope you are receiving my letters and cuttings I shall be grateful if you let me know that they are reaching you all right

Wishing you success in defeating the Brahman imperialist game,

Yours sincerely,
MRS K L RALLIA RAM

[1]Not available in *QAP*
[2]See Encloure to No 379

404

M N Sroeya to M A Jinnah

F 886/211

RAILWAY ROAD, AMBALA CITY,
10 May 1947

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

We, the inhabitants of Ambala City, cannot tolerate to remain out of Pakistan and we would never accept to live separately We have sent a telegram to the Viceroy to-day and one copy of the same is enclosed here[with] [1] It is our earnest request and hope that our Quaid will guide us

M N SROEYA
Secretary, Bazm-i-Iqbal

[1]Not available in *QAP*

405

Nizam of Hyderabad to M. A Jinnah

Telegram, F 696/119

HYDERABAD,
11 May 1947

Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Esq.,
10 Aurangzeb Road, New Delhi
Sending Abul Hasan Syed Ali with letter[1] who is leaving by air tomorrow.

NIZAM

[1]No 410

406

Louis Mountbatten to M A Jinnah

F 22/42

VICEREGAL LODGE, SIMLA,
11 May 1947

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thank you for your letter of the 7th May[1] and for the copies of your statements of the 30th April[2] and the 7th May,[3] which I was interested to read

Yours sincerely,
MOUNTBATTEN OF BURMA

[1]No 391
[2]Enclosure to No 379
[3]Annex to No 391

407

Mrs K L Rallia Ram to M A Jinnah

F 487/41-44

5 MASSON ROAD, LAHORE,
11 May 1947

Dear Mr Jinnah,

Look how the Congress *Fuehrer*[1] thunders and fumes at the League But Nawab Liaquat Ali has given a befitting reply to him How the Hindu Brahmans are longing to get the power transferred to their hands and then they mean to settle with the rest in a fortnight's time! This is exactly what Sir Gokal Chand Narang said two years ago and this is what the Congress is thundering now over the heads of 100 million Muslims whom they hope to crush down easily if power is transferred to a Hindu Centre Sardar Patel is today the sole and solitary dictator of the Hindus, the voice of their great Mahatma has now become so feeble that he is made to eat his own words by this great Nero of the Hindus Look how even he (Mr Gandhi) has now well been tutored by the dictator so that even he has been taught to sing the song of one India

Just look [at] what Sardar Patel says now that the Congress accepts the Cabinet Mission Plan in *toto*![2] He conveniently forgets what reservations and qualifications were emphasized about Assam and the Frontier But now he talks of a strong Centre which is again an aim to keep the Muslims under the Brahman thumbs

Look at the mockery [*sic*] of the Hindus! After Sardar Patel's thunderings, here is Mr Gandhi offering the whole of India to you![3] In their heart of hearts the Hindus want complete domination of the country, but to cheat the world they say all this sort of nonsense If that is their wish, there would be no trouble Things would be settled in no time But after thousands of years of slavery they now see flickers of political domination of the same place where they had lived as vassals and serfs under the Western type of democracy, and in the intoxication of that thought they forget the rights of others who dwell in the land as different nationals Brahman imperialism is today struggling to revive its hold on the masses of India for the sake of not only political exploitation but also social exploitation Everybody would be doomed if Brahmans succeeded in their efforts to regain power But thank God that you are the solitary break [brake] on the mighty

avalanche that would sweep over the land, had it not been for your honest, sincere and good efforts to save not only the 100 million Muslims but also nine crores of untouchables, Christians, and all those to whom caste domination is as good as death-knell History will acknowledge your wisdom and farsightedness and generations to come will bow to your memory and thank their stars that you came on the horizon at the right time

Here is one case of acknowledgment by the Hindus of the good points of the Muslim League Look what they say [4]

I do not yet know whether you have received all my letters since your arrival in Delhi. I shall be grateful to know that you have

Long may you live

Sincerely yours,
MRS K L RALLIA RAM

[1]Probably refers to Sardar Patel
[2]Enclosure 1 For full text of Patel's interview see Annex I to Enclosure to No 420
[3]Enclosure 2
[4]Enclosure 3

Enclosure 1 to No 407[1]

F 487/42

"The other way is much easier," he added "Transfer power to the Central Government Let the Viceroy stand out and not interfere Then you have a strong Centre which would be capable of dealing with the problems facing the country, particularly in such places as the Punjab and the North-West Frontier Province Immediately there would be peace in the country "

Sardar Patel[2] reiterated that the *Congress stands for May 16 statement*[3] *in toto and "in spite of its weaknesses, Congress would like to have a strong centre* Apart from external troubles, it is absolutely essential that there be a strong army and for defence a strong Central Government "

"The Congress position always has been that it will not coerce any group or area which does not want to remain. At the same time, it will not be coerced by any group or community The Congress has accepted that principle since the Cripps talks in 1942 "

"Therefore, if the Muslim League insists that it wants separation, then Congress will not compel them to remain by force *But it will result in dividing Bengal and the Punjab* If Bengal and the Punjab provinces as they stand to-day were put into Pakistan, coercion could come in

Non-Muslims would be forced into Pakistan and there would be a civil war "

[1]For full text of this news item see Patel's interview in Annex I to Enclosure to No 420
[2]Emphasis here and hereafter in the original
[3]See Appendix III

Enclosure 2 to No 407

F 487/42

WHOLE OF INDIA OFFERED TO LEAGUE
UNITY AT HIGH PRICE
WHAT TRANSPIRED AT GANDHI-JINNAH MEETING

BOMBAY, [9 May 1947]—Determination on the part of Mahatma Gandhi and Mr Jinnah to see their joint peace appeal[1] effective in their respective spheres is welcomed in Bombay

According to a report received here from New Delhi Gandhiji is stated to have offered to Mr Jinnah on Tuesday to vest in him the entire administration of the country He would advise the Nehru team to hand over the responsibility to him [2] Instead of partition of India, as demanded by the Muslim League, Mr Jinnah could have the whole of India He could reconstitute the Central Government with the League members and without the Congress if he could go and tell Lord Mountbatten that both of them had reached an agreement and that the British Government should quit India immediately

Mr Jinnah declined to accept Gandhiji's offer of the "*Rajtilak* of India."

Mr Jinnah being firmly of the opinion that he would be a "prisoner" in the hands of the Hindu majority, he would be only perpetuating the Hindu Raj and repudiating the entire League movement

Delhi reports pointed out that Mr Jinnah expressed his willingness to give Bengal Ministry freedom to settle the separation question with the Bengal Congress leaders in any manner Mr Suhrawardy could manage, but he would stick to western zone of Pakistan He has no objection to allow Bengal to participate in the existing Constituent Assembly thus going out of his Pakistan plan if western zone of Pakistan is conceded to him Mahatma Gandhi did not agree to it

[1]Annex II to No 376
[2]In an interview with Mountbatten on 1 April 1947, Gandhi proposed that Jinnah be invited to form "the Central Interim Government with members of the Muslim League "This was a preposterous proposition which Jinnah was bound to reject and which Gandhi eventually withdrew See Annex

Annex to Enclosure 2
Note by V P Menon[1]

[NEW DELHI]
Undated [April 1947]

ALTERNATIVE PLANS — CRITICISM OF THE SCHEME FOR THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT PROPOSED BY GANDHI

Gandhi is not being quite fair to H E when he puts forward his proposal that the selection of the Cabinet for an Interim Government should be left entirely to Jinnah He knows full well that similar offers have been made by him in the past and that Jinnah never took them seriously [2]

2 In August 1940, on the concluding day of the Congress Working Committee's session, at which they rejected Lord Linlithgow's offer for the reformation of the Central Government, Rajagopalachari in a statement to the *Daily Herald* made a "sporting offer" intended to dissipate "Mr Amery's difficulty as to minorities" He said that if H M G would agree to a Provisional National Government being formed at once, he would persuade his colleagues in the Congress to agree to the Muslim League being invited to nominate the Prime Minister who would form a National Government as he might consider best

3 Subsequently, Gandhi issued a statement to the effect that Congress had no desire to mount to power at the expense of a single national interest and that Lord Linlithgow would therefore have no opposition from Congress if he formed a Cabinet composed of representatives of different parties He however qualified this statement by a very important proviso, namely, that Congress would be content to remain in opposition so far as the war effort was concerned and so long as the Government machinery had to subserve imperialistic ends

No one—least of all the Muslim League—took this offer seriously, the joke, if joke it was, failed to amuse the Congress world, and it thoroughly annoyed the Hindu Mahasabha

4 This question of participation in the Central Government on the basis of Lord Linlithgow's offer of August 1940 was considered by the Working Committee of the Muslim League A minority of about 5 were against co-operation with the Government and Jinnah himself stood with this group The late Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan opposed further haggling and said that the offer should be accepted in principle, details being settled personally Jinnah said that he was

prepared to abide by the advice of the majority but warned the members of the consequences of full co-operation, the entire burden of responsibility for protecting the Indian Empire, crushing the Congress, suppressing internal strife, supplying men and money, and running the administration, would fall on the League, and at the same time, they would have to work under the constant fear that Congress might decide to co-operate, and that Government might refuse to consider the Pakistan scheme Jinnah's adroitness was proved by the sequel Though in this meeting he was in a minority on the main question, he prevented any outright decision in favour of accepting the Government's offer, and subsequently obtained a verdict of rejection

5 There is no reason to suppose that Jinnah will now accept an offer which he has rejected previously If he forms a Government composed entirely of Muslim League nominees, that Government will find itself facing a predominant Congress majority in the Central Legislature from which Jinnah has to get his essential legislation and supply On the other hand, if there is a coalition, it will have to be formed on conditions more acceptable to the Congress than to the League In either event, the assurance of co-operation by the Congress is more a wishful thinking and would certainly place Jinnah in the position of having to adjust his views to those of the Congress This is perhaps not unintended by Gandhi In a Legislature where the Congress has got predominant representation, the question whether a "particular proposal is in the interests of the Indian people" will in practice be decided by that party The fact that H E as the arbitrator has decided on a particular course of action will not help Jinnah either with the Legislature or with the public

6 The position of H E will become under the proposed arrangement one of very great difficulty and embarrassment At no time is it desirable that the Governor-General should be brought into the vortex of party politics This is to be particularly avoided at the present juncture when we are engaged in the process of transfer of power and our primary duty should therefore be to concentrate on devising an arrangement under which the parties themselves will have to face up to their tasks and responsibilities Further, such a development might well cast doubts on H E 's *bona fides* and might do irreparable damage to good relations between India and Great Britain

7 According to Gandhi's proposal, Jinnah is at liberty to plan for Pakistan and even to put his plans into effect provided that he is successful in appealing to reason and does not use force This is asking

for the impossible If Jinnah could persuade the Sikhs and Hindus c
the Punjab and Hindus of Bengal to join the Pakistan, he would autc
matically get his Pakistan without joining the Interim Government o
dubious terms On the other hand, if Jinnah still persists in his schem
of separation, he will be giving his case away by entering the Centra
Government This was the main motive which induced him to kee
out of the Central Government in the past and, as a matter of fact, h
has never attached any importance to effective participation on th
side of the Muslim League in the present Interim Government

8 It is Gandhi's habit to make propositions, leaving many of thei
implications unsaid, and this method of negotiation has put him an
the Congress in difficult positions in the past For example, there is n
reference here to the Muslim League participation in the Constituer
Assembly If Jinnah were to accept his proposal, Gandhi probabl
takes it for granted that the Muslim League would enter the Constituen
Assembly It seems to me clear therefore that the present proposals d
not expose his full mind

9 Since the Cabinet Delegation's visit last year, Gandhi is out c
accord with the policy of the Congress Working Committee as well a
the members of the Interim Government on several questions of majo
importance It should not therefore be taken for granted that his presen
proposals will carry the support of either the Congress Workin
Committee or of Nehru and Patel

10 It is suggested that if Jinnah rejects the offer the same offer is t
be made *mutatis mutandis* to the Congress It should be borne in min
that all the factors which have been mentioned as working to th
disadvantage of Jinnah will for the same reason work to the advantag
of the Congress H E 's main task is to find a solution to the presen
deadlock between the League and the Congress It is no solution t
suggest that power should be transferred to the Congress to the exclu
sion of the Muslim League If the proposition were as simple as that, i
would have been solved long ago

[V P MENON
Reforms Commissioner]

[1]IOR, *Mountbatten Papers, MSS Eur, F 200/82A*
[2]For Jinnah's reaction to an earlier offer see Enclosure to Appendix XII 48

Enclosure 3 to No 407

F 487/44

. *The Muslim League Governments of Bengal and Sind have treated the refugee problem as an urgent communal problem and with religious zeal and fraternal fervour they have spent lacs and lacs of rupees to make the Muslim riot-sufferers, who have run from Bihar to their provinces, feel quite at home—perfectly comfortable and secure They are providing them with all those things without which it is not easy to begin life afresh—perhaps with*[1] land too Cannot the U. P Government and such other Congress Governments as are confronting or may have to confront the refugee problem take a leaf out of the Muslim League Governments' book? In doing so they need not discard their nationalist

[*Incomplete*]

[1]The portion italicised was found underlined

408

C P Scott to M A Jinnah

F 22/41

THE VICEROY'S HOUSE, NEW DELHI,
11 May 1947

My dear Mr Jinnah,

On account of the Parliamentary recess from 23rd May to 2nd June, inclusive, His Excellency the Viceroy asks me to say that he very much regrets that the meeting on 17th May to which he invited you[1] has had to be postponed until 2nd June

Yours sincerely,
C P SCOTT

[1]See No 402

409

Yusuf A Haroon to M A Jinnah

Telegram, F 274/309

KARACHI,
12 May 1947

Jinnah, Aurangzeb Road, New Delhi

Party meeting Wednesday General opinion support formation new Ministry Your guidance solicited Will speak phone Wednesday

YUSUF HAROON

410

Nizam of Hyderabad to M A Jinnah[1]

F 696/118

CONFIDENTIAL

HYDERABAD, DECCAN,
12 May 1947

My dear Mr Jinnah,

I want to take your opinion as to my joining the Constituent Assembly and also what attitude I should adopt as to my sovereignty over Berar when the British Government leaves India in June 1948 As regards my State, joining any Unit in British India is out of the question, this is the opinion of the Muslims of the Deccan, as they think doing that will mean giving up Hyderabad's independent position which cannot be let go under any circumstances—an opinion with which I entirely agree

2 I trust you will give me your friendly and frank advice as regards these matters as soon as possible Monckton will see you in Delhi next week, where he is going on State business and will have a talk with you regarding this problem

3. I may add that I intend to announce my independence the day the British leave the shore[s] of India What do you think of this step,

since Travancore has already done it, though it cannot be compared with Hyderabad in any way?

Yours sincerely,
MIR OSMAN ALI KHAN

[1]This letter was brought from Hyderabad by Abul Hasan Syed Ali See No 405

411

Mrs K L Rallia Ram to M A Jinnah

F 487/45-48

5 MASSON ROAD, LAHORE,
12 May 1947

Dear Mr Jinnah,

Today I am forwarding to you a most fantastic and most audacious editorial ever written in the Hindu press [1] It contains certain suggestions and advice to the Governor as to what punishment the Muslims should get for being the aggressors It seems the British Governor has been convinced of the fact that the Muslims were the aggressors and the Hindu propaganda of turning a lie into a truth has succeeded wonderfully in convincing the Governor of what the Sikhs and Hindus were bent upon proving Having been convinced that the Governor has been won over to their side they now go forward, smacking their lips, in bending him further to humiliate and intimidate the great Muslim nation in order to emasculate them thoroughly so that they may not prove a bogey to them in the future into which they look with trembling legs after studying the future world maps with a chain of Muslim countries on both sides of the *Akhand* Hindustan If these are the punishments that the Muslims are going to get, I think it would not be out of place to suggest the same punishments to Governor Wylie of the U P and the Governor of Bihar, to the aggressors of these two Hindu Congress Provinces where uptill now the grievances of the afflicted Muslims have not been redressed and where they are so terror-stricken that they are moving out into Bengal and Sind in larger numbers than the Sikhs and Hindus of the Frontier Please do suggest the same remedy to be applied to the Hindu-majority Provinces where even their afflictions and sufferings are not allowed to be propagated by their chiefs in New Delhi But you are there to

compare, think and take them to the highest authority where such affairs are brought to your notice The Hindus are fighting their case wonderfully for the atrocities and arson committed on them The Muslims did not even prepare their case for the bar of the world opinion with the result that Muslim vandalism is resounding in the four corners whereas Hindu butcheries and massacres have been conveniently kept back and hidden Look at the daily propaganda going on at top speed Look which way the Congress is going, non-violence of which Gandhi goes on talking in the wildness [*sic* for wilderness] is a thing of the past.[2] It seems Sardar Patel is now going to turn out Gandhi from the field Everywhere there is sabre-rattling and hummings of battle grounds! Even the Frontier Gandhi[3] is now organizing the Zalme Pakhtoon,[4] the armed army of the Province, whereas in the same breath he talks of non-violence!

I am also enclosing a cutting of what is happening in Bihar [5] This cutting and the *Hindu* editorial could both be shown to the Viceroy and the same remedy suggested for the Province!

The preposterous claims of the Pindi Hindus exposed in the cutting should certainly be investigated All these claims are to down the Muslims economically There are deep-laid plans behind every demand of the Hindus I do hope the Muslims of Bihar will rise and make similar counter-claims [on] the Hindus there

I am enclosing another cutting regarding the Indian desert fanning outwards radially [6] Sind is also in the area I thought you would like the Sind Government to take action against this dangerous action of nature There is also the editorial by the *Civil & Military Gazette*[7] on the remedies for this I thought this too should be brought to your notice

I do hope you are receiving all my letters and cuttings

Wishing you good health and strength to bear the heavy strain of work,

Sincerely yours,
MRS K L RALLIA RAM

[1]Not available in *QAP*
[2]See Enclosure
[3]Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan
[4]Zalme Pakhtoon was a militant organisation raised by Abdul Ghaffar Khan to counter Muslim League in NWFP
[5&6]Not available in *QAP*
[7]Annex

Enclosure to No 411

F 487/47

"CANNOT BE GUIDED BY AGE-OLD DOGMAS"
"MUST RESORT TO ARMS TO DEFEND INDEPENDENCE"

—Purshottam Dass Tandon

APPROACH TO NON-VIOLENCE REQUIRES CHANGING

JHANSI, May 10 —A call to every *patriot in the country to take up arms against communal aggrandisement, gangsterism and mass butchery,*[1] was given by Mr Purshottam Dass Tandon, Speaker of the U P Assembly, addressing the Congress Volunteers' Training Camp in the village of Talbhet, 30 miles from here

He said· "We cannot be guided by dogmas and directives of 25 years ago *Our approach to non-violence must change* in the present context of things We cannot defend integrity and independence without *resort to arms* "

Mr Tandon appealed to the district and *mandal* Congress Committees to immediately start physical training centres and form *an army of at least 5000 young men in every district*

He added *"The U P Government must give a liberal supply of arms to the people for defence* The present basis of *issuing arms licences must stop and the Government should, in future, issue licences in the light of the present upheaval in the country "*

Mr Tandon said that the British were being compelled to quit India and that the responsibility of maintaining and guarding the independence of the country now belonged to the Indians He said that it was a task which would tax all efforts and resources and was more difficult than winning independence —API

[1]Emphasis here and hereafter in the original

Annex to No 411

AFFORESTATION IN INDIA

It is an alarming prospect that the Forest Research Institute of Dehra Dun has revealed to the world of the march of the desert in India If 300 square miles of fertile land is being converted into desert every year, it will not be long in terms of history before what is left of fertile land completely disappeared The Institute suggests adoption of measures to make the people of India "forest-conscious," but there is no royal road to the knowledge of the value of trees Judging by the reckless deforestation

in progress in rural India, it will take dwellers in these areas many years to realise the dangers of soil erosion People in the United States had the good fortune to be awakened in time to the perils of soil erosion, and in Britain, a devastating world war has brought home the need of afforestation India may find an object lesson in Britain's 50-year plan of afforestation The task, however, of those who want to call a halt to the march of the desert in India is Herculean The attempts so far made by forest officers to prevent denudation have been only partially successful The old custom of finding fuel wherever it is easily obtainable and of letting loose herds of goats to destroy vegetation near villages has increased the complexities of the problem of soil erosion in India, and it will require an intensive campaign in the villages to make dwellers in rural areas adopt new methods of fuel storage and of feeding goats In view of the depredation of soil erosion, it is necessary to enlist the co-operation of large landowners and their tenants In Britain, the Government has decided to give grants to landowners of £10 per acre for planning extension of forests and 3s 4d per acre every year for 15 years towards maintenance Alternatively, landowners in Britain may apply for 25 per cent of their net annual expenditure until their woodlands become self-supporting The aim in Britain is to increase forest in extent from 3,000,000 to 5,000,000 acres In India, the problem is more intricate, requiring as it does the prevention of the causes which produce soil erosion and the afforestation of areas which the desert has claimed *Civil & Military Gazette*, 11 May 1947

412

Clement Attlee to M A Jinnah

F 485/11

10 DOWNING STREET, WHITEHALL, LONDON,
13 May 1947

Dear Mr Jinnah,

Thank you for your letter of the 2nd May,[1] enclosing a copy of the statement which you issued to the Press on April 30th [2] I have taken note of the contents of the statement

Yours sincerely,
C R ATTLEE

[1]Not available in *QAP*
[2]See Enclosure to No 379

413

Elizabeth Gilliat to K H Khurshid

F 783/16

28 HYDE PARK GATE, LONDON, S W 7,
13 May 1947

Dear Private Secretary,

I am desired by Mr Churchill to convey to Mr Jinnah his thanks for his letter of the 2nd May,[1] enclosing a copy of a recent Press Statement

Mr Churchill is very much obliged to Mr Jinnah for letting him have this, which he has studied with attention

Yours sincerely,
ELIZABETH GILLIATT
Private Secretary to Winston Churchill

The Private Secretary to Mr M A Jinnah

[1]No 379

414

M A Jinnah to Nizam of Hyderabad

F 696/117

13 May 1947

Your Exalted Highness,

I have received your letter of the 12th May, 1947,[1] delivered to me by a special messenger I will await Monckton's arrival and have a talk with him as desired by Your Exalted Highness and will communicate with you further later

Hoping you are well,

Yours sincerely,
M A JINNAH

[1]No 410

415

M A Jinnah to A D Shroff

F 503/4

13 May 1947

Dear Mr Shroff,

I am in receipt of your letter of April 11,[1] and I thank you very much for it I did not reply earlier, partly because I was pressed with work here and partly because I thought that nothing could be done finally until the Chairman of the Trust returned to Bombay

I now find from the Press reports that Mr Tata has returned to India and, I trust, you will take up the matter[2] at your earliest convenience and do all you can in this behalf

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M A JINNAH

A D Shroff, Esq ,
Bombay House,
24 Bruce Street, Fort,
Bombay

[1] No 307
[2] Request for a grant for Muslim educational institutions See Nos 126, 147 and 419

416

Abdul Qaiyum Khan to M A Jinnah

F 324/10-11

CENTRAL PRISON, PESHAWAR
13 May 1947

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

Yesterday, Abdul Ghaffar Khan sent Mr Taimur,[1] Principal, Islamia College, [Peshawar], to meet me and Samin [2] He met us in jail and said A G K wanted an amicable settlement with the League and that he would like to meet us I said Abdul Ghaffar should agree to our informing you about this and that we could only talk after we got your permission To this he readily agreed

I informed you on the phone just now about it I heard you say that

we could meet him only to hear what he had to say But we were not to commit ourselves on any point

We are informing him through Mr Taimur that he can see us and that Manki Sharif,[3] who is in Haripur jail, should also be brought for the talks

I will let you know when he has met us or we will send a special messenger

This is just to inform you as to what has happened so far

Yours sincerely,
ABDUL QAIYUM

[1]Sheikh Taimur
[2]Samin Jan Khan, President of the NWFP Provincial ML
[3]Pir of Manki Sharif

417

R M Ray to M A Jinnah

F 142/18

D4 U N O RECRUITMENT

FEDERAL PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSION,
SIMLA,

CONFIDENTIAL

13 May 1947

Dear Sir,

We have received an application from Mr U A Ansari, Editor, the *Star of India,* Calcutta, for an appointment in the United Nations Organization Secretariat at New York as Press or Information Officer Mr Ansari states that he has been in your employ from March 1939 to April 1940

I shall be much obliged if you will be so good as to let me know, for the information of the Secretary-General to the United Nations Organization,[1] the precise nature of Mr Ansari's duties while employed under you, and to give your full and frank opinion of the way in which he performed those duties and of his general suitability for the post for which he is a candidate It would also be helpful if you would give some estimate of Mr Ansari's health, industry, integrity and intellectual ability Your reply will be treated as strictly confidential

An early reply will be much appreciated

Yours faithfully,
R M RAY
Secretary

[1]Trygve Lie

418

Draft Announcement on Transfer of Power[1]

F 22/14-20

13 May 1947

I INTRODUCTION

1 On Feb 20th 1947, H M G announced their intention of transferring power in British India to Indian hands by June 1948 H M G had hoped it would be possible for the major parties to co-operate on the basis of the Cabinet Mission's Plan[2] of May 16th, 1946, and evolve for India a constitution acceptable to all concerned This hope has not in the event been fulfilled, nor have the political parties in India been able to reach agreement on any alternative plan of their own

2 The majority of the representatives of the Provinces of Madras, Bombay, the United Provinces, Bihar, Central Provinces & Berar, Assam, Orissa and the North-West Frontier Province, and the representatives of Delhi, Ajmer-Merwara and Coorg have already made progress in the task of evolving a new Constitution On the other hand the Muslim League Party, including in it a majority of the representatives of Bengal, the Punjab and Sind as also the representative of British Baluchistan, has decided not to participate in the Constituent Assembly

3 It has always been the desire of H M G that power should be transferred in accordance with the wishes of the Indian people themselves This task would have been greatly facilitated if there had been agreement among the Indian political parties In the absence of such an agreement, the task of devising a method by which the wishes of the Indian people can be ascertained has devolved on H M G After full consultation and in agreement with political leaders in India, H M G have decided to adopt for this purpose the plan set out below H M G wish to make it clear that they have no intention of attempting to frame any ultimate Constitution for India, this is a matter for the Indians themselves Nor is there anything in this plan to preclude negotiations between communities for an united India

II THE ISSUES TO BE DECIDED

4 It is not the intention of H M G to interrupt the work of the existing Constituent Assembly in so far as it relates to those Provinces a majority of whose representatives are already participating (subject to the provisions of paragraphs 10 and 12 below),[3] and H M G trust that, as a consequence of this announcement, the Muslim League

representatives of those Provinces will now take their due share in its labours At the same time, it is clear that any Constitution framed by this Assembly cannot apply to those parts of the country which are unwilling to accept it H M G are satisfied that the procedure outlined below embodies the best practical method of ascertaining the wishes of the people of such areas on the issue whether their Constitution is to be framed

(a) in the existing Constituent Assembly, or
(b) in a new and separate *Constituent Assembly consisting of the representatives of those areas which decide not to participate in the existing Constituent Assembly* [4]

When this has been done, it will be possible to determine the authority to whom power should be transferred

III BENGAL AND THE PUNJAB

5 The Provincial Legislative Assemblies of Bengal and the Punjab (excluding the European members) will therefore each be asked to meet in two parts, one representing the Muslim majority districts and the other the rest of the Province For the purpose of determining the population of districts, the 1941 census figures will be taken as authoritative The Muslim majority districts in these two Provinces are set out in the Appendix to this Announcement [5]

6 The members of the two parts of each Legislative Assembly sitting separately will be empowered to vote whether or not the Province should be partitioned If a simple majority of either part decides in favour of partition, division will take place and arrangements will be made accordingly

7 Before such a vote takes place, however, it is desirable that the representatives of each Province should clearly know what would be the alternative to Partition Therefore, if there is a demand for it, a preliminary joint meeting of all members of each Legislative Assembly (other than Europeans) should be held at which a decision should be taken as to which of the alternatives in para 4 above is to be adopted for the Province as a whole, if it should eventually be decided that the Province should not be partitioned

8 In the event of partition being decided upon, each part of the Legislative Assembly will, on behalf of the areas they represent, decide which of the alternatives in para 4 above to adopt

9 For the purpose of deciding on the issue of Partition, Bengal and the Punjab Provinces will be divided according to administrative districts as laid down in the appendix But it is evident that for the purposes of a definitive partition of these provinces a more detailed

investigation of boundary questions will be needed and as soon as a decision involving partition has been taken for either province a Boundary Commission will be set up, the membership and terms of reference of which will be settled in consultation with those concerned Until the report of a Boundary Commission has been adopted by both parts of either province, the provisional boundaries indicated in the Appendix will be used

IV SIND

10 The Legislative Assembly of Sind (excluding the European members) will at a special meeting also take its own decision on the alternatives in *para 4* above

V N W F P

11 The position of the N W F P is exceptional Two[6] of the three representatives of this province are already participating in the existing Constituent Assembly But it is clear, in view of its geographical situation, and other considerations, that if the whole or any part of the Punjab decides not to join the existing Constituent Assembly, it will be necessary to give the N W F P an opportunity to reconsider its position Accordingly, in such an event, a referendum will be made to the electors of the present Legislative Assembly in the N W F P to choose which of the alternatives mentioned in *para 4 above they wish to adopt* The referendum will be held under the aegis of the Governor-General and in consultation with the Provincial Government.

VI BRITISH BALUCHISTAN

12 British Baluchistan has elected a member[7] but he has not taken his seat in the existing Constituent Assembly In view of its geographical situation, this Province will also be given an opportunity to reconsider its position and to choose which of the alternatives in *para 4 above to adopt* H E the Governor-General is examining how this can most appropriately be done

VII ASSAM

13 Though Assam is predominantly a non-Muslim Province, the district of Sylhet, which is contiguous to Bengal, is predominantly Muslim There has been a demand that in the event of the partition of Bengal, Sylhet should be amalgamated with the Muslim part of Bengal Accordingly, if it is decided that Bengal should be partitioned, those members of the Assam Legislative *Assembly who represent the territorial constituencies included in the Sylhet district will hold a meeting and decide whether the district of Sylhet should continue to form part of the Assam Province or should be amalgamated with the new* Province of East

Bengal, if that Province agrees The rest of the Assam Province will in any case continue to participate *in the proceedings of the existing Constituent Assembly*

VIII REPRESENTATION IN CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLIES

14. If it is decided that Bengal and the Punjab should be partitioned, it will be necessary to hold fresh elections to choose their representatives on the scale of one for every million of population according to the principle contained in the Cabinet Mission's Plan of May 16, 1946 Similar elections will also have to be held for Sylhet in the event of its being decided that this district should form part of East Bengal The number of representatives to which each area would be entitled is as follows

PROVINCE	GENERAL	MUSLIMS	SIKHS	TOTAL
Sylhet District	1	2	Nil	3
West Bengal	15	4	Nil	19
East Bengal	12	29	Nil	41
West Punjab	3	12	2	17
East Punjab	6	4	2	12

15 These representatives will either join the existing Constituent *Assembly or form the new* Constituent Assembly according to the mandate given to them by the *areas concerned*

IX TRANSFER OF POWER

16 The Constituent Assembly (or Assemblies) will also constitute Provisional Authorities to whom power can be transferred

X ADMINISTRATIVE MATTERS

17 Negotiations will have to be initiated as soon as possible on administrative consequences of any partition that may have been decided upon

(a) Between the representatives of the prospective successor authorities about all subjects now *dealt with by the Central Government including Defence, Finance and Communications*
(b) Between different successor authorities and H M G for treaties in regard to matters arising out of the transfer of power
(c) In the case of Provinces that may be partitioned as to administration of *all provincial subjects such as the division of assets and liabilities, the police and other services, the High Courts, provincial institutions, etc*

XI THE TRIBES OF THE NORTH WEST FRONTIER

18 Agreements with tribes of the N W Frontier of India will have to be negotiated by appropriate successor authorities

XII THE STATES

19 H M G wish to make it clear that the decisions announced above relate only to British India and that their policy towards Indian States remains unchanged Some of the States are already participating in the deliberations of the existing Constituent Assembly. H M G hope that all the others will join either the existing Constituent Assembly or the new Constituent Assembly

XIII NECESSITY FOR SPEED

20 In order that the successor authorities may have time to prepare themselves to take over power, it is important that all the above processes should be completed as quickly as possible To avoid delay, the different Provinces or parts of Provinces will proceed independently as far as practicable within the conditions of this Plan The existing Constituent Assembly and the new Constituent Assembly will proceed to frame Constitutions for their respective territories they will of course be free to frame their own rules

XIV FURTHER ANNOUNCEMENTS BY GOVERNOR-GENERAL

21 H E the Governor-General will from time to time make such further announcements as may be necessary in regard to procedure or any other matters for carrying out the above arrangements

[1]This draft announcement was telegraphed by Mountbatten to Ismay in London, and a copy furnished to Jinnah A separate copy was given to Liaquat by the Viceroy himself explaining that it was his personal copy and that he "relied on him to show it to nobody at all, though he could discuss with Mr Jinnah" See *TP*, X, No 442, p 825

[2]Appendix III

[3]These are probably paragraphs 11 and 13

[4]The portions italicized here and hereafter were found underlined or marked otherwise for emphasis, probably by Jinnah

[5]The appendix was not supplied to Jinnah who observed that it was "not a satisfactory position" See No 437, para 9

[6]The two were Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Sardar Asadullah Jan Khan The third representative was Sardar Bahadur Khan who, being a Muslim Leaguer, did not participate in the Constituent Assembly

[7]Sardar Bahadur Nawab Mohammad Khan Jogezai

419

A D Shroff to M A Jinnah

F 156/109

REGISTERED

BOMBAY HOUSE, 24 BRUCE STREET,
FORT, BOMBAY,
13 May 1947

My dear Mr Jinnah,

I am enclosing herewith an official letter from Sir Dorabji Tata Trust with a cheque for Rs one lac to be used at your discretion for supporting Muslim educational institutions about which you wrote to me last March [1]

I am sorry there has been some delay in taking a decision as several of the Trustees were out of Bombay

You may kindly acknowledge receipt of this cheque direct to Sir Dorabji Tata Trust

Yours sincerely,
A D SHROFF

[1]No 147

Enclosure to No 419
S D Saklatvala to M A Jinnah

F 156/110

BOMBAY HOUSE, FORT, BOMBAY,
13 May 1947

Dear Mr Jinnah,

In reply to your letter of the 17th March[1] addressed to Mr A D Shroff in connection with support to Muslim educational institutions which are in need of financial help, I am glad to say that the Trustees have donated a sum of Rs 1 lakh for the purpose As before we leave to your discretion the distribution of this amount but we would like to express a preference for the institutions (list 2 in your letter) which are in other parts of India rather than for the Bombay institutions (list 1) which benefitted from our previous grant

I have the pleasure to enclose a cheque for Rs 1,00,000 (one lakh)
With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
S D SAKLATVALA
for Sir Dorabji Tata Trust

[1]No 147

420

K H Khurshid to R V Brockman
IOR, Mountbatten Papers, MSS Eur, F 200/160

10 AURANGZEB ROAD, NEW DELHI
14 May 1947

Dear Sir,

Mr Jinnah has asked me to forward to you a full-text copy of his Press statement issued here on the 11th instant, which is enclosed, and to request you to place it before Lord Mountbatten for his information and consideration, in case His Excellency may not have seen the entire statement

Please acknowledge receipt and oblige,

Your faithfully,
K H KHURSHID
Private Secretary to M A Jinnah

The Private Secretary
to His Excellency the Viceroy,
Viceroy's House,
New Delhi

Enclosure to No 420

STATEMENT BY M A JINNAH
PRESIDENT OF THE ALL INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE
IOR, Mountbatten Papers, MSS Eur F 200/160

NEW DELHI,
11 May 1947

My attention has been drawn to an interview given by Mr Patel to the A P A [1] His solution comes to this that all power should be

immediately transferred to the Central Government as it now stands and a strong Central Government will then be able to maintain peace in the country, and the Viceroy and every other authority under the present constitution should stand out and the Government of India Act of 1935 should cease to function And then Mr Patel says, if there will be any conflict in the Cabinet over any question, the Congress brute majority will rule in both the Cabinet and the present [sic] existing legislature Then he will proceed with the existing administrative machinery, which is to be handed over to him throughout the country, with the Police and the armed forces, including the British troops, to put down everybody in the country and crush particularly the 100 million Musalmans This is his prescription and way of keeping peace

I note that he has now developed a sudden affection for "Dominion Status" and "Dominion functions" I wonder what has happened to the recent Resolutions passed by the Congress at its Sessions only a few months ago and the sister body, which the rump Constituent Assembly has now become, which is run by the Congress authoritative caucus, where they passed Resolutions[2] solemnly deciding that India shall be an independent sovereign republic The Muslim League will never agree to such a monstrous proposal as the one put forward by Mr Patel to restore peace, which is only a dream of his

Then he says that in case the British decided upon the division of India, power should be transferred to the Central Government and let the Viceroy stand out and not interfere, and he will have a strong Centre capable of dealing with the problems facing the country This makes neither sense nor logic If the British decide that India must be divided and it follows that the armed forces must be divided and power transferred to the divided parts, then the Central Government must be dissolved and all power should be transferred to the two Constituent Assemblies formed and representing Pakistan and Hindustan Mr Patel says the Congress has always proclaimed it will not coerce any group or area which does not want to live with Hindustan, but what is the use of saying [that] the Congress has proclaimed that it will not coerce any group or area and all the time threatening those who want to separate with all sort of consequences and obstructing and making it more and more difficult for them to separate in a friendly way

It is quite obvious that Mr Patel and the Congress say that they will not compel any group or area to remain in Hindustan or use force but they are [doing] just the contrary Why not agree? But now a new stunt has been started that if you want division they will accept it, we are told that it will

result in the division of the Punjab and Bengal This is another sinister move and he threatens that if non-Muslims are forced into Pakistan there will be civil war Mr Patel cannot see that the demand for the division of India is based on the fundamental principle that we already have our national homelands, where we want to establish a national State[3] It is based entirely on a different principle as I have recently pointed out in a Statement[4] of mine, whereas this new Congress stunt—the partition of Bengal and the Punjab—is started on the ground that the non-Muslim minorities there will not receive fair treatment from the Government of these provinces because the Muslims will be in a majority The same argument applies with much greater force with regard to the Muslims and non-Caste Hindus in Hindu majority provinces, especially because the Muslims form a much smaller minority than the Hindus in the Punjab and Bengal This must lead to the fragmentation of several provinces and this cannot be supported morally—and it is absolutely destructive—because it will lead to seriously breaking up the provinces economically, splitting up the Hindus and Sikhs, and politically not only dangerous for the present but more so in the future

The next point Mr Patel referred to was that division of India would be difficult to carry out by June 1948 and he visualized, perhaps years to effect the division, especially the army and emphasizes that the division of the army would cause delay It is difficult for me to believe that His Majesty's Government has fixed the deadline of June 1948 at random The issue of division of India has been before us since 1940 and the question of the division of defence was discussed threadbare with the Cabinet Delegation in March last year and for months before their departure Since then the alternative of division of India has received the closest attention of His Majesty's Government and the army authorities And when the White Paper of 20th February contemplated one of the alternatives that power is to be transferred to the provinces, surely they could not have overlooked the question of defence Transfer of power without division of the armed forces is meaningless Besides, I see myself no difficulty in dividing the armed forces for Pakistan and Hindustan[5]

Lastly, Mr Patel wants to make out that he is all saint of reasonableness and that I am the devil He says, "we asked him to refer the question to U N O He says no" and "we asked him to arbitrate, he again says no" Either Mr Patel has not got a good memory or he deliberately wants to mislead the people in India and abroad Last August Mr Patel accused me of what he called intransigent attitude on my part and in reply I pointed out that the demand of Pakistan was

based on the right of self-determination, which is the birthright of Musalmans, and it is not and cannot be a justiciable issue Any intelligent man would understand that the right of self-determination is an inalienable right of a nation and the recognition of the sovereignty of the people of that nation by a democratic process and it cannot be made the subject of vote of two nations—Hindus and Muslims—and such a process if adopted, the result is a foregone conclusion because there is a brute Hindu majority of 3 to 1 Nor can it be made subject of arbitration by any other authority Mr Patel knows it but he is repeating this song to confuse people here and abroad by misrepresentation

[1]Annex I
[2]Annex II
[3]The portion italicized was found to have been marked for emphasis presumably by Mountbatten
[4]Enclosure to No 379
[5]The position of Muslims in the Armed Forces had been discussed by Liaquat with Mountbatten See Annexes III to V

Annex I to Enclosure to No 420
Patel's Interview to the Associated Press of America[1]

"BRITAIN PROPAGATING CIVIL WAR
REMAINING NEUTRAL BUT HOLDING POWER" — PATEL

"IMMEDIATE TRANSFER OF POWER TO PRESENT CENTRE
SOLUTION OF PRESENT IMPASSE"

NEW DELHI, May 9 Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel declared to-day that the current British Policy of "remaining neutral but holding power is a way of propagating civil war" and asserted that India's political impasse would be broken at once if power were transferred to the Central Government "as it now stands "

The Home Member said in an interview that the functioning of India's Interim Government as a Dominion Government "with the Viceroy standing out" would have two immediate results

1 "There would be peace in the country within a week Those who commit acts of violence do so because they feel there is no strong Central power to check them With Dominion function, the Central Government would form a strong Centre and would have the necessary power to put down disorder

2 "Lacking interference by a third party to whom either side could appeal, the Congress and the Muslim League would settle their differences at once If there were conflicts in the Cabinet

over any question, the majority would rule "

Particular significance was attached to Sardar Patel's statement in the light of a reliable report that the Viceroy had sent word to His Majesty's Government that some action must be taken quickly in India to avoid a situation "no one could control," and in view of Mahatma Gandhi's recently reiterated opposition to the division of India

Sardar Patel did not predict what type of settlement might be expected between the League and the Congress over the issue of Pakistan if such a step was taken by the British Government However, he said, the Congress would not coerce any unwilling group or area.

He said that Section 93 "would vanish in the Punjab" and the Congress and League would agree, "possibly to a coalition Government "

Referring to the North-West Frontier Province, where the Muslim League has carried on an agitation against the Congress Ministry for more than two months, Sardar Patel said "The Ministry would remain The election only last year was fought on the issue of Pakistan and the Congress won "

SITUATION IN INDIA

Sardar Patel characterised the present situation in India as serious and said that one of the great problems was that of private armies now being raised and equipped

As an alternative in the event the British decided that India must be divided, Sardar Patel suggested that power be transferred to the Constituent [Assembly, Muslim] League already had a separate Constituent Assembly in the members elected to the Assembly they have consistently boycotted

"The other way is much easier," he added "Transfer power to the Central Government Let the Viceroy stand out and not interfere Then you have a strong Centre, which would be capable of dealing with the problems facing the country, particularly in such places as the Punjab and the North-West Frontier Province Immediately there would be peace in the country "

Sardar Patel reiterated that the Congress stood for the May 16 statement *in toto* and "inspite of its weaknesses, the Congress would like to have a strong Centre Apart from external troubles, it is absolutely essential that there be a strong army and, for defence a strong Central Government "

"The Congress position always has been that it will not coerce any group or area which does not want to remain At the same time, it will

not be coerced by any group or community The Congress has accepted that principle since the Cripps talks in 1942

SEPARATION

"Therefore, if the Muslim League insists that it wants separation, then the Congress will not compel them to remain by force But it will result in the division of Bengal and the Punjab If Bengal and the Punjab provinces as they stand to-day were put into Pakistan, coercion could come in Non-Muslims would be forced into Pakistan and there would be a civil war "

"Therefore, if the League insists on the partition of India, the same grounds on which it insists on partition apply in the Pakistan areas "

Sardar Patel remarked that "it is a dangerous game that Mr Jinnah is playing," pointing out that the separation of Burma from India required two years, "and we had nothing in common, no common army, no mixture of communities, as we have in India," he said

Sardar Patel predicted that it would take a long time, perhaps years, to divide the Indian Army, let alone separate communications, railroads and similar interlocking services which span India

Of the Muslim League President, Sardar Patel said that, except for the League's temporary acceptance of the Cabinet Mission Plan, Mr Jinnah's position had remained the same —APA

[1]*Civil and Military Gazette*, 10 May 1947

Annex II to No 420

Resolution moved by Jawaharlal Nehru in the Constituent Assembly on Indian Independence (Extract)[1]

[NEW DELHI,
13 December 1946]

"[1] This Constituent Assembly declares its firm and solemn resolve to proclaim India as an independent sovereign republic, and to draw up for her future governance a constitution [2] wherein the territories that now comprise British India, the territories that now form the Indian States, and such other parts of India as are outside British India and the States, as well as such other territories as are willing to be constituted into the independent sovereign India, shall be a Union of them,

"And [3.] wherein the said territories, whether with their present boundaries or with such others as may be determined by the Constituent Assembly and thereafter, according to the law of the constitution, shall possess and retain the status of autonomous units, together with residuary powers, and exercise all powers and functions of government and administration, save and except such powers and functions as are vested in or assigned to the Union, or as are inherent or implied in the Union or resulting therefrom,

"And [4.] wherein all power and authority of the sovereign independent India, its constituent parts and organs of government, are derived from the people,

"And [5.] wherein shall be guaranteed and secured to all the people of India justice, social, economic and political, equality of status, of opportunity, and before the law, freedom of thought, expression, belief, faith, worship, vocation, association and action, subject to law and public morality,

"And [6.] wherein adequate safeguards shall be provided for minorities, backward and tribal areas, and depressed and other backward classes,

"And [7.] whereby shall be maintained the integrity of the territory of the republic and its sovereign rights of land, sea and air according to justice and the law of civilized nations, and [8.] this ancient land attain its rightful and honoured place in the world and make its full and willing contribution to the promotion of world peace and the welfare of mankind."

[1] *TP*, IX, No. 190, pp. 343-344.

Annex III to No. 420
Liaquat Ali Khan to Louis Mountbatten[1]

P.S.F. 2093/47 NEW DELHI,
7 April 1947

Dear Lord Mountbatten,

During my last interview[2] with you I touched briefly on the inadequate representation of Muslims in the Armed Forces. I am writing now to state my views more fully and to raise a question vitally affecting the future of the country.

2. The Indian Armed Forces (Army, Navy and Air Force) are now in

the process of reorganisation and nationalisation The object of reorganisation is to produce a wholly Indian balanced force of all arms and services. The object of nationalisation is to replace all British officers and men in the Indian Armed Forces by Indians as soon as possible and in any case before June 1948 Nationalisation affects mainly the officer cadre Selection of Indian officers for the appointments of Commanders-in-Chief of the Army, Navy and Air Force, Army Commanders, Principal Staff Officers and other senior posts in all three Services is, I understand, already in hand under the control of the Defence Member

3 Both these processes—reorganisation and nationalisation—are proceeding on the basis of a United India, having a single Army, Navy and Air Force The fundamental constitutional issue of a United or Divided India is thus being prejudiced on a most vital point to the grave detriment of the Muslims Because of the overwhelming preponderance of Hindus in the officer cadre and particularly in the senior ranks, the Indian Armed Forces organised as a single force for the whole of India will necessarily fall under the complete control of non-Muslims The proportion of Muslims in the Other Ranks of the Army is being brought down from the pre-war ratio of 40% to less than 30% and no steps are being taken to see that they are represented in each arm and service Their representation in the Air Force (officers and men), and in the Navy (officers) is in the neighbourhood of 15% and in the technical services of the Army is much lower Such strength as they have is dispersed all over and not organised into Muslim units Indeed there are no wholly Muslim units even in Infantry, although there are a number of wholly Hindu units

4 The division of India implies the division of the Armed Forces to serve Pakistan and Hindustan Without its own Armed Force Pakistan would be like a house of cards But a division of the Armed Forces is a delicate and difficult operation which cannot be carried out in a day The present stage when the Armed Forces are in the process of reorganisation and have not taken final shape is the really critical stage Once this process is completed, the pattern will be set and it will require a major upheaval again to reorganise them on a different pattern so as to produce two separate balanced forces Other obstacles apart, time alone will not permit this second operation before June 1948 It is imperative, therefore, that the Armed Forces should now be reorganised in such a manner that they can be readily split up at the proper time It is also essential to secure the adequate representation of Muslim officers and men in each branch of the Army, Navy and Air

Force by conversion of units and training of personnel There would then be a self-contained and balanced force to serve Pakistan and another to serve Hindustan and these two forces would be held together in a single command till the constitutional issue is decided

5 Unless this is done, the Armed Forces which are the ultimate sanction and support for any State will become predominantly Hindu in character and will be completely under the control of the Hindus

6 A decision on this fundamental question is immediately necessary before any steps in the reorganisation and nationalisation of the Armed Forces are taken It affects so vitally the future constitution of the country that the execution of the decision cannot, for obvious reasons, be entrusted to a Member belonging or affiliated to one political party I suggest therefore that in the implementation of the proposal in paragraph 4 above the Commander-in-Chief should be directly responsible to you and not to the Defence Member

Yours sincerely,
LIAQUAT ALI KHAN

[1]TP, X, No 94, pp 151-152
[2]The interview referred to by Liaquat took place on 3 April See Appendix XIV 5

Annex IV to No 420
Louis Mountbatten to Liaquat Ali Khan[1]

No 38 *9 April 1947*

Dear Mr Liaquat Ali Khan,

Thank you for your letter, P S F 2093/47, of the 7th April,[2] about the Armed Forces and the inadequate representation of Muslims in them

I think that part of what you say prejudges an issue which has yet to be decided The policy that holds the field is the Cabinet Mission's plan and unless that is finally abandoned there can be no question of a complete partition of India

In any case, so long as I am Viceroy, I consider it my duty to ensure that no steps are taken which will weaken the Indian Army as the ultimate resource on which the country depends for maintaining internal security as well as external defence I could not agree to splitting up the Army while Parliament is responsible for India

If any form of partition were decided on I should, of course, be prepared to agree to an investigation as to the need for, and if proved,

the method of implementing a partition of the Armed Forces

I will speak to the Commander-in-Chief about the points you make about the inadequate number of Muslim Officers in the Armed Forces.

Yours sincerely,
MOUNTBATTEN OF BURMA

P S I have just received your letter[3] about the appointments Committee and will therefore not raise it in Cabinet

[1]*TP*, X, No 106, p 165
[2]Annex III
[3]Not available in *QAP*

Annex V to No 420
Liaquat Ali Khan to Louis Mountbatten[1]

NO 26-P S F R /47

NEW DELHI,
13 April 1947

Dear Lord Mountbatten,

I thank you for your letter No 38/II of the 9th April 1947[2] which, as I pointed out in my last interview with you, shows some misunderstanding of the proposal in my letter No P.S F 2093/47 of the 7th April 1947 [3]

2 I made two suggestions

(i) to secure an adequate representation of the Muslims in each branch of the Army, Navy and Air Force, and

(ii) to reorganise the Armed Forces so that they can be split up when a decision on the partition of the country is taken

3 I did not ask and still do not ask for a partition of the Armed Forces at this stage That would be as much prejudging the constitutional issue as the present plans which presuppose a United India I suggested a middle course which would not be to the advantage or prejudice of either Party This neutral position would be obtained by reorganising the forces in such a manner that they can be readily split up at the proper time

4 As I explained in my earlier letter the present plans for the reorganisation and nationalisation of the Armed Forces assume that they are to continue as a single entity No regard is, therefore, paid either to the creation of Muslim units or to the representation of Muslims in suitable numbers and ranks in all the arms and services If this process continues unaltered the unique opportunity which has presented

self for the re-organisation of the forces through demobilisation and ie withdrawal of the British element will have been lost A year later ie Armed Forces will be down to their peace-time size The Muslim fficers and men will be distributed pell-mell over them The control f the forces will be in Hindu hands It would be futile to hope that in iose circumstances, a re-organisation of the Armed Forces so as to rovide a balanced force for Pakistan would ever be achieved

5 The very least that should be done immediately is the prepara-on of a Plan for the partition of Armed Forces The preparation of ich a plan by the Commander-in-Chief and his staff is an essential reliminary in any case and cannot possibly be held to prejudge the sue or to affect the Armed Forces in any way It will necessarily take ome weeks to prepare and if taken in hand at once should be ready y about the time that the decision on the main constitutional issue is ached The time limit set by H M G demands that no time should be ost I hope, therefore, that you will agree to issue a directive to the ommander-in-Chief to prepare a Plan for the partition of the Armed orces

6 I shall be glad to know the outcome of your reference to the ommander-in-Chief about the inadequate representation of the Iuslims in the Armed Forces and the steps which he proposes to take) rectify it

Yours sincerely,
LIAQUAT ALI KHAN

P, X, No 135, pp 220-221
nnex IV
nnex III

421

Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah to M A Jinnah

F 286/38

SIND SECRETARIAT, KARACHI,
14 May 1947

ly dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I have been reliably informed that there is some propaganda being arried on against my wife and myself both at Delhi and here by some eople, including League people

I therefore thought it necessary to issue a press statement to contradict these reports, which not only give us a bad name, but also discredit the League itself in Sind

I enclose a copy of the statement which has been released to the press by me today for your information and necessary action

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
GHULAM HUSSAIN

Enclosure to No 421

F 286/39

STATEMENT BY GHULAM HUSSAIN HIDAYATULLAH

Some enemies of my wife and myself have been making statements in the press that we two are advocating the principle that Sind is for Sindhis only

This is entirely false and baseless Both of us are ardent supporters of Pakistan, and we have given public expression to this Islam teaches universal brotherhood, and we entirely subscribe to this

No one should therefore give the slightest credit to any such reports For us, Muslims of all Provinces are the same as Muslims of Sind, and we have been doing all in our power for our co-religionists throughout the country

All this is nothing but false propaganda on the part of enemies of the League, and everyone should beware of it

422

Abdul Qaiyum Khan to M A Jinnah[1]

F 324/12-13

CENTRAL JAIL, PESHAWAR,
14 May 1947

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

Principal Taimur met me and Samin again on behalf of Abdul Ghaffar We could not meet Abdul Ghaffar because

a he avoided the presence of Manki Sharif for which we pressed, and

b we could not agree on the place of meetıng Thıs was not on account of personal vanıty, but we had to uphold the prestıge of the League

Abdul Ghaffar ıs prepared to accept Pakıstan But thıs ıs from hıs lıps and not from hıs heart Hıs object was to brıbe us wıth the offer of two seats ın the Cabınet and to wın us over ın thıs manner

We told hıs emıssary that as he accepts Pakıstan, he should be prepared to go to Delhı and meet you, because you alone could settle for the League It seems he expects an ınvıtatıon from you to meet hım, when he vısıts Delhı for the Congress Workıng Commıttee meetıng We told hıs emıssary that there wıll be no such ınvıtatıon from you If he wanted a settlement, he should go straıght and meet you I shall let you know when we hear from hım

Hıs ıdea seems to be to keep hıs party ıntact [and] enter ınto some sort of coalıtıon wıth us, whıle acceptıng Pakıstan ın name only

They are frıghtened of the Referendum I had a talk wıth Mankı Sahıb on the phone He, ı e Mankı Sharıf, ıs ın Harıpur

I wıll keep you ınformed ıf anythıng fresh happens

Yours sıncerely,
ABDUL QAIYUM

[1]Also see No 416

423

Kassım A Mohomed to M A Jınnah

F 156/95

THE MUSLIM CHAMBER OF COMMERCE,
6 CLIVE ROW, CALCUTTA,
14 May 1947

Dear Sır,

I thank you for your favour dated the 15th Aprıl, 1947,[1] acknowledgıng receıpt of a cheque of Rs 1,20,000 (Rupees one lakh and twenty thousand) as contrıbutıon of the Muslım Chamber of Commerce, Calcutta, towards the Bıhar Relıef Fund

I have pleasure ın enclosıng herewıth a cheque for a further amount of Rs 12,663/12/- as the second and fınal ınstalment of thıs Chamber's contrıbutıon to your Bıhar Relıef Fund For your ınformatıon, I have not yet received from the Habıb Bank Ltd , Delhı, the offıcıal receıpt of

the amount of the first instalment, which I had the honour to hand you in person when I was at Delhi in early April last

Trust this will find you in the best of health and meanwhile with best wishes,

Yours faithfully,
KASSIM A MOHOMED
Acting President

[1]No 318

424

Extract from the confidential Foreign Report of The Economist, *15 May 1947*

F 22/43-47

WILL PAKISTAN WORK?

That India will be divided is now everywhere taken for granted There will be a good deal of quiet satisfaction at this unintended outcome of Labour policy among those who think strategically and who argue that

1 If British Commonwealth defence is to be based on the dispersal of military and industrial resources, the Indian Ocean is the key middle area To guard the Indian Ocean there must be bases in, and secure alliances with, friendly India and Burma
2 If Muslims and Hindus formed separate States of Pakistan and Hindustan, then there would at least be a strong probability that Pakistan would become a Dominion, contributing men and raw materials and bases to defence of the Commonwealth
3 There is also the possibility that Hindustan might ask for a special kind of Dominion status, hoping that in time Pakistan might break down Then the movement for united India and complete independence might revive (Both Muslims and Hindus have been lately studying the constitutional position of Eire)

Much, therefore, depends on the prospects of Pakistan The Hindus have now resigned themselves to it, partly because they think it will not work economically The Muslims have insisted on it without really considering whether it would work Jinnah's mind is now far above matters of trade and finance He is now the intuitive visionary, as

much the mouthpiece of popular enthusiasm as Hitler once was So it is left to the British—vitally interested in the future economic strength of India—to calculate whether Pakistan would work If it would, then India might be the stronger for being divided

To make even a rough estimate certain assumptions have to be made Experts now studying the matter start from the following basic assumptions They are

1 That a single Pakistan State is impossible, for administrative reasons alone there will have to be a North-West State and a State of Eastern Bengal (They could act together in foreign affairs)
2 That there will be no customs or currency union between Pakistan and Hindustan
3 That Pakistan will prove itself a working proposition if it can achieve (a) a balanced foreign trade position, (b) a standard of living at least as good as its people have had in the past, and (c) relatively as much development and technical progress as the rest of India

PROSPECTS OF THE NORTH-WEST

N W Pakistan will be one of the world's "middle powers," with a population rather smaller, and an area rather larger, than that of France Its main resources would be the following

1 It produces nine-tenths of India's provincial wheat surpluses, one-third of the rice surplus and one-third of the total cotton production
2 In wool, silk, oilseeds and salt it would be self-sufficient, it grows sugar and tobacco, has good and sufficient livestock, and in the Punjab produces a large proportion of India's hides
3 It has the port of Karachi and excellent railways and roads

In short, the North-West State could feed itself and export to the rest of India and the outside world

Industrially, the area is now weak, with only the oil of Attock, the cement of Wah, and a textile mill or two But forecasts are based on the assumption that separation from Hindustan and a tariff barrier would soon bring a transformation

1 Cotton mills would come, over the frontier, to the cotton, and woollen mills to the wool
2 There would be new incentives to sink capital in the mining of Punjab coal, in bringing water-power down from the mountains and in exploring the oil-field down the Indus Valley
3 In ten years work could be found for 200,000 more industrial workers

4 The Southern Punjab would go to the Hindus This would strengthen the N W area by removing from it over-populated, badly cultivated areas

Two questions remain

1 *Could Pakistan balance its budget?*

At present the N W area has the highest administrative and social service standards in India (except Bombay) There is more scope for further taxation than anywhere else Its development programme has many projects that will pay for themselves It could easily balance its budget by increased taxation, if separation did not bring a heavy deficit on items now paid for in Delhi by the Central Government

It has been roughly estimated that Pakistan would have a revenue between Rupees 25 and 30 crore[1] (Pounds 20 million) on central items Of this about half would be needed for Foreign Affairs and Defence This would be ample if (a) diplomatic representatives were shared by Pakistan with the British, save in London, Washington, the Near East and Burma, (b) a defence arrangement with Britain and Hindustan were to give it in the Commonwealth the same position as Eire or New Zealand, and (c) if the army were restricted to some 40,000 men and a small air force

2 *Could Pakistan achieve a healthy balance of payments?*

Even general estimates are difficult Exports might amount to Rs[2] 100–150 crore, of which two-thirds might be from cotton Imports might come to Rs 60–90 crore, of which two-thirds might be from cotton piece-goods As the new State built up its own banking and insurance companies and cotton mills the favourable balance should increase It is reasonable to expect a favourable balance of payments of some 40 crores, which would be enough to enable the new State to start further development plans and to improve living standards by more imports of consumer goods

EASTERN BENGAL'S PROSPECTS

This would be in area much smaller than, but in population equal to N W Pakistan It would contain nearly all the jute in the world, it would have more than enough food, some hides, silk and tea, but no coal or iron, or oil, and very little hydro-electricity The communications are good and the administration bad

The loss of western Bengal to the Hindus would not be ruinous even though the coal and power are there The question which everyone asks is about Calcutta "Would the loss of Calcutta ruin eastern Bengal?" A study by the experts points out to the answer "No"

So long as eastern Bengal is in the same State as Calcutta, it must

remain a colonial area of the kind denounced in the left-wing text books Separation could bring the following radical changes

1 By imposing an export tax on jute, eastern Bengal could force the jute mills of the west, employing 300,000 men, to move east to Dacca, Chittagong and Narayanganj
2 With the jute mills would go the banks, shipping and insurance firms, building contractors and engineering industry
3. The port of Chittagong, artificially kept back by the concentration of business in Calcutta, would come into its own

BUDGET AND BALANCE OF PAYMENTS

It is far harder to work out the possible budgetary position of eastern Bengal than that of N W Pakistan Bengal as a whole now has a deficit of Rs 12 crore Eastern Bengal's share of this may be Rs 3 crore

Leaving out foreign affairs and defence, total expenditure in the new State might be Rs 8 crore against a revenue rising from Rs 15 to 35 crore, as industrial development increased and revenue from income tax and customs rose with it Unlike North-West Pakistan, it would be fairly secure from external threats provided it had good relations with Hindustan With alliances with Hindustan and with Britain, expenditure of Rs 5 crore and an army of 10,000 men would be sufficient But there are enormous tasks of education and health administration for the future and the rarity of higher education or technical and administrative experience among the Bengal Muslims would make difficulties for some time to come

As for the balance of payments, if the jute mills could be made to move, eastern Bengal might well reach exports of Rs 60–100 crore, of which perhaps 90 per cent would be from jute Imports might reach Rs 40–60 crore, of which two-thirds might be from cotton piece-goods There might develop in time a favourable trade balance of some Rs 30 crore If the jute mills stayed in Calcutta it would probably not exceed Rs 5–10 crore

It is difficult to do more than make rough estimates with the figures available, and without fuller information, of the form Pakistan may take But it is the conviction of some British—even some Hindu—experts that Pakistan can be made to work and pay its way If they are right, the fact is of the greatest importance for the future peace and security of a divided

India And if Pakistan stays in the Commonwealth, this free decision will raise British prestige all over the world

[1]One crore of rupees was equal to £ 750,000
[2]Rs has been added here and hereafter where an amount is mentioned

425

Nizam of Hyderabad to M A Jinnah

Telegram, F 696/116

HYDERABAD,
15 May 1947

Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Esq ,
10 Aurangzeb Road, New Delhi

Have registered letter to your address today [1] Received your letter[2] through messenger

NIZAM

[1]No 426
[2]No 414

426

Nizam of Hyderabad to M A Jinnah

F 696/114

CONFIDENTIAL

HYDERABAD, DECCAN,
15 May 1947

My dear Mr Jinnah,

I received your letter of 13th May[1] in answer to that of mine of 12th May 1947,[2] through Abul Hasan Syed Ali

2 I am sending a cutting of a paper called the *Meezan* for your perusal regarding *Berar* [3] I should be grateful if you give me your own opinion as to what I should do in this matter, and Monckton will also see you in Delhi very soon regarding important matters of the State which are to be handled satisfactorily during these troublous times

3. Hope you will be able to come to Hyderabad either in June or July as the case may be, as I shall be delighted to see you again while date can be fixed for your visit later on

Yours sincerely,
MIR OSMAN ALI KHAN

[1]No 414
[2]No 410
[3]Emphasis in the original

Enclosure to No 426

F 696/115

BRITAIN TO CONCEDE NIZAM'S BERAR CLAIM?[1]

NAGPUR,
13 May [1947]

It is understood from well-informed quarters here that the British Government is going to concede the claim of H E H the Nizam over Berar and declare that Berar belongs to H E H the Nizam's Dominions [2]

They are going to stop with this admission of the claim and are not going to take any steps to translate that claim into results It will, therefore, be left to H E H the Nizam to make good or abandon his claim by June 1948 —Globe

[1]*Meezan*, 15 May 1947
[2]Emphasis in the original

427

Aziz Hindi to M A Jinnah

F 886/213-214

DELHI,
15 May 1947

Subject The *'Ulama*

Dear Sir,

At the special invitation of the Jam'iyyat al-'Ulama I attended their Conference at Lucknow and I telegraphically informed you about the

same from Cutni Railway Station In that connection I submit the following for your perusal

If it is thought by the Muslim League High Command that the *'ulama* have no place in our future political life, then the matter is quite different, otherwise they should be given more consideration, particularly at this critical juncture in the history of our nation They must be saved from being exploited by the Hindus who are busy day and night in creating [*sic* for driving] wedges in our rank and file What I saw at the Jamiyyat al-'Ulama Conference at Lucknow was very much disturbing It seemed to me that a great conspiracy was being plotted to strike at the root of Pakistan if it is ever conceded On the one hand the Congress are assisting the *'ulama* to gather their dissipated forces and to recover their lost prestige and influence among the Musalman masses and, on the other hand, they are instigating the Khan Brothers in the N W F P to prepare themselves militarily for final struggle against the establishment of Pakistan there They are instigating and exciting [*sic* for inciting] the Sikhs in the Punjab and the Hindus in Bengal From these observations one thing is clear that, whatever the safeguards for maintaining peace are envisaged at the time of transfer of power, the Congress will do its utmost, apart from creating troubles here and there, to make Musalmans fight among themselves Hence it should be our programme and policy to frustrate their design[s] beforehand and, at least, make the fight among ourselves impossible So, as far as the *'ulama* are concerned, my suggestion is that they should be well treated and psychologically handled In this respect I submit the following points for your consideration

1 That the *'ulama* should be given permission to have free access to you A few selected of them be invited to place before you their viewpoints and discuss with you certain matters pertaining to our national life You may kindly allot a day or two for such free visits

2 That the *'ulama* should not be forced to first dissolve their organisation if they decide to join the Muslim League, nor should they be asked to resign [from] the Jam'iyyat if some of them or all of them decide to join the Muslim League individually However, there are many *'ulama* of the Jam'iyyat who are at the same time members of the Congress, such *'ulama* must not be permitted to join the Muslim League unless they resign from the Congress

3. That if the *'ulama* decide after having full discussion with you to enter the Muslim League *en masse,* they should be welcomed and be entrusted with the task of *tabligh-i-Islam,* leaving their organisation with its present name intact

My impression of the Lucknow Conference is that a great number of those *'ulama* who attended the conference are not with those who side with the Congress And if they are paid due regard for their respective positions, they will all join the Muslim League At the same time, I must say that the present High Command of the Jam'iyyat are at their heart undecided and puzzled And as they have not received any encouragement and favourable response from you, their ego has stood in their way to proceed further As I addressed their Working Committee, I made this point clear that it was foolish on their part to think that, after it has gone through final stages, the Pakistan issue could never be made the basis of discussion between them and the Quaid-i-Azam My earnest desire, however, is that some of their influential leaders should be invited to have an informal talk with you on general subjects

Yours obediently,
AZIZ HINDI
Naya Para, Raipur, C P

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Aziz Hindi to M A Jinnah

F 886/212

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

NAYA PARA, RAIPUR, (C P),
16 May 1947

Dear Sir,

Whenever I come with my mind full of regard, appreciation, devotion and respect towards you, I find your doors closed at me I don't know for what crime or fault I am being thus maltreated If it is a dictatorship of some sort, then I have nothing to say or protest against it, but if you are our beloved leader then I have to say everything against this behaviour which is being meted out to us at your doors I come always to you with great suggestions and whenever I come and request your P A, Mr Khurshid, for having an interview with you he always rejects it by saying that he has got this kind or that kind of instructions from you I am constrained to say that I have a great record of services, sacrifices, hardships and sufferings in my name to the cause of my nation, and I feel that I am most needed at this abnormally political juncture by my nation I have got a burning desire of serving the cause of my nation and my Quaid-i-Azam would do well to respect and appreciate it

Why do I always come to you instead of going straight to the public? Because I want to have a direct restraint upon my high-minded thinking policies

I have already submitted a proposal to the General Secretary, All India Muslim League, for setting up a sort of advisory sub-committee under the League Constitution so that some high planning should be possible before time [*sic* for before hand] I hope the proposal will receive your immediate sanction May God bless you, my dear Quaid-i-Azam

Yours obediently,
AZIZ HINDI

429

Amina Khatoon to M A Jinnah

F 681/236

4 GRAND STREET, D BLOCK, CALCUTTA,
16 May 1947

Sir,

Most humbly and respectfully, I beg to state that in the month of December 1946 we have played [*sic* for staged] a show by the name of "Amina Charity Show" for the Bihar refugees from which we deposited Rs 10,000 (Rupees ten thousand) only in the Habib Bank account of the Bihar Relief Fund Committee on 30 12 46 (Receipt No 1686) [I do not know] whether it has been paid to your honour but I shall [consider myself] fortunate to get a reply

Nothing more My hearty *salaam* and I pray for your honour's success

Hope to get a reply soon

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Yours most obediently,
AMINA KHATOON
Film Artiste

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C P Scott to K H Khurshid

F 23/1

[No] 1446(1) THE VICEROY'S HOUSE, NEW DELHI,
16 May 1947

Dear Sir,

The Private Secretary to H E the Viceroy asks me to acknowledge with thanks your letter of the 14th May,[1] with which you enclosed the text of Mr Jinnah's press statement of the 11th May [2]

Yours faithfully,
C P SCOTT

K H Khurshid, Esq ,
Private Secretary to
Mr M A Jinnah

[1]No 420
[2]Enclosure to No 420

431

Razia Sultana to M A Jinnah

F 886/215-216

C/O N KLUWER, YOLIJT, JOPPE,
GURSSEL, HOLLAND,
16 May 1947

Dear Sir,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

With the greatest respect I write to you to ask your help in the following case.

I want to come to India and for that I need permission from the British Indian Government I [have] already got the passport from the Dutch Government and now I need the visa from the British Government to enter India Yesterday they wrote me that it will take about six to eight weeks before the answer from India can be received I inform you, Sir, that I have lived in the Dutch East Indies for about 20 years Before the

invasion there from the Japanese I lived [*sic*] there a good, worldly and wealthy life Then I became interned for 3 ½ years and that internment became to me the turning point in my life, and instead of a time of suffering by hunger and imprisonment, it has been to me a rich time because I found that richness and wealth cannot give me the happiness which I found in the development of my inner self—a happiness far much higher and much more worthful [*sic* for worthwhile] than I could expect And so this vision on life has leaded [*sic* for led] me to Islam and after the camp-time I became a Muslim Coming here to Holland, I feel how I am changed, but, too, how different life is and how narrow and unhappy the people here are by lac [*sic* for lack] of understanding [of Islam] Because only the name Muslim [*sic*] people already have a prejudice against it and special[ly] that [how] a Western Christian woman can become a Muslim That does not matter to me, although it makes it difficult to live here

But still I feel I am not yet a true Muslim, what I want to become I [have] got some relations in India and I feel how worthful [*sic* for worthwhile] my life could be if it will be [*sic* for is] made possible [for me] to go to India and live in true Muslim surroundings By a letter I came in contact with the Chief Royal Pope [*sic*] the Imam Syed Hameed from [*sic* for of the] Jamia Mosque at Delhi, to whom I wrote about my difficulties and how I want[ed] to become a true Muslim in my living, serving and worshipping the God For that aim the *Imam* offered me board and lodging

And I [have] got some Muslim relations in India, who will be very pleased to receive me as a sister and so I ask you for help to give [*sic*] the permission to enter India If you want to know more about me, please ask the Chief Royal Pope [*sic*] Syed Hameed from [*sic* for of] the Jamia Mosque, Mirza Mohd Akhtar, Gosturn Villa, Cottage No 2 Jhikagali Road, Murree Hills, and Mr Riaz-ud-din, Proprietor, Popular Press, Lytton Street, Sadar Bazar, Rawalpindi, who will give you with pleasure all the required information

Many thanks for your kind help, I am with all my respects to you,

Your[s] sincere[ly]
RAZIA SULTANA[1]

[1]The writer also mentioned her previous name as Mrs R Boer

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Pir Ilahi Bakhsh to M A Jinnah
F 294/5

SIND SECRETARIAT, KARACHI,
17 May 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Thanks very much for your letter of 1st May [1]

I had been out of Karachi for some time and hence there has been some delay in replying to your letter You will kindly excuse me for that

You can send the cheque in the name of the Secretary, Sind Madressah Board, Karachi All amounts stand in the name of the Secretary, therefore, all money is received by him You know Mr Hassanally Abdul Rahman, Barrister, who is our Secretary He is very enthusiastic about collecting money for the school

Yours sincerely,
PIR ILAHI BAKHSH

[1]Not available in *QAP*

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Abdul Matin Chaudhury to K H Khurshid
F 773/13

KENCH'S TRACE, SHILLONG,
17 May 1947

My dear Mr Khurshid,

A few weeks ago I sent you a note[1] with maps to be handed over to Mr Jinnah That was a hurriedly prepared note

I have now prepared a more detailed and complete note, showing more Muslim-majority areas in Assam Please hand over this note[2] to Mr Jinnah

I am getting some maps specially prepared showing communal position in Assam province I shall bring those maps along with me when I come to attend the Working Committee meeting in the first week of June

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
ABDUL MATIN CHAUDHURY

[1]No 355
[2]Not available in *QAP*

434

Habib Bank Ltd , Bombay, to Gulammohamed A Punjabi
(Copy to M A Jinnah)

F 881/247

SIR PHIROZSHAH MEHTA ROAD, FORT, BOMBAY,
17 May 1947

Dear Sirs,

With reference to your letter of the 15th instant[1] along with Draft for Rs 51 on Bank of Baroda Limited, Bombay, towards Bihar Relief Fund, we regret to return the said Draft as the Bihar Relief Fund is closed as per announcement[2] of the Quaid-i-Azam in the press

Please acknowledge receipt

Yours faithfully,
C T DESAI
Agent

Messrs Gulammohamed A Punjabi,
Stationers & General Merchants,
Vyara, (I V Railway), Surat District

[1]Not available in *QAP*
[2]No 340

435

M Ishaq to M A Jinnah

F 908/91

MUSLIM UNIVERSITY, ALIGARH,
17 May 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I have been thinking for long to come and see you to discuss the question of planning a scheme to produce personnel among the Muslim nation in different subjects of present-day importance I am sure you are aware that the scientific, technical and industrial personnel do not simply exist in Muslim India and it always takes time to produce such people I may mention in this connection that I have got the following experience of

planning in this country and have been working on different scientific and industrial development committees of the Government of India

1 Chairman, [of] Prime Movers Panel
2 Member of Internal Combustion Engine Committee
3 Member of Atmospheric Research Committee
4 Member of Indian Lac Cess Committee
5 Member of Astronomical Committee

I place my experience and service at the disposal of my nation and would like to discuss with you the details whenever desired by you I may be given two alternative dates for coming over to Delhi to see you whenever convenient I need not emphasise the importance of the question as you, perhaps, know more than I do

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
M ISHAQ
M A , M Sc , Ph D (London), D I C , F N I

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Muhammad Noman to M A Jinnah

F 1080/19

ALL INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE,
DARYAGUNJ, DELHI,
17 May 1947

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I arrived here yesterday and immediately started my search for the material for the two pamphlets that I propose to submit to you Unfortunately all the material which could be convincing about the matter before the public is not available here I have, therefore, decided to proceed to Hyderabad immediately where I can get all the paper cuttings of all the papers in India I have taken the permission of Nawab Chhatari this morning to use those cuttings With the help of those cuttings, I hope I will be able to prepare the pamphlets as soon as possible I hope to return by the first week of June definitely and am sure you will then appreciate the presentation of the matter, as I want it to be all-embracing

Hope you are doing well

Yours sincerely,
NOMAN

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Note by M A Jinnah on the Revised Draft Proposals

F 22/48-53

[NEW DELHI,
17 May 1947][1]

I have examined the copy of the "Draft Announcement"[2] [dated 13 May 1947] furnished to me by you a couple of days ago As you are pressed for time and you wanted me to give you my suggestions, I have, under high pressure, complied with your wishes, especially as I was given to understand that you are leaving on Sunday morning [18 May 1947]

[M A JINNAH]

I INTRODUCTION

(1) With regard to paragraph 1, I wish to state that the Muslim League has finally and definitely decided that they cannot accept the Cabinet Mission's Plan of May 16, 1946[3]

(2) Paragraph 2 is as far as I can ascertain, substantially correct and, in view of what I have stated in paragraph 1, it is immaterial

(3) With regard to paragraph 3, so far as I know, there is no agreement and His Majesty's Government through you as their representative are proceeding to transfer power in accordance with the White Paper of 20th February, 1947 As regards the statement "nor is there anything in this Plan to preclude negotiations between communities for an united India", the Muslim League has already decided that India must be divided and Pakistan should be established

II THE ISSUES TO BE DECIDED

(4) I cannot agree that the present existing Constituent Assembly should be allowed to continue Because, in my opinion, it is *ab initio* invalid, but I agree that two independent Constituent Assemblies should be established, one for Pakistan and the other for Hindustan, and all power and authority should be transferred to the Pakistan and Hindustan Constituent Assemblies

III BENGAL AND THE PUNJAB

(5) The Muslim League cannot agree to the partition of Bengal and the Punjab It cannot be justified historically, economically, geographically, politically or morally These provinces have built

up their respective lives for nearly a century, administratively, economically and politically, and the only ground which is put forward for the partition is that the areas where the Hindus and Sikhs are in a majority should be separated from the rest of the provinces, on the ground that the Caste Hindus and Sikhs don't want to be under a Government in which the Muslims will be in a majority

The same can be urged by the Muslims and others that they don't want to be under a Government in which the Caste Hindus are in a majority and therefore other provinces should also be partitioned It may be noted that there will be nearly 25 million of Musalmans under the Hindu Government in Hindustan and millions of other communities such as the Scheduled Castes, the Christians, Adibasis and Tribes The principle underlying the demand for establishment of Pakistan and Hindustan is totally different and I have already sent my Statement to you which I issued on the 30th of April,[4] copy of which has also been sent to the Prime Minister The Muslim League, therefore, cannot agree to the partition of Bengal and the Punjab and I do hope that His Majesty's Government, when they examine this demand, will not accept it and that you and His Majesty's Government will in the name of both justice and fairplay, not submit yourselves to this clamour, for it will be sowing the seeds of future serious trouble and the results will be disastrous for the life of these two provinces and all the communities concerned

In this connection I may draw your fullest consideration and earnestly press upon you that if you take this decision—which in my opinion will be a fateful one—Calcutta should not be torn away from the Eastern Bengal It has been the heart of Bengal and the Province has developed and grown round this capital of Bengal which was for decades the capital of India before Delhi was established as capital Merely because the majority of the Caste Hindu vocal section desires Bengal to be partitioned—for in Western Bengal there are 34% Muslims, and out of the remaining 66%, the Scheduled Castes are 63% and Caste Hindus 37%, which is less than one-third of the total population of the Western Bengal I have every reason to believe that the Scheduled Castes are strongly opposed to the partition of Bengal because they rightly say that they will be divided into two parts, one at the mercy of the Caste Hindus in Western Bengal and the other at the mercy of the Muslims in Eastern Bengal They dread the

Caste Hindus and it is well-known that they have suffered economic and social tyranny at the hands of the Hindus for which there is no parallel in the world But if, unfortunately, partition is decided upon and Eastern Bengal is deprived of its only port of Calcutta, which has developed its present position, in no case should it be allowed to go with the Western Bengal, otherwise it will follow as a corollary that Western Bengal will go into Hindustan and His Majesty's Government will be making the present of one great port to Hindustan In any event, if worst comes to worst, Calcutta should be made a free port

Paragraphs 6, 7 and 8 These paragraphs relate more to procedure on the assumption that the issue of partition is decided upon and that these two provinces of Bengal and the Punjab should be cut up into two I cannot say that the procedure laid down is satisfactory The one governing principle which has been accepted by you is that the real will of the people of the part that wants to separate should be ascertained and the inhabitants of that part must be given every facility to give their verdict freely and fairly and this can only be done in a satisfactory manner by a plebiscite or a referendum, no doubt on the basis of the 1941 Census I may point out that having regard to the Communal Award, which was modified by the Poona Pact[5] in tragic circumstances, the Scheduled Castes have been completely left at the mercy of the Caste Hindus in the electorates Besides, owing to the well-known fact that the Scheduled Castes are socially and economically so weak that even in the present electorates their number does not reflect the real strength of the population Illiteracy and poverty are rampant amongst them and they are not qualified to come on the electoral rolls having regard to the present standard of franchise which is laid down Therefore, great danger lies in a decision being taken on the question of separation of the Western Bengal from Eastern Bengal without any effective voice of the Scheduled Castes being secured

(9) With regard to paragraph 9 and taking paragraph 5 along with it, the Punjab and Bengal provinces will be divided according to administrative districts as laid down in the Appendix, and paragraph 9 says, "for the purpose of deciding the issue of partition, Bengal and the Punjab provinces will be divided according to administrative districts as laid down in the Appendix" These appendices have not been furnished to me along with the "Draft Announcement" and this is not a satisfactory position and will convey a totally wrong impression to the public I, however, note

that paragraph 9 proceeds on to say that "for the purpose of definitive partition of these provinces a more detailed investigation of boundary question will be needed as soon as the decision involving partition has been taken for either province, a Boundary Commission will be set up, the membership and terms of reference of which will be settled in consultation with those concerned Until the report of a Boundary Commission has been put into effect, the provisional boundaries indicated in the Appendix will be used " I have already said that I have not got the appendix but if the object is to ascertain contiguous majority areas of Muslims and non-Muslims, I would press upon you to lay down clearly that the Boundary Commission will be instructed to demarcate the boundaries of the two parts of the Punjab on the basis of ascertaining contiguous majority areas of Muslims and non-Muslims down to *Girdawar* circles, and that similar arrangement will be made in the case of Bengal

V N W F P

[11] With regard to paragraph 11, I cannot agree that there should be any consultation with the Provincial Government Besides there is no indication as to what will be the position of the Provincial Government and the present Ministry in the N W F P if the referendum results in the verdict that N W F P wants to join the Pakistan Constituent Assembly, because after the verdict in favour of Pakistan, the present Ministry cannot be allowed to carry on the administration of the Province

VI BRITISH BALUCHISTAN

(12) I may point out that about 90% of the population of British Baluchistan is Muslim and even the present elected member of the Constituent Assembly under the Cabinet Delegation scheme from British Baluchistan is a Muslim Leaguer and has not taken his seat in the existing Constituent Assembly

If, however, a fresh representative were to be chosen then some truly representative democratic machinery, which will ensure free and fair expression of the views of the people, should be set up for the purpose

VII ASSAM

[13] Assam is neither a Muslim province nor a Hindu province The district of Sylhet and the areas adjoining the district and contiguous to Bengal are predominantly Muslim In the event of partition of Bengal , Sylhet District and other Muslim majority areas of Assam contiguous to Bengal should be amalgamated to the Eastern Bengal Here again we want to get a true verdict, free

and fair, of the inhabitants of those areas I am not in a position to say whether the procedure that you have laid down will secure the object, and it requires further examination I may also point out here that it is difficult for me to understand how the rest of the Assam province will in any case continue to participate in the existing Constituent Assembly, or a new Hindustan Constituent Assembly I would further like to add that in case Bengal is partitioned those areas of the Purnea district in Bihar which are contiguous to Eastern Bengal and have a Muslim majority should be amalgamated with Eastern Bengal [6]

(15) It is not quite clear to me when it is stated that these representatives (which are stated in paragraph 14) "will either join the existing Constituent Assembly or form a new Constituent Assembly according to the mandate given to them by the areas concerned" For up to this stage in your proposals there are only two Constituent Assemblies contemplated

IX TRANSFER OF POWER

(16) With regard to paragraph 16, all power, including Defence, Foreign Affairs, Finance and Communications, and all other matters which are now dealt with by the Central Government or His Majesty's Government, should be transferred to the Constituent Assemblies of Pakistan and Hindustan

XI TRIBES OF THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER

(18) It is not clear as to who will be the appropriate successor authorities to negotiate with the tribes of the N W F P of India It must be made clear and in my opinion it can only be the Pakistan Constituent Assembly

[1] In *QAP* this document is undated but according to Erskine Crum, Conference Secretary to the Viceroy, it was received in the very early morning of Saturday, 17th May, 1947 It was circulated as Viceroy's Conference Paper V C P 49 See *TP*, X, No 463, pp 851-855

[2] See No 418

[3] See Appendix III

[4] Enclosure to No 379

[5] The Communal Award, announced by the British Government on 17 August 1932, reserved 71 seats for the Depressed Classes, i e Scheduled Castes, in the provincial legislatures on the basis of separate electorates in addition to the seats they could contest in the general Hindu constituencies Gandhi strongly opposed the provision of separate electorates for the Scheduled Castes, and succeeded in concluding, on behalf of the INC, an agreement with Dr Ambedkar, on 25 September 1932, whereby the Scheduled Castes agreed to forgo the provision of separate electorates in return for an increase in their reserved seats to 148 The agreement, which came to be known as the Poona Pact, was formally recognized by the British Government

[6] The areas of Purnea district which were contiguous to East Bengal and had Muslim majority comprised the Kishangunj sub-division

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Draft Announcement on the Transfer of Power as revised in the light of the AIML and INC comments[1]

F 22/6-13

DRAFT ANNOUNCEMENT

NEW DELHI,
17 May 1947

I INTRODUCTION

1 *On February 20th 1947, H M G announced their intention of transferring power in British India to Indian hands by June 1948 H M G had hoped that it would be possible for the major parties to co-operate in the working out of the Cabinet Mission's Plan of May 16th, 1946, and evolve for India a constitution acceptable to all concerned This hope has not yet been fulfilled*[2] nor have the political parties in India been able to reach agreement on any alternative plan of their own

2 The majority of the representatives of the Provinces of Madras, Bombay, the United Provinces, Bihar, Central Provinces and Berar, Assam, Orissa and the North-West Frontier Province, and the representatives of Delhi, Ajmer-Merwara and Coorg have already made progress in the task of evolving a new Constitution On the other hand, the Muslim League Party, including in it a majority of the representatives of Bengal, the Punjab and Sind as also the representative of British Baluchistan, has decided not to participate in the Constituent Assembly

3 It has always been the desire of H M G that power should be transferred in accordance with the wishes of the Indian people themselves This task would have been greatly facilitated if there had been agreement among the Indian political parties In the absence of such an agreement, the task of devising a method by which the wishes of the Indian people can be ascertained has devolved on H M G After full consultation with political leaders in India, H M G have decided to adopt for this purpose the plan set out below H M G wish to make it clear that they have no intention of attempting to frame any ultimate Constitution for India, this is a matter for the Indians themselves Nor is there anything in this plan to preclude negotiations between communities for a united India [3]

II THE ISSUES TO BE DECIDED

4 With the exception of the provisions made hereafter for Bengal, the Punjab, Assam, Sind, the North-West Frontier Province and British Baluchistan,[4] *it is not the intention of H M G to interrupt the work of the existing Constituent Assembly*[5] *H M G trust that, as a consequence of this announcement, the Muslim League representatives of those Provinces a majority of whose representatives are already participating in it will now take their due share in its labours.* At the same time, it is clear that any Constitution framed by this Assembly cannot apply to those parts of the country which are unwilling to accept it H M G are satisfied that the procedure outlined below embodies the best practical method of ascertaining the wishes of the people of such areas on the issue whether their Constitution is to be framed

(a) in the existing Constituent Assembly, or

(b) in a new and separate Constituent Assembly consisting of the representatives of those areas which decide not to participate in the existing Constituent Assembly[6]

When this has been done, it will be possible to determine the authority to whom power should be transferred.

III BENGAL AND THE PUNJAB[7]

5 The Provincial Legislative Assemblies of Bengal and the Punjab (excluding the European members) will therefore each be asked to meet in two parts, one representing the Muslim majority districts and the other the rest of the Province For the purpose of determining the population of districts, the 1941 census figures will be taken as authoritative. The Muslim majority districts in these two Provinces are set out in the Appendix[8] to this Announcement

6 The members of the two parts of each Legislative Assembly sitting separately will be empowered to vote whether or not the Province should be partitioned If a simple majority of either part decides in favour of partition,[9] division will take place and arrangements will be made accordingly

7 Before such a vote takes place, however, it is desirable that the representatives of each Province should clearly know which Constituent Assembly the Province as a whole would join, if they decided to remain united Therefore, if there is a demand for it, a preliminary joint meeting of all members of each Legislative Assembly (other than Europeans) will be held at which a decision on this issue will be taken[10]

8 In the event of partition being decided upon, each part of the Legislative Assembly will, on behalf of the areas they represent, decide which of the alternatives in para 4 above to adopt

9 For the immediate purpose of deciding on the issue of Partition, the members of the Legislative Assemblies of Bengal and the Punjab will sit in two parts according to Muslim majority districts (as laid down in the Appendix) and non-Muslim majority districts This is only a preliminary step of a purely temporary nature as it is evident that for the purposes of a definitive partition of these provinces a detailed investigation of boundary questions will be needed, and, as soon as a decision involving partition has been taken for either province, a Boundary Commission will be set up by the Governor-General, the membership and terms of reference of which will be settled in consultation with those concerned It will be instructed to demarcate the boundaries of the two parts of the Punjab on the basis of ascertaining the contiguous majority areas of Muslims and non-Muslims down to *girdawar*[11] circles It will also be instructed to take into account other factors [12] Similar instructions will be given to the Bengal Boundary Commission Until the report of a Boundary Commission has been put into effect, the provisional boundaries indicated in the Appendix will be used

IV SIND

10 The Legislative Assembly of Sind (excluding the European members) will at a special meeting also take its own decision on the alternatives in para 4 above

V N W F P

11 The position of the N W F P is exceptional Two[13] of the three representatives of this province are already participating in the existing Constituent Assembly But it is clear, in view of its geographical situation and other considerations, that if the whole or any part of the Punjab decides not to join the existing Constituent Assembly, it will be necessary to give the N W F P an opportunity to reconsider its position Accordingly, in such an event, a referendum will be made to the electors of the present Legislative Assembly in the N W F P to choose which of the alternatives mentioned in para 4 above they wish to adopt The referendum will be held under the aegis of the Governor-General and in consultation with the Provincial Government

VI BRITISH BALUCHISTAN

12 British Baluchistan has elected a member[14] but he has not taken his seat in the existing Constituent Assembly In view of its geographical situation, this Province will also be given an opportunity to reconsider its position and to choose which of the alternatives in para 4 above to adopt H E the Governor-General is examining how this can most appropriately be done

VII ASSAM

13. Though Assam is predominantly a non-Muslim Province, the district of Sylhet which is contiguous to Bengal is predominantly Muslim There has been a demand that, in the event of the partition of Bengal, Sylhet should be amalgamated with the Muslim part of Bengal Accordingly, if it is decided that Bengal should be partitioned, a referendum will be held in Sylhet district under the aegis of the Governor-General and in consultation with the Assam Provincial Government to decide whether the district of Sylhet should continue to form part of the Assam Province or should be amalgamated with the new Province of Eastern Bengal, if that Province agrees If the referendum results in favour of amalgamation with Eastern Bengal, a Boundary Commission with terms of reference similar to those for the Punjab and Bengal will be set up to demarcate the Muslim majority areas of Sylhet district and contiguous Muslim majority areas of adjoining districts, which will then be transferred to Eastern Bengal. The rest of the Assam Province will in any case continue to participate in the proceedings of the existing Constituent Assembly

VIII REPRESENTATION IN CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLIES

14 If it is decided that Bengal and the Punjab should be partitioned, it will be necessary to hold fresh elections to choose their representatives on the scale of one for every million of population according to the principle contained in the Cabinet Mission's Plan of May 16, 1946 Similar elections will also have to be held for Sylhet in the event of its being decided that this district should form part of East Bengal The number of representatives to which each area would be entitled is as follows

PROVINCE	GENERAL	MUSLIMS	SIKHS	TOTAL
Sylhet District	1	2	Nil	3
West Bengal	15	4	Nil	19
East Bengal	12	29	Nil	41
West Punjab	3	12	2	17
East Punjab	6	4	2	12

15 These representatives will either join the existing Constituent Assembly or form the new Constituent Assembly according to the mandate given to them by the areas concerned

IX THE SIKHS

16 H M G. have given long and careful consideration to the position of the Sikhs The partition of the Punjab, if it takes place as a result of the decisions of Legislative Assembly members, will have the effect of dividing the Sikhs almost equally between the Muslim and non-Muslim areas As the Sikhs constitute only 13% of the population of the Punjab and are not in a majority in even one district, it has proved impossible to provide a separate State for them The only way the Sikhs could be kept together would be to avoid the partition of the Punjab [15]

X ADMINISTRATIVE MATTERS

17 Negotiations will have to be initiated as soon as possible on administrative consequences of any partition that may have been decided upon

(a) Between the representatives of the prospective successor authorities about all subjects now dealt with by the Central Government including Defence, Finance and Communications
(b) Between different successor authorities and H M G for treaties in regard to matters arising out of the transfer of power
(c) In the case of Provinces that may be partitioned as to administration of all provincial subjects such as the division of assets and liabilities, the police and other services, the High Courts, provincial institutions, etc

XI THE TRIBES OF THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER

18 Agreements with tribes of the N W Frontier of India will have to be negotiated by appropriate successor authorities

XII THE STATES

19 H M G wish to make it clear that the decisions announced above relate only to British India and that their policy towards Indian States remains unchanged

XIII NECESSITY FOR SPEED

20 In order that the successor authorities may have time to prepare themselves to take over power, it is important that all the above processes should be completed as quickly as possible To avoid delay, the different Provinces or parts of Provinces will proceed independently as far as practicable within the conditions of this Plan, [and] the existing Constituent Assembly and the new Constituent Assembly (if formed) will proceed to frame Constitutions for their respective territories they will of course be free to frame their own rules

XIV FURTHER ANNOUNCEMENTS BY GOVERNOR-GENERAL

21 H E the Governor-General will from time to time make such further announcements as may be necessary in regard to procedure or any other matters for carrying out the above arrangements [16]

[1]For AIML comments see No 437 and for Congress comments see Annex
[2]The alterations or additions italicised here and hereafter were made in response to Nehru's comments See Annex, paras 1 to 6 (j)
[3]Deletion of the clause relating to agreement with the political leaders was made in response to Jinnah's and Nehru's comments See No 437, para 3 and Annex, para 6(b)
[4]This exception clause was incorporated here in response to Nehru's comments See Annex, para 6 (c)
[5]Jinnah's objection to the continuance of the existing Constituent Assembly was not accepted See No 437, para 4
[6]The AIML had already boycotted the Constituent Assembly since 21 November 1946 *Civil & Military* Gazette, 22 November 1946
[7]Jinnah's objection to the partition of Bengal and the Punjab was not accepted See No 437, para 5
[8]Not circulated by the Viceroy's office
[9]Jinnah's objection on deciding the separation of East and West Bengal without effectively ascertaining the views of the Scheduled Castes was not accepted See No 437, paras 6, 7 and 8
[10]This para was redrafted in response to Nehru's comments See Annex, para 6 (d)
[11]The clause relating to the "basis of ascertaining the contiguous majority areas of Muslims and non-Muslims, down to *girdawar* circles" was found underlined for emphasis presumably by Jinnah A *girdawar* circle is a number of adjacent villages grouped together as a unit for purpose of assessing land revenue
[12]Provision regarding demarcation of boundaries on basis of other factors as well was incorporated in response to Nehru's comments See Annex, para 6 (e)
[13]See No 418, note 6
[14]See No 418, note 7
[15]The para relating to Transfer of Power was deleted and another para relating to the Sikhs was introduced in response to Nehru's comments See Annex, para 6 (h) and 7
[16]A copy of this document was circulated as Viceroy's Conference Paper V C P 51 and has been reproduced in *TP*, X, No 465 pp 858-860

Annex to No 438

NOTE[1] FROM PANDIT NEHRU COMMENTING ON THE TERMS OF THE REVISED DRAFT ANNOUNCEMENT[2] REGARDING THE TRANSFER OF POWER

IOR, L/P&S/10/79 ff 171-173

[SECRET]

[NEW DELHI,
16 May 1947]

1 The Congress fully accepted the Cabinet Mission's Scheme of 16th May, 1946,[3] and has since acted in accordance with its provisions

We stand by the Scheme still and we think that this should continue to be the basis of any change in the future The Interim Government itself is an outcome of this Scheme.

2 While the Cabinet Mission's Scheme of 16th May has been functioning and been acted upon, it is true that the Muslim League has kept away from it For the sake of a settlement with the League we are prepared to accept variations of the Cabinet Mission's Scheme though it must be understood that fundamentally that Scheme continues to function

3 It is in this context that we have considered the plan which H M G propose to put forward This plan, as we understand it, is a continuation of the Cabinet Mission's Scheme with suitable variations to fit in with the existing situation and in order to bring about an abiding settlement We accept this plan generally but our acceptance is strictly subject to the other parties agreeing to it as a final settlement and that no further claims are put forward

4 In the event of the Muslim League not agreeing to this plan, we must adhere strictly to the Cabinet Mission's Scheme of 16th May, 1946, under which the Interim Government was formed In this Interim Government there is no place for those who finally reject the Cabinet Mission's Scheme

5 In accepting generally the plan which H M G propose to put forward, we should like to point out that in the event of the various partitions mentioned in that plan taking place, it follows that the clause in the Cabinet Mission's Scheme in paragraph 19 dealing with major communal matters has no further significance

6 We would like the following variations made in the draft of the plan These do not affect the essential nature and purpose of the plan

(a) Paragraph 1 should read as follows "On 20th February, 1947, H M G announced their intention of transferring power in British India to Indian hands by June 1948 H M G had hoped that it would be possible for the major parties to co-operate in working out of the Cabinet Mission's Scheme of 16th May, 1946, and evolve for India a constitution acceptable to all concerned This hope has not yet been fulfilled H M G are, therefore, faced with the task of making further efforts to implement their intention of transferring power including such variations of the Scheme of 16th May and the adjustments consequent to them as would enable the major parties to co-operate in a peaceful transfer of power"

(b) Paragraph 3 The reference to agreement with political leaders would be justified if there is a final settlement and all parties agree

(c) Paragraph 4 should run thus "It is not the intention of H.M G. to interrupt the work of the existing Constituent Assembly, and H.M G trust that, as a consequence of this announcement, the Muslim League representatives of those Provinces a majority of whose representatives are already participating in it, will now take their due share in its labours " The rest of the paragraph will remain as drafted

(d) Paragraph 7 is by no means clear We do not object to it, but as drafted it may create all manner of difficulties

(e) Paragraph 9 Who will decide the composition of the Boundary Commission? It should be stated quite clearly that the Boundary Commission will have to take into consideration many other factors also apart from the nature of the population

(f) Paragraph 11 As stated in this paragraph, the referendum will be held in consultation with the Provincial Government We cannot answer for the Provincial Government or commit it, but we are prepared to request them to agree to this procedure

(g) Paragraph 13 There is a reference to the contiguous Muslim majority areas of Districts adjoining Sylhet This reference seems to be unnecessary The Boundary Commission will certainly have to take such matters into consideration not only in Assam but also in Sind

(h) Paragraph 16 This seems to be unnecessary here. We do not object to the idea underlying it, but it will be for us to consider later what is the best form of giving effect to it

(i) Paragraph 19 We suggest that only the first three lines of this paragraph should remain and the rest should be deleted; further that the following addition be made after "Indian States" in the third line "as stated in the Cabinet Mission's Scheme of 16th May, 1946"

(j) Paragraph 20 In line 8 after "new Constituent Assembly" add "if formed"

7 We have not seen the appendix giving the list of districts As we have pointed out previously, the position of the Sikhs in the Punjab is a very difficult one under the scheme and every effort should be made to ease the situation for them A suggestion was made and apparently accepted that in Gurdaspur District and others similarly situated the Hindu and Sikh representatives should go to the Eastern Punjab group and the Muslim representatives should go to Western Punjab This may not be very logical, but it approaches somewhat a juster solution It would be desirable to say something in the course of the document

that the Boundary Commission should give due weight to all the factors and considerations advanced by various groups before coming to a decision, further that the notional division is entirely temporary for a particular purpose and no more

8 There is no mention in the document of the Chittagong Hill areas which are predominantly Hindu and Buddhist These are Excluded Areas lying to the east of East Bengal. They have nothing in common with Chittagong District or with East Bengal They will naturally line up with some of the Hindu States to the north of them and possibly with Assam

9 No mention is also made of other territories like the Andaman Islands These also will naturally go with the Union of India

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

[1]A copy of this note was circulated as Viceroy's Conference Paper V C P 50 and has been reproduced in *TP*, X, No 464, pp 855-857
[2]No 418
[3]Appendix III

439

Paper received from Viceroy's office

F 22/100

[NEW DELHI,
17 May 1947]

PROPOSALS FOR TRANSFER OF POWER DURING THE INTERIM PERIOD[1]

(1) In the event of the decision being taken as a result of the procedure announced by H M G that there should be one Central Government in India, power should be transferred to the existing Constituent Assembly on a Dominion Status basis

(2) In the event of the decision being that there should be two sovereign States in India instead of one, the Executive of each part should take over power in responsibility to its respective Constituent Assembly, again on a Dominion Status basis

(3) The transfer of power in both the cases should be on the basis of the Government of India Act, 1935, with modifications to conform to the Dominion Status position

(4) The Governor-General should be common to both the States

(5) When the Dominion Constitution comes into operation, the Armed Forces in India should be divided between the two States The units of these Forces will be allocated according to the territorial basis of their recruitment and will be under the control of the respective Governments In the case of mixed units, the separation and re-distribution should be entrusted to a *Committee consisting of the Commander-in-Chief*[2] and the Chiefs of the General Staff of the two States under the supervision of a Council consisting of the Governor-General and the two Defence Ministers This Council will cease to exist *as soon as its work is completed*

(6) Pending the passing of necessary legislation by Parliament, which should be enacted as soon as practicable, to adjust India's position to that of a Dominion, the Interim Government at the Centre should by convention be treated as a Dominion Government subject to the Governor-General exercising his overriding powers to safeguard the legitimate interest of the minorities [3]

[1]This document, prepared by V P Menon, was circulated by Erskine Crum as Viceroy's Conference Paper V C P 52 and was given to Nehru on 17 May but was superseded by another set of proposals (not available in *QAP*) which were also handed over to Nehru later in the day See para 1 of Annex I to No 452, where this document has been referred to as the original draft

[2]The portions italicised were found marked in the original For Jinnah's views on the division of the Armed Forces see No 466

[3]This document has been reproduced in *TP*, X, No 466, pp 861-862

440

Note by the Viceroy's Office on Proposals for Transfer of Power during the Interim Period

F 22/97-98

NEW DELHI,
17 May 1947

[ALTERNATIVE] "A"

PROPOSALS FOR TRANSFER OF POWER DURING THE INTERIM PERIOD ON THE BASIS OF TWO INDEPENDENT STATES[1]

(1) In the event of a decision being taken in accordance with the procedure laid down in H M G 's announcement that there should be two independent States in India instead of one, the Executive of each

State should take over power in responsibility to its Constituent Assembly on a Dominion Status basis The Government of India Act, 1935, may be suitably amended for the purpose

(2) If the States desire it, there will be one common Constitutional Governor-General for the two States He will also act as Arbitrator in matters of common concern between the two States, if the Governments of the two States agree that he should do so

(3) When the Dominion Constitution comes into operation, the Armed Forces in India should be divided between the two States .The units of these Forces will be allocated according to the territorial basis of their recruitment and will be under the control of the respective Governments In the case of mixed units, the separation and re-distribution should be decided by the Governor-General and the two Defence Ministers in such a manner as would be equitable, fair and proper

[ALTERNATIVE] "B"

PROPOSALS FOR TRANSFER OF POWER DURING THE INTERIM PERIOD ON THE BASIS OF TWO INDEPENDENT STATES

(1) In the event of a decision being taken in accordance with the procedure laid down in H M G's announcement that there should be two independent States in India instead of one, the Executive of each State should take over power in responsibility to its Constituent Assembly on a Dominion Status basis The Government of India Act, 1935, may be suitably amended for the purpose

(2) There will be a separate Governor-General for each State

(3) When the Dominion Constitution comes into operation, the Armed Forces in India should be divided between the two States The units of these Forces will be allocated according to the territorial basis of their recruitment and will be under the control of the respective Governments In the case of mixed units, the separation and re-distribution should be decided by agreement between the two Governments

[1]Two sets of proposals for the transfer of power marked "A" and "B" were sent to Jinnah on 17 May 1947 for eliciting his views but without a copy of Nehru's letter on the subject which Jinnah had asked to be supplied to him See No 441 These proposals were also circulated as Viceroy's Conference Paper V C P 55 See *TP*, X, No 477, pp 888-889

441

M A Jinnah to Eric Mieville[1]

F 22/55

NEW DELHI,
18 May 1947

ear Sir Eric,

I received the proposals for the transfer of power headed 'roposals for the Transfer of Power During the Interim Period on the sis of two Independent States",[2] marked A and B as alternatives and hank you for it But, as arranged with the Viceroy yesterday, I have t received the copy of the letter of Mr Nehru, which was to be sent me this morning It is now 3 15 p m and until I get a copy of that ter, as I pointed out to the Viceroy and yourself, I will not be able to ike my comments on these proposals

Please, therefore, send me a copy of Mr. Nehru's letter as soon as ssible so that I can proceed to take up the matter as arranged

Yours sincerely,
M A JINNAH

Eric Mieville
Willingdon Crescent,
·w Delhi]

is communication was sent to Mieville at 3 35 p m on 18 May 1947 and was :nowledged at 4 45 p m the same afternoon See F 22/55, *QAP*
· No 440

442

R V Brockman to M A Jinnah

F 22/59

THE VICEROY'S HOUSE, NEW DELHI,
18 May 1947

'ar Mr Jinnah,

Attached are the extracts from Pandit Nehru's letter which His Excel- icy wished you to have and which the former has agreed should be sent you.[1] Sir Eric Mieville has asked me to apologise most sincerely for this

not having reached you earlier, but he was, as you know, out of the room at the end of your conversation with His Excellency and was not fully in the picture [as to] exactly what was to be sent to you

Yours sincerely,
R V BROCKMAN

[1]In response to Jinnah's request for Nehru's letter, Mountbatten, for some unexplained reasons, had chosen to supply him only the extracts from the Congress leader's communication

Enclosure to No 442

F 22/60

EXTRACTS FROM PANDIT NEHRU'S LETTER OF 17 MAY[1]

[13] While we shall welcome any parliamentary legislation for the interim period, this is really a matter for H M G to consider as how best to give effect to the transfer of power What we are more interested in is the immediate transfer by convention so that the present situation might be dealt with adequately and adjustments made immediately to fit in with the future

[14] In the draft proposals for the transfer of power it should be remembered, first of all, that these are for the interim period only and do not, in any way, take away from the announcement of February 20th 1947 The future set-up will necessarily be determined by the authorities functioning in India or by the Constituent Assembly The principle [*sic*] thing we are aiming at now is not only to create suitable conditions in India which will fit in with the interim period, but also to create a psychological atmosphere of friendship between India and England which will enable us to decide in a co-operative manner about our future relations

[15] Reference is made in these proposals to the transfer of power being on the basis of the Government of India Act 1935 It is inevitable that we should proceed on the basis of the existing structure subject to changes necessitated by the transfer of power But the Government of India Act is a very complicated structure and some provisions of it may later come in our way It is to be clearly understood that power to change this Act during this interim period will vest with the authority in India Naturally we will not desire to make changes for a brief period but the power should be there in case of need

[16] I do not know what parliamentary legislation might be passed by H M G Without knowing its provisions fully it is obvious that we cannot commit ourselves to it as none of us are parties to it

[17] I accept generally the draft proposals for the transfer of power

subject to the clarifications given above In Paragraph 5, I should like to add at the end "or till other arrangements are made" This is merely to guard against the prolongation of the period contemplated in the paragraph

[18] We agree to the proposal that during this interim period the Governor-General should be common to both the States, if there are to be two States For our part we shall be happy if you could continue in this office and help us with your advice and experience

[19] There is one important matter which so far has not been discussed, but which cannot be ignored There should be some clause in our agreement to the effect that neither the Union nor the parts of India outside the Union forming a separate State, shall be entitled to permit bases, extra territorial rights, or other infringements of the sovereignty of their territories by any outside State or power Some such agreement must be made between the two States for their mutual protection [2]

[1]The full text of this document was circulated as Viceroy's Conference Paper V C P 53 and has also been reproduced in *TP*, X, No 471, pp 866-870 Also see No 452
[2]The para numbers given in square brackets correspond to those mentioned in the Annex

Annex to No 442
R V Brockman to Jawaharlal Nehru

IOR, Mountbatten Papers, MSS, Eur F 200/154

[THE VICEROY'S HOUSE, NEW DELHI]
18 May 1947

Dear Mr Nehru,

His Excellency, before he left, asked me to get in touch with you and ask whether you would have any objection to paragraphs 13 to 19 of your letter of the 17th May[1] (the one which reached His Excellency about 3 p m on that day) being sent to Mr Jinnah, in connection with the proposals for the transfer of power during the interim period I would emphasise that it is not the whole of your letter which His Excellency wishes your concurrence to send to Mr Jinnah, but only paragraphs 8 [*sic*] under the heading "Proposals for Transfer of Power During the Interim Period "

Yours sincerely,
R V BROCKMAN

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru,
10 York Road
[New Delhi]

[1]Enclosure to No 442

443

M A Jinnah to Secretary, Federal Public Service Commission

F 142/19

18 May 1947

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of 13th May[1] and beg to inform you in reply that Mr [Usman] Ansari was with me as my Personal Assistant during 1939-40 for about a year and I found him very capable in the job he was doing for me He had also very good efficiency in shorthand and typing and I found him generally a man of good character

Yours faithfully,
M A JINNAH

The Secretary,
Federal Public Service Commission,
(U N O Recruitment)
Kennedy House Annexe,
Simla

[1]No 417

444

M A Jinnah to Eric Mieville[1]

F 22/63

19 May 1947

Dear Sir Eric,

Since I received the copy of extracts from Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's letter of 17th May[2] and the copies of the draft proposals[3] A and B last evening, I took up the matter this morning and I am sending you my note enclosed herewith which please communicate to His Excellency Lord Mountbatten, who is now in the United Kingdom

Yours sincerely,
M A JINNAH

Sir Eric Mieville,
1 Willingdon Crescent,
New Delhi

[1]This letter was despatched at 6 30 p m on 19 May 1947 and was received by the Viceroy's Office at 7 20 p m the same evening See F 1024/9, *QAP*
[2]Enclosure to No 442
[3]No 440

Enclosure to No 444

F 22/64-66

Originally, in the "Draft Announcement", paragraph 16,[1] under the heading Chapter IX, Transfer of Power, ran as follows

> "The Constituent Assembly (or Assemblies) will also constitute Provisional Authorities to whom power can be transferred "

In my comments of May 17,[2] I stated that all powers including Defence, Foreign Affairs, Finances and Communications, and all other matters which are now dealt with by the Central Government or His Majesty's Government, should be transferred to the Constituent Assemblies of Pakistan and Hindustan Subsequently, this paragraph was deleted, as His Excellency thought it may be dealt with separately, and the matter was discussed in its various aspects Finally, it was arranged that a new proposal, or proposals, on the lines which were discussed, should be reduced to writing, and that the Congress acceptance, should the Congress accept the underlying principles which were discussed by us, would be furnished to me so that I could then make my comments and give my opinion Accordingly, the two drafts[3] were sent to me by Sir Eric Mieville, but the copy of the letter of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was not sent to me according to the arrangement made until 8 p m on the 18th of May, after I had sent a reminder, and that also only extracts[4] from Pandit Nehru's letter of 17th May Hence, I was only able to take up the matter today and I examined the draft proposals A and B as alternatives, relating to transfer of power and also read the extracts from Pandit Nehru's letter of 17th May

It is somewhat difficult for me to gather from these extracts what is the exact attitude of the Congress, as I find them rather confusing The drafts A & B[5] consist only of 3 paragraphs, whereas Pandit Nehru's letter refers to paragraph 5, which does not exist in the drafts furnished to me It shows that Pandit Nehru's comments refer to some other draft and not to the draft on which my views are sought

I hope you will appreciate that until the Congress comments on the draft proposals supplied to me are made available it is difficult for me to understand as to what exactly is the position of the Congress with regard to these proposals about which my views are sought

As regards the rest of the extracts, paragraphs 1, 2, 3 and 4 are very vague, indefinite and somewhat difficult for me to follow, and paragraph 5 is also mixed up with the previous paragraphs He says

> "I accept generally the draft proposals for the transfer of power subject to the clarifications given above"[6]

and thereby he falls back on the previous paragraphs referred to

above and the acceptance is conditional In paragraph 1, he says

> "What we are more interested in is the immediate transfer by convention so that the present situation may be dealt with adequately and adjustments made immediately to fit in with the future "[7]

This, I infer, refers to the present Interim Government and it is the same idea, that notwithstanding the present Constitution and the Government of India Act of 1935, immediate transfer of power should take place by convention for the Interim Government to function as a Dominion Government immediately Whereas, in the draft proposals, not only there is no mention about the Interim Government, but on the other hand it was assumed right through that it must be dissolved, and there never has been any proposal of giving Dominion Status or assigning Dominion functions to any authority, by convention In the 3rd paragraph, I cannot follow what he means when he says

> "It is to be clearly understood that power to change this Act (1935) during this Interim period will vest with the authority in India "[8]

I am unable to follow what is meant by this and which is the authority in India he refers to

The last paragraph of the extracts does not relate nor it is relevant to the proposals furnished to me

In these circumstances, you will see my difficulties in dealing with these two drafts and to give you my comments or opinion, which I was expected to do only when the position of the Congress had been made fully known to me, nor it will be of any help even if I did

I have, however, generally discussed this matter with His Excellency and he knows what my views are And after the announcement is made on the 2nd of June, the subject matter of these drafts, in my opinion, can be then taken up in the light of the announcement by His Majesty's Government Perhaps then we might be able to pursue His Excellency's idea of getting an agreement on the principles underlying these drafts, in clear terms [9]

[1]No 418
[2]No 437
[3]No 440
[4]Enclosure to No 442
[5]No 440
[6]Enclosure to No 442, para 17
[7]Ibid, para 13
[8]Ibid, para 15
[9]Only the last para was telegraphed by Mieville to Mountbatten in London See Annexes I & II

Annex I to No 444
Eric Mieville to Louis Mountbatten[1]
Telegram, R/3/1/150 f 33

IMMEDIATE
SECRET

NEW DELHI
19 May 1947, 10 30 pm
Received 19 May, 11 55 pm

No 1091-S I have at 8 o'clock this evening received the promised letter from Jinnah which is most unsatisfactory and which finishes with the following paragraph

[*Not Printed Same as the concluding para of Enclosure to No 444*]

I am seeing Liaquat tonight and Jinnah tomorrow morning and will do my best with them and telegraph you again

[MIEVILLE]

[1]*TP*, X, No 489, p 906

Annex II to No 444
Eric Mieville to Louis Mountbatten[1]
Telegram, R/3/1/150 ff 37-38

MOST IMMEDIATE
SECRET

NEW DELHI
20 May 1947, 12 30 pm
Received 20 May, 10 15 am

No 1093-S My telegram No 1091-S of May 19[2]

I had two hours with Liaquat after dinner last night and told him how very disappointed I was with Jinnah's letter[3] which I had not even thought worthwhile telegraphing to you I reminded him that Jinnah had promised to send me in his letter details of the scheme he had put before you[4] of a supreme arbitrator of rank and status over and above the Governors-General of the two Dominions, and that if the constitutional legal experts at home regarded his scheme as impracticable he would accept as a less desirable alternative and as an interim measure the appointment of one Governor-General for the two Dominions with powers to act as arbitrator in matters of common concern I reminded him that the Congress had already asked for you to be their Governor-General I went on to say that to my surprise Jinnah had not mentioned either of the above two proposals in his letter which merely contained a lot of criticism of the extracts of Nehru's comments on the proposed transfer of power during the interim period which you had

read out to him and a copy of which I had sent to him on Sunday afternoon (viz from the words "While we shall welcome" to the words "for their mutual protection" see pages 2 and 3 of V C P 53)[5] I knew that you would be extremely angry and I therefore hoped that he (Liaquat) would be able to help me to put things right

2 Liaquat was quite frank and told me that he had helped Jinnah with the letter The point was, he said, that Nehru's comments were based on a previous draft and not on those contained in V C P 55[6] and before Jinnah committed himself in any way he wanted to have Nehru's comments[7] on one or both of the alternatives in V C P 55 If Jinnah could see those comments, he would make his own which could be shown to the Congress and he would also develop his scheme of a supreme arbitrator, but he was unhappy at the stress which Nehru had made in his letter to you on the interim period In Jinnah's opinion, this meant until June 1948 (I here pointed out that if power were transferred at an earlier date then June 1948 would have no significance) He went on to say that you had always said that Dominion Status could not be given to one part of India without the other, but so far as he could see that very position would arise in June 1948 Congress would then, in his opinion, withdraw from the Commonwealth and he would wish to remain in it Surely H M G would want some guarantee that Congress would remain in for at least a term of years before granting them Dominion Status He further could not understand what the interim period meant If Dominion Status were granted to both states, say by October, there was no interim period *so far as H M G were concerned* There would merely be an interim period as between Hindustan and Pakistan until the division of assets and liabilities was settled Again, what did Nehru mean by "immediate transfer of power by convention"—see V C P 53, page 3[8] There was no mention of this in either of the drafts in V C P 55[9] Nehru further stated that "power to change the Government of India (1935) Act during this interim period will rest with the authority in India"[10] What authority, he wanted to know

3 Liaquat finished up by saying that Jinnah and he had no objection to the principles contained in the draft proposals in V C P 55 and that there would be no objection as far as Jinnah and himself were concerned and that there could be no question of any lowering of your position if you agree to stay on

4. In the meantime, Brockman sent round to Nehru the two proposals contained in V C P 55 and Nehru promised to let us have

his comments[11] thereon this morning I am therefore not going to see Jinnah until I receive these

[MIEVILLE]

[1]TP, X, No 490, pp 907-908
[2]Annex I to No 444
[3]No 444
[4]See Appendix XIV 31
[5]No 452
[6]No 440
[7]Annex I to No 452
[8]No 452
[9]No 440
[10]By authority Nehru had presumably meant the Central Legislature in which the Congress commanded a majority
[11]See Annex I to No 452, note 2

445

M A Jinnah to The Punjab National Bank Ltd , Delhi

F 681/243

19 May 1947

Dear Sir,

With reference to your letter No T/4805 dated 14th May 1947,[1] I am returning herewith, duly signed, the receipts in triplicate for the amount of Rs 3,425 (Rupees three thousand, four hundred and twenty-five only) which has been remitted to you by the Muslim Association, Phoenix, Arizona, and kindly let me have the pay order for the amount mentioned above, and oblige

Yours faithfully,
M A JINNAH

The Manager,
The Punjab National Bank Limited,
Chandni Chowk,
Delhi

[1]Not available in *QAP*

446

Mahboob Ahmad Warsi to M A Jinnah

F 908/92

GAYA,
19 May 1947

Dear Sir,

In forwarding a printed copy of the resolutions passed in the Second Session of the Division of Bihar Conference held at Patna on the 11th May, 1947, under the presidentship of Mr Mohammad Noman, MLA (Central), I have the honour to inform you that, according to the terms of Resolution No 1, a deputation has to wait on you on behalf of the Division of Bihar Conference to impress upon you the imperative necessity of carving out 1/6th area in Bihar for the formation of a national homeland for the 50 lacs of helpless, unprotected and oppressed Muslims of the province

I request you most earnestly to kindly fix a date for the deputation to meet you at New Delhi on or before the 30th of the current month and inform me of the same by wire

Thanking you in anticipation,

With best regards and respects,

Yours faithfully,
M A WARSI
General Secretary,
Division of Bihar Conference

Enclosure 1 to No 446

F 908/93-98

COPIES OF THE RESOLUTIONS PASSED UNANIMOUSLY IN THE OPEN SESSIONS OF THE DIVISION OF BIHAR CONFERENCE HELD AT GAYA ON 19 APRIL, 1947, UNDER THE PRESIDENTSHIP OF CHOWDURY ABID HUSSAIN, MLA (CENTRAL)

1 In view of the historic fact that the present heterogeneous composite province of Bihar was hastily carved out from the Presidency of Bengal as a result of the annulment of the partition of Bengal in 1912 [*sic* for 1911], and further in view of the historic, ethnic, geographical, cultural, linguistic, topographical, economic and political division of the present

artificial province, and whereas the Caste Hindu-dominated Congress Ministry has hopelessly and totally failed to protect the life, honour, property and religion of the Muslim minority of the province, and whereas the Congress Ministry has not conceded the just and simple demand of the Muslims for the consolidation of Muslim population and lands in selected pockets, and whereas the Muslims and other minorities can have no sense of security under the Caste Hindu-dominated Congress Ministry, this Conference demands that the province of Bihar be forthwith partitioned into Hindu and non-Hindu autonomous provinces

2 This Conference demands that pending the division of Bihar into Hindu and non-Hindu autonomous provinces, separate Ministries be immediately formed for the Hindu and non-Hindu autonomous provinces and each Ministry be made directly responsible to the Governor

3 Resolved that a provisional Committee of Action of the Division of Bihar Conference consisting of the following gentlemen be formed to carry on the struggle for the division of the province and to prepare a comprehensive programme of work

President

Mr Burhan Uddin Khan, MLA (Santhal Parganas)

Vice Presidents

1 Syed Mazhar Imam, MLA (Patna)
2 Mr Razi Uddin, MLA (Purnea)
3 Mr Karrar Hussain Rizvi, Pleader (Palamua)

General Secretary

Mr Mahboob Ahmad Warsi, Pleader (Gaya)

Joint Secretaries

1 Mr Sultan Mohammad Afzal (Patna)
2 Mr Nizam Uddin (Santhal Parganas)
3 Mr S M Farooque, Pleader (Gaya)

Members

1 Mr Maqbool Ahmad, Pleader, MLA, Bhagalpore
2 Dr S M Farid, MLA, Darbhanga
3 Mr Gholam Mohi Uddin, MLA, Shahabad
4 Hakim Ramzan Ali Shah, Hazaribagh
5 Syed Mujtaba Ahmad, Provincial Muslim Students Federation, Patna
6 Dr Laeeque Ahmad Hashmi, Muzaffarpore
7 Mr Saghirul Haque, Mukhtar, Siwan
8 Mr Mohi Uddin Ahmad, Advocate, Ranchi
9 Moulana Abdul Wassy Siddiqui, Bhagalpore

10 Syed Abu Zafar, Advocate, MLA, Monghyr
11 Moulana Mohammad Abbas Vidyarthi, Muzaffarpore
12 Hakim Fakher Uddin Razi, Muslim National Guards, Patna
13 Syed Amin Ahmad, MLA, Singhbhum

4 In view of the unjust and unfriendly attitude of the Congress and unequal allotment of portfolios between the two major parties in contravention of the solemn declaration of the British Cabinet Mission, this Conference demands [that] there should immediately be formed two Interim Governments at the Centre, one in charge of the Pakistan provinces and the other in charge of the Hindustan provinces

5 This Conference demands that the Indian Army, Navy, Air Force, ordnance factories, military plants, establishments and stores be equally divided between the Pakistan provinces and the Hindustan provinces

6 This Conference fully supports the demand of the Adibasis for a separate autonomous province of Jharkhand

M A WARSI
General Secretary,
Division of Bihar Conference

Copy forwarded to Quaid-i-Azam M A Jinnah, New Delhi for information and necessary action

Enclosure 2 to No 446

F 908/95-98

COPIES OF RESOLUTIONS PASSED IN THE SECOND SESSION OF THE DIVISION OF BIHAR CONFERENCE HELD IN THE ANJUMAN ISLAMIA HALL, PATNA, ON 11 MAY 1947, UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE BIHAR PROVINCIAL MUSLIM STUDENTS FEDERATION, UNDER THE PRESIDENTSHIP OF MOHAMMAD NOMAN, MLA

1 Resolved that a deputation consisting of the following gentlemen with power to co-opt two more members be formed to wait on the Quaid-i-Azam, M A Jinnah, on behalf of the Division of Bihar Conference to impress upon him the imperative necessity of carving out 1/6th area in Bihar for the formation of a national homeland for the 50 lac helpless, unprotected and oppressed Muslims of the Province

(a) Mr Burhan Uddin Khan, MLA
(b) Mr. Mahboob Ahmad Warsi
(c) Syed Mazhar Imam, MLA

(d) Mr Mohammad Noman, MLA (Central)
(e) Syed Mujtaba Ahmad

2 Resolved that the members of the deputation are empower select five experts to draw up a plan for the division of the provin the light of the resolutions passed in the Division of Bihar Confe at its last session at Gaya

3. Whereas the people of Chhotanagpur and Santhal Pargana nationally, culturally and linguistically distinct and different from t inhabiting other parts of Bihar, and whereas in these areas the Adi are 4,451,104, Muslims 810,680, Scheduled Castes 547,699, and C Hindus 3,887,694, and whereas the Adibasis and the Muslims tog form the majority and most of the Scheduled Castes also suppor demand for the separation of Chhotanagpur, and whereas the att of the present Congress Ministry of Bihar is inimical towards Adibasis and the Muslims, this session of the Division of Bihar Co ence therefore demands immediate establishment of the Jharl Province and formation of a separate Ministry for the said provin

4 In view of the complete betrayal of the solemn promise mad the Premier of Bihar during the debate on the no-confidence m moved by the Muslim League party in Bihar Assembly agains Congress Ministry of Bihar, that the Congress Ministry of Bihar w not force the Muslim refugees and sufferers of the last Bihar carna go back and settle in the same ruined, devastated and dange villages, and in view of the present policy of the Congress Min with regard to the rehabilitation of the Muslim refugees, the sessi the Division of Bihar Conference demands of the Congress Minist Bihar to at once give up its present policy of forcing the Mu refugees to go back to the same ruined, devastated and dange villages, for in the opinion of this Conference such a policy is fra with grave danger to the Muslim life, honour, property, and reli and any expenditure incurred in connection with the rehabilitatio the Muslim refugees in such dangerous zones would be a sheer w of public money

5 In view of the fact that the much trumpeted peace missic Mr Gandhi in Bihar hopelessly failed to produce any effect and t has neither been any change of heart on the part of the Hindus n anti-Muslim policy of the Congress Ministry of Bihar, this sessio the Division of Bihar Conference cannot with any sense of responsib advise the Muslim refugees and sufferers of the Bihar carnage t back and re-settle in their original villages, for there being availabl guarantee of their future safety and security they would alway

exposed to danger. This session demands of the Congress Ministry to immediately accept the demands made by the Provincial Muslim League.

6 The Conference strongly condemns the Congress Government of Bihar for its high-handed and unconstitutional policy of shifting down [*sic*] the Muslim public opinion and depriving the Muslim public of Bihar of the facilities of correct Muslim news by banning the entry of the *Morning News* in the Province which is a further negation of granting civil liberties to the Muslim press by demanding securities by [*sic*] the other Muslim press such as the *Sada-i-Aam* and stopping subsidy of the Orient Press

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M Yunus to Hossain Imam
(Copy to M A Jinnah)

F 681/242

CENTRAL MUSLIM LEAGUE BIHAR RELIEF COMMITTEE,
PATNA[1]

19 May 1947

My dear Mr Hossain Imam,

Thanks for your letter of the 16th May 1947[2] I have just written to Qazi Sayeed to keep replies of your questionnaire ready I have also given instructions to Jafar Hassan and Qazi Sayeed in your presence, but I do not know why the answers are not ready yet I have asked them to expedite the answers to your questions

I have received a copy of a scheme enclosed with your letter and, with great respect to you, I am sorry to say that I am in complete disagreement with your scheme All what you say in your scheme is being done and there are advisory committees of all interests except that there is no representation of a Students' Federation, and any such representation would be detrimental to the smooth and straight working of the Committee I do not understand about your Bengal scheme, of which I understand you and some others are members The Bengal Government, I believe, is looking after what is necessary in this connection, and they may be trusted to do so

We should also wait till we exactly know the political situation in the country as a whole before these things are seriously taken in hand,

as the whole thing may be nullified if the political situation so demands

Yours sincerely,
M YUNUS
Vice-President,
Central Muslim League Bihar Relief Committee

Mr Hossain Imam,
34 Hardinge Avenue,
New Delhi

[1]The members of the Committee were Khwaja Nazimuddin (President), Muhammad Yunus (Vice-President), S M Sharif (General Secretary), Qazi Mohammad Sayeed (Secretary), and Dr T M Khan (Treasurer)
[2]Not available in *QAP*

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Doon Campbell to K H Khurshid

D 167/74[1]

REUTERS LIMITED,
4 PARLIAMENT STREET, NEW DELHI,
20 May 1947

Dear Mr Hasan,

Enclosed the set of questions I mentioned over the phone the other day I would much like to have had the list in sooner but preoccupation with affairs in North India delayed their submission

The questions are essentially those of the "man in the street"—the "man in the street" in Britain and Europe, in the Near and Middle East, in Canada and the Americas, in the countries of Asia They are broad and general rather than technical Some may have been answered many times before but in the context of the developing situation they have assumed fresh topicality and pertinence

I do hope Mr Jinnah will feel disposed to answer some, if not all of the questions

Hoping to hear from you

Yours sincerely,
A DOON CAMPBELL

[1]Documents included in "D" series comprise those donated to the National Archives of Pakistan

Enclosure to No 448

D 167/75

REUTERS LIMITED,
4 PARLIAMENT STREET, NEW DELHI,
19 May 1947

1 What sort of relationship do you envisage between Pakistan and Hindustan?

2 How would you divide the armed forces? Do you envisage a defence pact or any other kind of military alliance between Pakistan and Hindustan?

3 Do you favour a federation of Pakistan States even if there is to be partition of the Punjab and Bengal?

4 Will you demand a corridor through Hindustan connecting the Eastern and Western Pakistan States?

5 Do you envisage the formation of a Pan-Islamic State stretching from the Near and Middle East to the Far East after the establishment of Pakistan?

6 On what basis will the central administration of Pakistan be set-up? What will be the attitude of this Government to the Indian States?

7 In general terms what will be the foreign policy of Pakistan? Will it apply for membership of the United Nations?

8 On which major power is Pakistan most likely to lean?

9 What sort of relationship do you envisage between Pakistan and Britain?

10 What are your views in regard to the protection of minorities in Pakistan territories?

449

M A Jinnah to Khan of Kalat

F 34/20

20 May 1947

My dear Khan Sahib,

I thank you very much indeed for having sent two of your men to serve me, which was really very kind of you I received the letter[1] that they brought to me as to the arrangements you have made, but owing to rush and pressure of work, I was not able to reply earlier and now I cannot lay my hands on that letter I am still looking for it but I shall feel obliged

if you will let me have a copy of that so that we can act according to it with regard to your men

I hope that you are well and look forward to meeting you very soon.

With very kind regards from Miss Jinnah, and myself to Begum Sahiba and yourself and our love to children,

Yours sincerely,
M A JINNAH

H H The Khan of Kalat,
Kalat,
Baluchistan

[1]See Enclosure to No 524

450

Eric Mieville to M A Jinnah

F 34/66(a)

THE VICEROY'S HOUSE, NEW DELHI,
20 May 1947

My dear Mr Jinnah,

I write to thank you for your letter of May 19th[1] with which you were good enough to enclose a copy of your note for communication to Lord Mountbatten [2]

Yours sincerely,
ERIC C MIEVILLE

M A Jinnah, Esq

[1]No 444
[2]Only the concluding part of the note was telegraphed by Mieville to Mountbatten in London See Annex I to No 444

451

Eric Mieville to M A Jinnah

F 22/73

TOP SECRET

THE VICEROY'S HOUSE, NEW DELHI,
20 May 1947

Dear Mr Jinnah,

In accordance with instructions from the Viscount Mountbatten I

am forwarding herewith a copy of the revised draft announcement in the form in which the Viceroy took it to London for consultation with H M G[1]

Yours sincerely,
ERIC C MIEVILLE

[1]A copy of this draft was circulated as Viceroy's Conference Paper V C P 54 and has been reproduced in *TP*, X, No 476, pp 883-887

Enclosure to No 451

F 22/75-81

[REVISED] DRAFT ANNOUNCEMENT

NEW DELHI,
17 May 1947

I INTRODUCTION

1 On February 20th 1947, H M G announced their intention of transferring power in British India to Indian hands by June 1948 H M G had hoped that it would be possible for the major parties to co-operate in the working out of the Cabinet Mission's Plan of May 16th, 1946, and evolve for India a Constitution acceptable to all concerned This hope has not been fulfilled

2 The majority of the representatives of the Provinces of Madras, Bombay, the United Provinces, Bihar, Central Provinces and Berar, Assam, Orissa and the North-West Frontier Province, and the representatives of Delhi, Ajmer-Merwara and Coorg have already made progress in the task of evolving a new Constitution On the other hand, the Muslim League Party, including in it a majority of the representatives of Bengal, the Punjab and Sind as also the representative of British Baluchistan, has decided not to participate in the Constituent Assembly

3 It has always been the desire of H M G that power should be transferred in accordance with the wishes of the Indian people themselves This task would have been greatly facilitated if there had been agreement among the Indian political parties In the absence of such an agreement, the task of devising a method by which the wishes of the Indian people can be ascertained has devolved on H M G After full consultation with political leaders in India, H M G have decided to adopt for this purpose the plan set out below H M G wish to

make it clear that they have no intention of attempting to frame any ultimate Constitution for India, this is a matter for the Indians themselves. Nor is there anything in this plan to preclude negotiations between communities for an united India.

II THE ISSUES TO BE DECIDED

4. It is not the intention of H M G to interrupt the work of the existing Constituent Assembly Now that provision is made for certain provinces specified below, H M G trust that, as a consequence of this announcement, the Muslim League representatives of those Provinces a majority of whose representatives are already participating in it will now take their due share in its labours At the same time, it is clear that any Constitution framed by this Assembly cannot apply to those parts of the country which are unwilling to accept it. H M G are satisfied that the procedure outlined below embodies the best practical method of ascertaining the wishes of the people of such areas on the issue whether their Constitution is to be framed

(a) in the existing Constituent Assembly, or
(b) in a new and separate Constituent Assembly consisting of the representatives of those areas which decide not to participate in the existing Constituent Assembly

When this has been done, it will be possible to determine the authority to whom power should be transferred

III BENGAL AND THE PUNJAB

5 The Provincial Legislative Assemblies of Bengal and the Punjab (excluding the European members) will therefore each be asked to meet in two parts, one representing the Muslim majority districts and the other the rest of the Province For the purpose of determining the population of districts, the 1941 census figures will be taken as authoritative The Muslim majority districts in these two Provinces are set out in the Appendix[1] to this Announcement

6 The members of the two parts of each Legislative Assembly sitting separately will be empowered to vote whether or not the Province should be partitioned If a simple majority of either part decides in favour of partition, division will take place and arrangements will be made accordingly

7 Before such a vote takes place, however, it is desirable that the representatives of each Province should clearly know which Constituent Assembly the Province as a whole would join, if they decided to remain united Therefore, if there is a demand for it, by any member of the Legislative Assembly, a preliminary joint meeting of all

members of each Legislative Assembly (other than Europeans) will be held at which a decision on this issue will be taken.

8 In the event of partition being decided upon, each part of the Legislative Assembly will, on behalf of the areas they represent, decide which of the alternatives in para 4 above to adopt

9 For the immediate purpose of deciding on the issue of Partition, the members of the Legislative Assemblies of Bengal and the Punjab will sit in two parts according to Muslim majority districts (as laid down in the Appendix) and non-Muslim majority districts This is only a preliminary step of a purely temporary nature as it is evident that for the purposes of a definitive partition of these provinces a detailed investigation of boundary questions will be needed, and, as soon as a decision involving partition has been taken for either province, a Boundary Commission will be set up by the Governor-General, the membership and terms of reference of which will be settled in consultation with those concerned It will be instructed to demarcate the boundaries of the two parts of the Punjab on the basis of ascertaining the contiguous majority areas of Muslims and non-Muslims It will also be instructed to take into account other factors Similar instructions will be given to the Bengal Boundary Commission Until the report of a Boundary Commission has been put into effect, the provisional boundaries indicated in the Appendix will be used

IV SIND

10 The Legislative Assembly of Sind (excluding the European members) will at a special meeting also take its own decision on the alternatives in para 4 above

V N W F P

11 The position of the N W F P is exceptional Two of the three representatives[2] of this province are already participating in the existing Constituent Assembly But it is clear, in view of its geographical situation, and other considerations, that if the whole or any part of the Punjab decides not to join the existing Constituent Assembly, it will be necessary to give the N W F P an opportunity to reconsider its position Accordingly, in such an event, a referendum will be made to the electors of the present Legislative Assembly in the N W F P to choose which of the alternatives mentioned in para 4 above they wish to adopt The referendum will be held under the aegis of the Governor-General and in consultation with the Provincial Government

VI BRITISH BALUCHISTAN

12 British Baluchistan had elected a member[3] but he has not taken

his seat in the existing Constituent Assembly In view of its geographical situation, this Province will also be given an opportunity to reconsider its position and to choose which of the alternatives in para 4 above to adopt H E the Governor-General is examining how this can most appropriately be done

VII ASSAM

13 Though Assam is predominantly a non-Muslim Province, the district of Sylhet which is contiguous to Bengal is predominantly Muslim There has been a demand that, in the event of the partition of Bengal, Sylhet should be amalgamated with the Muslim part of Bengal Accordingly, if it is decided that Bengal should be partitioned, a referendum will be held in Sylhet district under the aegis of the Governor-General and in consultation with the Assam Provincial Government to decide whether the district of Sylhet should continue to form part of the Assam Province or should be amalgamated with the new Province of Eastern Bengal, if that Province agrees If the referendum results in favour of amalgamation with Eastern Bengal, a Boundary Commission with terms of reference similar to those for the Punjab and Bengal will be set up to demarcate the Muslim majority areas of Sylhet district and contiguous Muslim majority areas of adjoining districts, which will then be transferred to Eastern Bengal The rest of the Assam Province will in any case continue to participate in the proceedings of the existing Constituent Assembly

VIII REPRESENTATION IN CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLIES

14 If it is decided that Bengal and the Punjab should be partitioned, it will be necessary to hold fresh elections to choose their representatives on the scale of one for every million of population according to the principle contained in the Cabinet Mission's Plan of May 16, 1946 Similar elections will also have to be held for Sylhet in the event of its being decided that this district should form part of East Bengal The number of representatives to which each area would be entitled is as follows.

Province	*General*	*Muslims*	*Sikhs*	*Total*
Sylhet District	1	2	Nil	3
West Bengal	15	4	Nil	19
East Bengal	12	29	Nil	41
West Punjab	3	12	2	17
East Punjab	6	4	2	12

15 These representatives will either join the existing Constituent Assembly or form the new Constituent Assembly according to the mandate given to them by the areas concerned

IX ADMINISTRATIVE MATTERS

16 Negotiations will have to be initiated as soon as possible on administrative consequences of any partition that may have been decided upon

(a) Between the representatives of the prospective successor authorities about all subjects now dealt with by the Central Government including Defence, Finance and Communications

(b) Between different successor authorities and H M G for treaties in regard to matters arising out of the transfer of power

(c) In the case of Provinces that may be partitioned, as to administration of all provincial subjects such as the division of assets and liabilities, the police and other services, the High Courts, provincial institutions, etc

X THE TRIBES OF THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER

17 Agreements with tribes of the N W Frontier of India will have to be negotiated by the appropriate successor authority

XI THE STATES

18 H M G wish to make it clear that the decisions announced above relate only to British India and that their policy towards Indian States remains unchanged

XII NECESSITY FOR SPEED

19 In order that the successor authorities may have time to prepare themselves to take over power, it is important that all the above processes should be completed as quickly as possible To avoid delay, the different Provinces or parts of Provinces will proceed independently as far as practicable within the conditions of this Plan, [and] the existing Constituent Assembly and the new Constituent Assembly (if formed) will proceed to frame Constitutions for their respective territories they will of course be free to frame their own rules

XIII FURTHER ANNOUNCEMENTS BY GOVERNOR-GENERAL

20 H.E. the Governor-General will from time to time make such further announcements as may be necessary in regard to procedure or any other matters for carrying out the above arrangements

[1] Not provided with the original
[2] See No 418, note 6
[3] See ibid, note 7

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Papers from the Viceroy's Office (handed over to Jinnah personally by Mieville)
Jawaharlal Nehru to Louis Mountbatten

F 22/101-104

[Although dated 17 May 1947, and promised to be shown to Jinnah the following day, the copy of this letter was not delivered to him until the afternoon of 20 May Its background is that when on 17 May the Viceroy's office sent to Jinnah two alternative proposals on the transfer of power for comments (No 440), Mountbatten directed his staff also to furnish the Muslim League leader with Nehru's views on the said proposals But Jinnah was not given the requisite document and he had to send a reminder (No 441) On 18 May, Brockman, after obtaining Nehru's concurrence supplied to Jinnah only a few extracts from the Congress leader's letter (Enclosure to No 442) In exasperation, Jinnah complained to Mountbatten that he would not be able to give his comments on the draft proposals unless he had before him the Congress views in full (No 441) Since the Viceroy's office could not now withhold the information any longer, Eric Mieville personally called on Jinnah on the evening of 20 May and delivered to him this document (No 452)]

SECRET AND PERSONAL 17 YORK ROAD, NEW DELHI,
17 May 1947

Dear Lord Mountbatten,

V P Menon has shown me the latest draft announcement[1] as well as draft proposal[2] for the transfer of power during the interim period I have made certain comments to him in regard to them I repeat these points below so that they may be before you in writing for facility of reference

DRAFT ANNOUNCEMENT

Paragraph 1 There has been some improvement But I must say that I dislike the last sentence There is no point in it and it is somewhat of an irritant As a matter of fact, there has been an agreement between the Congress and H M G on the basis of the Plan of May 16th[3] as well as their declaration of December 6, 1946[4] It might be said that all parties in India have accepted and agreed to this with the exception of the Muslim League To go on laying stress on political parties being unable to reach an agreement is neither fair nor completely correct In any event it is not a very tactful approach to the problem I still think that the changes I suggested in paragraph 1 would improve it

Paragraph 4 There has been a considerable change in this for the worse Yesterday we were told that our suggestions had been accepted Instead of that the whole structure of the sentence at the

beginning has been changed laying emphasis on the exception rather than the rule That exception has been dealt with separately later on in the document and there is no need to emphasise it right at the beginning of the paragraph This emphasis leads to a wrong approach to the problem It must be remembered that the Constituent Assembly has been functioning on the basis of an agreement with H M G and in accordance with their plan of May 16, 1946 That is the basic theme In view, however, of certain developments, it is proposed to make certain changes which are enumerated later on Those changes apply ultimately only to the areas deliberately choosing to opt out of the purview of the Constituent Assembly I suggest, therefore, that the wording I had recommended in my note[5] yesterday for paragraph 4 should be kept The present wording is not even in conformity with the original draft

Paragraph 7 I fear that there is still lack of clarity But I do not press this point any more as I have no objection to the intention behind this paragraph

Paragraph 9 In this a reference is made to the demarcation of boundaries of the two parts of the Punjab on the basis of *Girdawar* circles I do not know what these circles are But I am told that our Sikh friends do not approve of this provision

Paragraph 13 I notice the changes made As there is a reference in this paragraph to "contiguous Muslim majority areas" and the district adjoining Sylhet, I do not see any logic how the same principle might not be borne in mind regarding that part of Sind which adjoins Kutch and Jodhpur This is the Tharparkar area which is largely desert, but which contains one town Umarkot The area is big enough in the map, but is very sparsely populated I realise the difficulties you pointed out yesterday and I have no wish to press for any addition to the document in regard to this matter But I hope that you will bear this in mind so that when final changes have to be made this matter should also be considered

Paragraph 14[6] End relating to the Sikhs This is an addition I think it is desirable that special reference be made to the Sikhs But whether this paragraph will please them I rather doubt The last sentence is not wholly correct It is, of course, impossible to keep any group together 100 per cent in a scheme of partition But, it must be possible to meet many of the Sikh demands by certain variations of the boundary line As the paragraph stands, I think it will serve no useful purpose and had better be omitted

All of us sympathise very greatly with the Sikhs and would like to

help them as much as possible in their predicament. But I do not feel competent, in a matter affecting them intimately, to say anything on their behalf or to commit them.

Subject to the remarks I have [made] above I am prepared to agree to the draft announcement My remarks do not relate to any basic provision in the announcement but rather to the wording of it Naturally my general acceptance to this draft and the proposals contained therein can only be, at this stage, a personal acceptance I shall place the matter before the Congress Working Committee when they meet, and urge them to accept these basic provisions

May I, however, make it clear again, as I have done previously on several occasions, that this acceptance is bound up with the acceptance of others also That is to say, if there is a settlement on this basis, we accept these proposals for the sake of the settlement If there is no clear settlement then there is no point in our accepting these proposals and in that event we revert to the Cabinet Mission's Plan of May 16, 1946

That Plan is, in fact, a kind of an agreement between H M G and all others in India except the Muslim League We would have liked that Plan to remain in its entirety But with a view to a complete settlement of all claims and to the establishment of peaceful conditions, we are prepared to agree to a variation of the Plan as suggested in the draft announcement A real settlement and an abandonment of further claims is an essential part of the scheme Without this the proposals fall

PROPOSALS FOR TRANSFER OF POWER DURING THE INTERIM PERIOD

It is essential that there should be a transfer of power by convention or agreement simultaneously with these proposals The present position is an intolerable one when there is no real responsibility anywhere and the situation deteriorates rapidly If the proposals in the draft announcement are agreed to, then no further apprehension should remain in the minds of the Muslim League about any abuse of power or authority against them In order, however, to remove any lingering apprehension, it may be said that the Governor-General will retain this over-riding power to safeguard the legitimate interests of minorities

While we shall welcome any Parliamentary legislation for the interim period, this is really a matter for H M G to consider as how best to give effect to the transfer of power What we are more interested in is the immediate transfer by convention so that the present situation might be dealt with adequately and adjustments made immediately to fit in with the future.

In the draft proposals for the transfer of power it should be re-

membered, first of all, that these are for the interim period only and do not, in any way, take away from the announcement of February 20, 1947 [7] The future set-up will necessarily be determined by the authorities functioning in India or by the Constituent Assembly The principal thing we are aiming at now is not only to create suitable conditions in India which will fit in with the interim period, but also to create a psychological atmosphere of friendship between India and England which will enable us to decide in a co-operative manner about our future relations

Reference is made in these proposals to the transfer of power being on the basis of the Government of India Act 1935 It is inevitable that we should proceed on the basis of the existing structure subject to changes necessitated by the transfer of power But the Government of India Act is a very complicated structure and some provisions of it may later come in our way It is to be clearly understood that power to change this Act during this interim period will vest with the authority in India Naturally we will not desire to make changes for a brief period but the power should be there in case of need

I do not know what Parliamentary legislation might be passed by H M G Without knowing its provisions fully it is obvious that we cannot commit ourselves to it as none of us are parties to it

I accept generally the draft proposals for the transfer of power subject to the clarification given above In Paragraph 5, I should like to add at the end "or till other arrangements are made" [8] This is merely to guard against the prolongation of the period *contemplated in the paragraph*

We agree to the proposal that during *this interim period* [June 1948][9] the Governor-General should be common to both the States, if there are to be two States For our part we shall be happy if you could continue in this office and help us with your advice and experience

There is one important matter which so far has not been discussed, but which cannot be ignored There should be some clause in our agreement to the effect that neither the Union nor the parts of India outside the Union forming a separate State, shall be entitled to permit bases, extra territorial rights, or other infringements of the sovereignty of their territories by any outside State or power Some such agreement must be made between the two States in India for their mutual protection

We have discussed various schemes and proposals which involve a partition of India With great regret and in considerable agony of spirit we have agreed to these proposals because we earnestly desire a peaceful settlement of our problems and the least compulsion on any group or area As you know, we have stood for a united India and we have

worked for it for the greater part of our lives The partition proposed is not of our seeking Our part in this proposed partition is only this that if there is to be a partition according to the will of the people, there should also logically be a partition of certain provinces We have further agreed to certain territorial adjustments because H M G has apparently decided to hand over power only to a divided India Because of our anxiety to have power handed over and because of our belief that the present situation urgently demands this, we are prepared to agree to the proposals made on behalf of H M G But we would greatly prefer to stand for a united India as well as to continue to abide fully by the Cabinet Statement of May 16th If there is no real settlement on the basis of the proposals now made and no handing over of power in accordance with them, then inevitably we stand for a united India and the Cabinet Statement of May 16th

May I say how grateful I am for all the trouble you have taken in this matter It is largely because of your personality and our faith in your sincere goodwill for India, that we have proceeded so far I earnestly trust that we shall see some (?) light soon and put an end to the horrors that are disfiguring India

I have consulted Sardar Patel and this letter generally represents his views also [10]

Yours sincerely,
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

His Excellency
Viscount Mountbatten of Burma,
Viceroy's House,
New Delhi

[1]No 438
[2]No 439
[3]Appendix III
[4]The statement was the result of talks held in London between the British Government and the Indian leaders, Nehru, Jinnah, Liaquat and Baldev Singh The object of the talks was to ensure the participation of all parties in the Constituent Assembly by removing differences of opinion especially in para 19 (v) and 19 (viii) of the statement of the Cabinet Mission which related to the grouping and provincial constitutions See Appendix III Also See F 21/68-70, *QAP*
[5]Annex to No 438
[6]The correct number of this para is 16
[7]No 1
[8]The portions italicized here and hereafter were found marked, or marginally noted, probably by Jinnah
[9]The date was written presumably by Jinnah on the margin
[10]This document was circulated as Viceroy's Conference Paper V C P 53 and has also been reproduced in *TP*, X, No 471, pp 866-870

Annex I to No 452
Jawaharlal Nehru to Ronald Brockman[1]

F 22/99

SECRET *19 May 1947*

I have received your letter of the 19th May[2] enclosing two draft proposals for the transfer of power during the interim period marked "A" and "B" [3] So far as I can make out, "A" is identical with the draft[4] given to me on the evening of the 17th May with the exception of the deletion of paragraph 4 This draft was in supersession of a previous draft[5] given to me that day which was different in many particulars The first clause of the original draft referred to the possibility of there being one Central Government in India The last clause (6) referred to the adjustment of India's position to that of a Dominion by convention pending the passing of necessary legislation by Parliament In the course of our talks[6] with the Viceroy in the afternoon of May 17th we pointed out the necessity of retaining both these clauses which had been omitted in the subsequent draft Ultimately it was decided that clause 1 should be included, otherwise it would appear that there was no possibility of the people concerned deciding in favour of a United India Whatever the chances of partition, it was improper to take it for granted that there will be a partition when people are asked to vote on the issue

2 As to clause 6, we pointed out that we attach the greatest importance to this We did not press for it to be included in the draft if this was supposed to create fresh difficulties at the last moment But we made it perfectly clear that this was very important and H M G should know our views in the matter If some such action was not taken, very great difficulties would arise

3 In regard to the two drafts "A" and "B" that you have sent me, the main difference appears to be that in one there is a common constitutional Governor-General for the two States and in the other there is a separate Governor-General for each State The other changes are consequential on this We have already stated in my letter to Lord Mountbatten dated May 17th, paragraph [18],[7] that in our opinion the Governor-General should be common to both the States if there are to be two States Further, I added that we should be happy if Lord Mountbatten could continue in this office for the interim period

4 We prefer, therefore, draft "A" to "B" But if, for any reason, one of the States wants to have a separate Governor-General for this period, we have no insuperable objection to it

5 May I draw your attention to what I have said in my letter to the

Viceroy dated May 17th in regard to the proposals for transfer of power during the interim period?[8] Also I should like to make it clear that all these proposals do not affect in any way H M G 's announcement of February 20th, 1947 [9]

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

[1]A copy of this letter was also delivered to Jinnah by Mieville personally on 20 May 1947
[2]Alternative proposals "A" and "B" "for transfer of power during the interim period" (No 440) had been sent to Nehru by Brockman on 19th May 1947 See *TP*, X, No 481, p 891
[3]Ibid
[4]Not available in *QAP* or *TP*
[5]Viceroy's Conference Paper V C P 52 See No 439
[6]See Annex II
[7]No 452
[8]Ibid
[9]See No 1

Annex II to No 452
Record of Interview between Rear-Admiral Viscount Mountbatten of Burma and Pandit Nehru and Sardar Patel[1]

Mountbatten Papers Viceroy's Interview No 139[2]

TOP SECRET *17 May 1947,*
4 30 p m

His Excellency the Viceroy asked Pandit Nehru whether Congress accepted the December 6th statement Pandit Nehru categorically assured His Excellency that Congress had accepted the statement His Excellency the Viceroy said that his request was with reference to a telegram which he (His Excellency) had received from Lord Ismay [3] Then His Excellency the Viceroy took Pandit Nehru through the paragraphs of the Announcement [4] He accepted the changes proposed With reference to Paragraph 13 of the Announcement, Pandit Nehru did not press his point concerning the Hindu areas in Sind [5] His Excellency the Viceroy mentioned in this connection that Mr Jinnah had demanded [that] the portion of Purnea District should go to Bengal.[6] Questions of this kind should be referred to the Boundary Commission if there is a demand for amalgamation with one area or the other

His Excellency the Viceroy then showed Pandit Nehru the latest amendment[7] to the proposals for transfer of power There was considerable discussion on this question The important aspect which Pandit Nehru stressed very vehemently was that, once the Announcement was made, the Interim Government should be treated by Convention as a

Dominion Government His Excellency the Viceroy said that he saw considerable difficulty in acceding to this request, but he was prepared, on his own part, to give the Government as much freedom as they wanted in the day-to-day administration Pandit Nehru said that if the Interim Government was to be treated as a Dominion Government, it would have a great psychological effect He was prepared to give the Governor-General overriding powers both in respect of the protection of minorities and also on any matter affecting the separation of the Pakistan area When these two principles were conceded, Pandit Nehru saw no reason why the Interim Government should not be treated by Convention as a Dominion Government He said the present state of affairs was intolerable and he would be ready to resign if his request was not conceded His Excellency the Viceroy put forward two suggestions to meet Congress's point of view One was that there should be Muslim members working in the Congress Departments and vice versa This was not acceptable to both Pandit Nehru and Sardar Patel The second alternative was that, immediately after 2nd June, the Muslim League should be asked to form a separate Government of their own, which would administer the Pakistan areas, and common matters should be discussed by both wings of Government In the earlier part of the discussion, His Excellency the Viceroy mentioned the position of Calcutta in the event of partition and of the possibility of an agreement between the two Governments of Eastern Bengal and Western Bengal as regards the jute trade Sardar Patel was very strongly opposed to treating Calcutta as a free port, and His Excellency did not press his point further

His Excellency the Viceroy promised to put forward Pandit Nehru's point of view to H M G, and he further promised to devise some means by which Congress would be given a free hand so far as administration of Hindustan was concerned

[1]During this interview, held to discuss changes proposed by Nehru in Annex to No 438, Eric Mieville and V P Menon were also present

[2]*TP*, X, No 472, pp 870-871

[3]It is possible that Mountbatten was referring to Ismay's telegram of 14 May which informed the Viceroy of the Prime Minister's wish to see Mountbatten in London See *TP*, X, No 438, pp 822-823

[4]It appears from Mountbatten's interview with Jinnah and Liaquat on 17 May 1947 which followed Viceroy's interview with Nehru and Patel, that their discussions centred on V C P 51 reproduced in No 438 The finally revised copy of the Draft Announcement as given in enclosure to No 451 was issued after the Viceroy's interview with ML leaders See Appendix XIV

[5]No 452

[6]See No 437, note 6

[7]An amended version of No 439 was discussed between Mountbatten, Nehru and Patel In his comments in para 1 of Annex I to No 452, Nehru referred to that amended version which was not provided to Jinnah who complained that there was "complete lack of clarity" and it was "confusion worse confounded " See Enclosure to No 459

453

Paper received from the Viceroy's Office

F 22/106-110

SUGGESTIONS RECEIVED AND NOT EMBODIED IN THE PRESENT DRAFT BUT WHICH WILL BE SUBMITTED FOR CONSIDERATION OF H M G [1]

20 May 1947

The sense of other suggestions has been acted on

CONGRESS PROPOSALS[2]

That *Para 1* [INTRODUCTION] should be amended to read " H M G had hoped that it would be possible for the major parties to cooperate in working out of the Cabinet Mission's Scheme of May 16, 1946, and evolve for India a constitution acceptable to all concerned This hope has not yet been fulfilled H M G are, therefore, faced with the task of making further efforts to implement their intention of transferring power including such variations of the Scheme of May 16th and the adjustments consequent to them as would enable the major parties to cooperate in a peaceful transfer of power"

That *Para 4* [THE ISSUES TO BE DECIDED] should read

"It is not the intention of H M G to interrupt the work of the existing Constituent Assembly, and H M G trust that, as a consequence of this announcement, the Muslim League representatives of those Provinces a majority of whose representatives are already participating in it, will now take their due share in its labours "

MUSLIM LEAGUE PROPOSALS[3]

ML did not comment on *Para 1* [INTRODUCTION]

Para 4 [THE ISSUES TO BE DECIDED]

"I cannot agree that the present [*sic*] existing Constituent Assembly should be allowed to continue Because, in my opinion, it is *ab initio* invalid, but I agree that two independent Constituent Assemblies should be established, one for Pakistan and the other for Hindustan, and all power and authority should be transferred to the Pakistan and Hindustan Constituent Assemblies"

Para 5 [BENGAL AND THE PUNJAB]

"The Muslim League cannot agree to the partition of Bengal and the Punjab It cannot be justified historically, economically, geographically, politically or morally These provinces have built up their

respective lives for nearly a century, administratively, economically and politically, and the only ground which is put forward for the partition is that the areas where the Hindus and Sikhs are in a majority should be separated from the rest of the provinces, on the ground that the Caste Hindus and Sikhs don't want to be under a Government in which the Muslims will be in a majority

The same can be urged by the Muslims and others that they don't want to be under a Government in which the Caste Hindus are in a majority and, therefore, other provinces should also be partitioned It may be noted that there will be nearly 25 millions of Musalmans under the Hindu Government in Hindustan and millions of other communities such as the Scheduled Castes, the Christians, Adibasis and Tribes The principle underlying the demand for establishment of Pakistan and Hindustan is totally different and I have already sent my Statement[4] to you which I issued on 30 April, copy of which has also been sent to the Prime Minister The Muslim League, therefore, cannot agree to the partition of Bengal and the Punjab and I do hope that His Majesty's Government, when they examine this demand will not accept it and that you and His Majesty's Government will both, in the name of justice and fairplay, not submit yourself to this clamour For it will be sowing the seeds of future serious trouble and the results will be disastrous for the life of these two provinces and all the communities concerned

In this connection I may draw your fullest consideration and earnestly press upon you that if you take this decision—which in my opinion will be a fateful one—Calcutta should not be torn away from the Eastern Bengal It has been the heart of Bengal and the Province has developed and grown round this capital of Bengal which was for decades the capital of India before Delhi was established as the capital Merely because the majority of the Caste Hindus vocal section desires Bengal to be partitioned—for in Western Bengal there are 34% Muslims, and out of the remaining 66% the Scheduled Castes are 63% and Caste Hindus 37%, which is less than one third of the total population of the Western Bengal I have every reason to believe that the Scheduled Castes are strongly opposed to the partition of Bengal because they rightly say that they will be divided into two parts, one at the mercy of the Caste Hindus in Western Bengal and the other at the mercy of the Muslims in Eastern Bengal They dread the Caste Hindus and it is well-known that they have suffered economical [*sic* for economic] and social tyranny at the hands of the Hindus for which there is no parallel in the world But if, unfortunately, partition

is decided upon and Eastern Bengal is deprived of its only port of Calcutta which has developed its present position, in no case should it be allowed to go with the Western Bengal, otherwise it will follow as a corollary that Western Bengal will go into Hindustan and His Majesty's Government will be making the present of one great port to Hindustan In any event, if worst comes to worst, Calcutta should be made a free port"

Paras 6, 7 & 8 [BENGAL AND THE PUNJAB]

"These paragraphs relate more to procedure on the assumption that the issue of partition is decided upon and that these two provinces of Bengal and the Punjab should be cut up into two I cannot say that the procedure laid down is satisfactory The one governing principle which has been accepted by you is that the real will of the people of the part that wants to separate should be ascertained and the inhabitants of that part must be given every facility to give their verdict freely and fairly and this can only be done in a satisfactory manner by a plebiscite or a referendum, no doubt on the basis of 1941 census I may point out that having regard to the Communal Award, which was modified by the Poona Pact[5] in tragic circumstances, the Scheduled Castes have been completely left at the mercy of the Caste Hindus in the Electorates Besides, owing to the well-known fact that the Scheduled Castes are socially and economically so weak that even in the present electorates their number does not reflect the real strength of the population Illiteracy and poverty are rampant amongst them and they are not qualified to come on the electoral rolls having regard to the present standard of franchise which is laid down Therefore, great danger lies in a decision being taken on the question of separation of the Western Bengal from Eastern Bengal without any effective voice of the Scheduled Castes, being secured"

VICEROY'S REMARKS

Para 1 [INTRODUCTION]

Part of this amendment has been accepted

Para 4 [THE ISSUES TO BE DECIDED]

Sense of Congress amendment has been accepted Muslim League demand for abolition of present Constituent Assembly refused in view of their agreement for two Constituent Assemblies

Paras 6, 7 & 8. [BENGAL AND THE PUNJAB]

The Governor of Bengal raised with me the possibility of Bengal remaining united and becoming an independent state in close relations with rest of India I have informed him that if the Bengal Constituent Assembly come to any prior agreement about the condition in which they will remain united and if he informs me of this agreement before

the 2nd June, a special paragraph on the future of Bengal may be inserted in H M G 's announcement by general agreement of the meeting with the leaders, which is being held at Delhi on the 2nd June

The views of the Governors of Bengal and the Punjab are being sought

[1]This note was later circulated by S E V Luke, Secretary, Cabinet Office, London, on 20 May 1947 for consideration by the India and Burma Committee of the British Cabinet See *TP*, X, No 491, p 908
[2]See Annex to No 438
[3]No 437
[4]Enclosure to No 379
[5]See No 437, note 5

454

Ghulammohomed A Punjabi to M A Jinnah

F 681/245-246

BAZAR, VYARA, DISTRICT SURAT,
20 May 1947

Janab Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah Sahib

Reference enclosed Habib Bank letter No Gen No 1952[1]

We respectfully beg to request you to recommend to Quaid-i-Azam to accept the enclosed bank draft 291033 for Rs 51 (Rupees fifty-one only) which has been returned by the Habib Bank as the fund is closed There was some delay in collection of money and hence the delay in sending it to Habib Bank

The total amount has been contributed by the poor Mohammedan people of this place with full zeal and sincerity and we humbly hope that the Quaid-i-Azam will not disappoint we people and will please accept our trifling contribution

We humbly hope that the Quaid-i-Azam will please liberally excuse us for troubling in such a trifling matter

Yours faithfully,
GHULAMMOHOMED A PUNJABI
Stationer & General Merchant
Vyara, District Surat, T V Railway

[1]No 434

455

J M Addis[1] to K H Khurshid

F 485/12

10 DOWNING STREET, WHITEHALL,
21 May 1947

Dear Private Secretary,

Thank you for your letter of 14th May,[2] in which you forwarded, on Mr Jinnah's instructions, a full-text copy of Mr Jinnah's Press Statement on May 11th [3] Mr Attlee thanks Mr Jinnah for his consideration in sending him this text He had, however, already seen and studied the full text, immediately after issue

Yours truly,
J M ADDIS

K H Khurshid Esq

[1]Junior Private Secretary to Attlee
[2]Not available in *QAP*
[3]See enclosure to No 420

456

Syed Baquer Bilgrami to M A Jinnah

F 886/217-218

C/O POST BOX 113, HYDERABAD, DECCAN,
21 May 1947

My dear *Qibla* Quaid-i-Azam,

I write this letter for your kind consideration and I hope that it will meet with your approval I am also enclosing some more details about myself for your information

I want to place my services unreservedly and unconditionally at the service of the League I would, however, like to be on the personal staff of either yourself or that of Mr Suhrawardy My father, the late Sir Akeel Jung, was a Deputy Prime Minister of this State, a post which

is now being held by my uncle, Nawab Sir Mahdi Yar Jung I have been educated at Loretto, a famous public school in Scotland My profession is that of an airline pilot I have served in the Army and the Air Force during the War I had taken my release on termination of hostilities I had many jobs offered to me by the State but I am not inclined to accept any as I would like to serve my community I may add that I am also a Mechanical Engineer, and that I have worked in [*sic* for with] Messrs Albion Motors Ltd , Glasgow

In this connection I may also add that I have written a similar letter to Mr Suhrawardy, as a friend of mine, who knows the Premier of Bengal well, has recommended my case Since I am a staunch Muslim I need no introduction to my Quaid-i-Azam I can, however, promise you that there will be no stronger and [more] loyal person than myself in commanding confidence with whomever I may work, or if it comes to that, my life will be offered in furthering the cause of the League and all that for which Islam and the Islamic culture stand

I am a man with fairly independent means and, therefore, money is not at all a consideration I shall be happy to come down to Delhi or Karachi for an interview if you so command

I am not at all interested in the local politics of Hyderabad and it is for this reason that I would like to enter All India Muslim League affairs Let me make it clear that I am no lover of power and all I would like is to serve you

I hope that you will kindly drop me a line at your earliest convenience

With kind and respectful regards,

I am,
Yours most devotedly,
SYED BAQUER BILGRAMI

Enclosure to No 456

F 886/219

Name	Syed Baquer Bilgrami
Father's Name	Late Sir Akeel Jung, Deputy Premier, Hyderabad State
Age	30 years
Education	Have been educated at Loretto and Craigend Park, Edinburgh
Profession	Worked with Messrs Albion Motors Glasgow for more than three years Have very sound knowledge of internal combustion

and compression ignition engines
Have taken flying licences in London with Messrs Surrey Flying Services, Croydon, and Messrs Brookland Flying Club, Brookland, Weybridge
Have worked as a pilot with the Air Division of H.E the Nizam's State Railways.
Served in the Indian Air Force and the Army of Hyderabad State.

SYED BAQUER BILGRAMI

457

Yusuf A Haroon to M A Jinnah

F 274/310

NAPIER ROAD, KARACH
21 May 19

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I would like to recall to your attention my personal conversatio with you regarding the allegations made by the Sind Provinci Congress Committee against our Ministers for using Governme officers of the Civil Supplies and Control Department to recov forcibly from Hindus monies for the Dadu District League Conferenc

Upon my return from Bombay I have received a letter dated tl 13th instant from Doctor Choithram Gidwani, the President of tl Sind Provincial Congress Committee I enclose a copy of the letter question for your information

I also enclose herewith a letter which the Congress office has r ceived officially giving details of the allegations against Pir Ilahi Bakhs In order to shield our Minister I have taken shelter under a pre cutting appearing in *Al-Wahid* from one of the Hindus concerned

I enclose herewith a copy of my reply to the President of tl Congress Committee I now look up to you for guidance in this co nection

Yours sincerely,
YUSUF A HAROON

Enclosure 1 to No 457
Choithram P Gidwani to Yusuf A Haroon

F 274/311

SWARAJ BHAWAN,
RAMCHANDRA TEMPLE ROAD, KARACHI,
13 May 1947

My dear Mr. Haroon,

I have already acknowledged your letter of the first instant.[1] I reciprocated your sentiments and expressed my willingness to meet you and exchange ideas with a view to the maintenance of peace and tranquillity in the province I, however, said nothing to contradict you on the point that the news item appearing in *Sind Observer* and some other section of the Press regarding forcible donations from Hindus in Dadu District for the District Muslim League Conference funds was incorrect

I, however, arranged to have careful enquiry made about this matter at Dadu and in reply I have received from an absolutely reliable source full details about this forcible levy as set out in the accompanying sheet

This sort of procedure on the part of a responsible Minister in a popular Government is, you will agree, a flagrant abuse of the office that he holds

I shall be glad if you will please let me know what you propose doing to prevent a repetition of such malpractices

Yours sincerely,
CHOITHRAM P GIDWANI
President
Sind Provincial Congress Committee

[1]Not available in *QAP*

Annexure to Enclosure 1 to No 457
Copy of the translation of an unsigned letter

F 274/313

DADU,
11 May 1947

Dear Shri Parsram,

For the Muslim League Conference that took place here on the 6th

and 7th instant, from amongst those Hindus who have cloth and sugar ration shops, funds were collected as per list given below

Prior to the Conference, Pir Ilahi Bakhsh called a meeting of the *Mukhtiarkars* of the Dadu District Here, besides the *Mukhtiarkars*, the Collector of the District, Mr Ansari, and Sardar Bahadur Muhammad Bux, retired Collector, whom the Government have appointed Adviser to the Minister for Education and who is also organiser for the Muslim National Guards, were also present Ahmed Khan, *Tapedar*, was also present To each *Mukhtiarkar* was allotted the collection quota on the basis of each *taluka* For the *Mukhtiarkar* of Dadu, the amount fixed was Rs 4,000 (four thousand) Pir Ilahi Bakhsh asked them to collect money from the Hindu ration shopkeepers as well. The Collector of Dadu opposed this move and he was reprimanded by the Pir In Dadu, through Muhammad Ismail, Supply Inspector, money was collected from the following persons (amount shown against each name)

1	Bhawandas Danomal	Sugar Ration shopkeeper	Rs 20
2	Udernomal	Sugar Ration shopkeeper	Rs 8
3	Jethanand Lahorimal	Sugar Ration shopkeeper	Rs 5
4	Topanmal Valarmal	Sugar Ration shopkeeper	Rs 6
5	Motumal Jhuromal	Sugar Ration shopkeeper	Rs 5
6	Motandas Shamdas	Cloth & Sugar Ration shopkeeper	Rs 60
7	Kimatmal	Cloth Ration shopkeeper	Rs 25
8	Kamanmal Chuharmal	Cloth Ration shopkeeper	Rs 21
9	Jasomal Pohumal	Cloth Ration shopkeeper	Rs 24
10	Kamanmal Khodromal	Cloth Ration shopkeeper	Rs 20
11	Hotchand Chatoomal	Cloth Ration shopkeeper	Rs 16

The Sugar Ration shopkeepers were made to pay Re. 1 per bag of sugar while the Cloth Ration shopkeepers were likewise charged at the rate of Re 1 for a cloth quota of Rs 100

In a similar fashion money was collected from other *talukas* of the district Forcible collections were made from Muslims on the plea that these payments would bring them nearer to Pakistan, and refusal to pay would mean death for them "Pakistan or Death" were the words printed on the reverse of the Conference tickets

The teachers of the *talukas* were asked to sell the Conference tickets (thus for instance) Chandumal from Dadu was asked to sell those tickets Similarly, tickets were sold through other Government servants

[UNSIGNED]

Enclosure 2 to No 457

Yusuf A Haroon to Choithram P Gidwani

F 274/312

21 May 1947

My dear Doctor Choithram,

Your letter dated the 13th instant came to my hands upon my return from Bombay recently I am glad that you reciprocate my desire to maintain the peaceful atmosphere in our Province

Regarding your allegations based upon the report that Mr Parsram is supposed to have received from Dadu, I have also made enquiries from our workers on the spot I am afraid that I do not agree with the allegations contained therein In proof of what I say I would refer you to the *Al-Wahid* dated the 20th instant, page 4, wherein this same Chandumal, a teacher of Dadu, has unequivocally denied the charge against him by Mr Parsram regarding forcible selling of tickets for the Dadu District League Conference In view of this refutation by a Hindu gentleman who is alleged to have been one of the persons whom the Muslim League workers are said to have used for the selling of tickets, I hope and trust that you will feel satisfied with these explanations

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
YUSUF A HAROON

Dr Choithram P Gidwani,
Sind Provincial Congress Committee,
Swaraj Bhawan,
Ramchandra Temple Road,
Karachi

458

Muhammad Amin el-Husseini to M A Jinnah

F 478/10
[Original in Arabic]

CAIRO,
21 May 1947

Honoured and respected Mr Mohammad Ali Jinnah,
President,
All India Muslim League,
Bombay,
India

Assalaamo'Alaikum wa Rahmatullahi wa Barakatuhu

It is the usual practice amongst Islamic organizations, associations and institutions in India, Egypt, Syria, Iraq and other Muslim and Arab countries to celebrate Palestine Day on the 27th of *Rajab* on the occasion of the historical journey of the Holy Prophet (peace be upon him) from *al-Masjid al-Haram* to *al-Masjid al-Aqsa* and commemorate his Sacred *Mi'raj* therefrom to the Sublime Heavens This Blessed Day has been consecrated to remind the entire Muslim *ummah* of the religious duty incumbent on everyone of them to defend these holy sites of *Isra* and *Mi'raj* as well as their sacred environs and to urge them to offer all possible financial and physical assistance to their Arab Palestinian brothers in their struggle against the Zionist expansionist designs to occupy Muslim lands and holy places and against all imperialist forces supporting them in their conspiracy

It is pertinent to mention that the 27th of *Rajab* is the day when we celebrate the memory of the entry of the great hero Salah al-Din al-Ayyubi in *Bayt al-Maqdis* (Jerusalem), which houses *al-Masjid al-Aqsa,* in the year 583 A H as a victor, thus rescuing it from the clutches of European invaders

Now as this historic day, i e 27th *Rajab* of the year 1366 A H , is approaching, we hope that you will make necessary arrangements to celebrate the Palestine Day by organizing meetings and conferences in various cities and towns of your country You will also seize this opportunity to urge our Muslim brothers to participate in such meetings and get-togethers, apprise them of the imminent danger to the security of *al-Masjid al-Aqsa* and Palestine and collect donations and send them to the Arab Higher Committee Fund for utilization in its noble struggle

We pray to Almighty Allah to crown your efforts with success
Wassalamo 'Alaikum wa Rahmatullahi wa Barakatuhu,

MUHAMMAD AMIN EL-HUSSEINI
Mufti of Palestine

459

M A Jinnah to Eric Mieville

F 22/82

21 May 1947

Dear Sir Eric,

You sent to me a copy of the revised Draft Announcement[1] in the form in which the Viceroy took it to London for consultations, and also you personally delivered[2] to me in the afternoon of 20th of May at about 5 30 the full text of what purports to be Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's letter of 17th May[3] and also his letter of 19th May,[4] with regard to the two proposals[5] for the transfer of power marked A and B

I have given my full consideration to these and as arranged, I am sending herewith, within the time you had suggested, my note which please communicate to His Excellency Lord Mountbatten, who is now in the United Kingdom

Please acknowledge receipt and oblige

Yours sincerely,
M A JINNAH

Sir Eric Mieville,
1, Willingdon Crescent,
New Delhi

[1]Enclosure to No 451
[2]Mieville informed Mountbatten about his visit to Jinnah for delivering the documents required by the latter See Annex to No 459
[3]No 452
[4]Annex I to 452
[5]No 440

Enclosure to No 459

F 22/83-84

Note by M A Jinnah on Jawaharlal Nehru's letter on the Revised Draft Announcement

21 May 1947

Sir Eric Mieville personally handed over to me what purports to be the full text of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's letter dated 17th of May 1947,[1] addressed to His Excellency Lord Mountbatten, and also what purports to be a copy of Pandit Nehru's letter of the 19th of May[2] addressed to Captain Brockman

I have carefully gone through them and I find that in the letter of 17th May the Congress acceptance is subject to more conditions and clarifications than it appeared from the extracts[3] of his letter that were furnished to me and with which I had to deal in my note forwarded to Sir Eric Mieville on 19th of May [4]

In this letter, paragraph 2, Pandit Nehru refers to clause 6 of the draft[5] that was furnished to him, and he once more emphasizes that he attaches more importance to it Further, he adds that "if some such action was not taken very great difficulties will arise", meaning thereby that clause 6 should be maintained

Dealing with Drafts A and B[6] he concludes by referring to his letter of the 17th of May and says, "May I draw your attention to what I have said in my letter of 17th May, with regard to the proposals for the transfer of power during the interim period " Thereby he goes back to the draft consisting of 6 clauses, whereas we are only concerned with drafts marked A and B

He then goes on to say, "also I should like to make it clear that all these proposals do not affect in any way His Majesty's announcement of 20th February 1947"

There is a complete lack of clarity and it is confusion worse confounded and I am unable really to follow this The drafts A and B are quite clear, and a simple answer could have been given categorically and clearly, instead of what appears in these two letters And from his reference emphatically made that these proposals A and B do not affect in any way His Majesty's Government's announcement of February 20th, I infer that these proposals will cease to operate after June 1948 and that they are meant only for this interim period

This again takes to the central point round which these two letters revolve, namely that the present Interim Government should function as a Dominion Government by convention, whereas the Draft Proposals

A and B make no such provision, but on the contrary clearly postulate that the present Interim Government must be dissolved

I am afraid, I am, therefore, unable to deal with Drafts A and B as the arrangement was that I was to give my comments on these proposals after the Congress had clearly accepted either of the two Drafts A and B, which they have not done

The Muslim League will never agree to any change in the position, functions, or powers of the present Interim Government either by convention or otherwise, but that it must be dissolved as soon as two Constituent Assemblies are formed, and all power should be transferred to them immediately as it was originally laid down in paragraph 16 of the Draft Announcement[7]

I may add that His Excellency Lord Mountbatten's efforts will secure full justice to the 100 millions of Musalmans I am not in the habit of flattering any one, but I must say that throughout our discussions and examination of the various points, I was impressed by the high sense of integrity, fairplay and impartiality on his part and, therefore, I feel that Lord Mountbatten will succeed in his great mission

And finally with reference to the revised Draft Announcement furnished to me on the 20th of May,[8] I find, among others, that with regard to Bengal and the Punjab no change has been made in spite of my very strong objections to the partition of Bengal and the Punjab embodied in my note of 17th May[9] I can only reiterate all that I have said in that with regard to the partition of Bengal and the Punjab and I adhere to the views expressed therein

M A JINNAH

[1]No 452
[2]Annex I to 452
[3]Enclosure to No 442
[4]Enclosure to No 444
[5]Not available in *QAP* See Enclosure to No 444, para 3, where this has been referred to as "some other draft"
[6]No 440
[7]No 418
[8]No 451
[9]Enclosure to No 437 Also see Annex to No 465

Annex to No 459
Eric Mieville to Louis Mountbatten
Telegram, IOR, R/3/1/150 f 42[1]

IMMEDIATE

NEW DELHI,
20 May 1947, 7 30 pm

No 1103-S My Telegram 1096-S of May 20th [2]

I have seen Jinnah and have left with him the full text of Nehru's letter of May 17th (VCP 53)[3] and of May 19th[4] repeated to you in telegram under reference He has promised to let me have a note by tomorrow (Wednesday) evening if possible, or at any rate by 11 a m on Thursday This was the best I could get out of him He told me that he thought we were going too fast and that he could not commit the members of Pakistan Constituent Assembly

At the end of our talk he took my arm and said "I am not speaking as a Partisan, but I beg you to tell Lord Mountbatten once again that he will be making a grave mistake if he agrees to the partition of Bengal and the Punjab" I promised him I would pass on to you his message

[MIEVILLE]

[1] *TP*, X, No 493, p 916
[2] The text of Nehru's letter to Brockman dated 19 May 1947 was telegraphed by Mieville to Mountbatten in London See *TP*, X, No 482, note 6, p 893
[3] No 452
[4] Annex I to 452

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Abdur Rab Nishtar to Abdus Sattar Pirzada
(Copy to M A Jinnah)

F 144/110

26 FEROZESHAH ROAD, NEW DELHI,
21 May 1947

My dear Pirzada Sahib,

This is to introduce to you Mr S A Ashraf, Additional District Magistrate of Bihar Due to various reasons it is apprehended that his further stay in Bihar might involve him in some difficulty for the only sin that he is a good Muslim He has brought a letter to me from Mr Latifur Rahman, a member of the Working Committee of the All

India Muslim League, which speaks for itself, and I am attaching it with this letter Mr Ashraf wants to go to Sind I have requested him to meet you because you will be in a better position to guide him in this respect

Yours sincerely,
A R NISHTAR

The Hon'ble Pirzada Abdus Sattar,
Revenue Minister,
Sind Government,
Camp Delhi

Enclosure to No 460

F 144/111

ANJUMAN-I-ISLAMIA HALL, BANKIPORE, PATNA,
10 May 1947

My dear Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar,

This is to introduce to you Mr S A Ashraf, Additional District Magistrate, on leave He belongs to a very respectable and illustrious family of Syeds and is eminently connected The late Mr S A Manzer, Barrister-at-Law, Vice-President of the Provincial Muslim League, was the eldest brother of Mr. Ashraf and the deceased was a devoted Leaguer and in fact he gave his life during the Muslim League Session held in Patna in 1938

Mr Ashraf is an officer of outstanding ability and is considered to be a brilliant and versatile genius He was in charge of operations during the recent carnage of Bihar, where he, like a true Muslim, discharged his duties unflinchingly and at great personal risk saved the lives of thousands of Muslim women and children, who but for his timely courage, initiative and forethought would have been butchered It may sound paradoxical, but this commendable and humanitarian duty which Mr Ashraf rendered brought upon him the wrath of the Congress Government, and he is being harassed and humiliated in every conceivable manner It is very likely that he may be seriously involved if he does not leave this place immediately He is one of the very few officers who have strength and independence of character and above all commands a facile pen His case is really a special one and as such is worthy of very special consideration It is our duty to

help and protect such a distinguished Muslim officer who despite all odds holds our cause in heart

It is therefore necessary that his services should be acquired elsewhere and I am confident that he will be a real acquisition to any department of Government I have requested him to meet you and I shall be grateful to you if you could kindly do all you can to get him settled As Additional District Magistrate he gets in all Rs 1500 per month

I fervently trust you will kindly help him in all possible manner and treat this as a very special case

Yours sincerely,
S M LATEEF-UR-RAHMAN,
Member, All India Muslim League Working Committee

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Statement by Abdus Sattar Pirzada
(Copy to M A Jinnah)

F 1013/77-78

NEW DELHI,
21 May 1947

The Hon'ble Pirzada Abdus Sattar, Minister for Development and Reforms, Government of Sind, has issued the following statement to the press today

Now that the achievement of Pakistan is more or less a certainty, we must prepare ourselves in all possible ways to receive power when it is transferred to us Sind has been the gateway of Islam in India and it shall be the gateway of Pakistan too It was the first province to pass the Pakistan Resolution in its Legislative Assembly and it shall be the first to declare itself a unit of the great Islamic State of Pakistan which will soon be appearing on the map of the world We in Sind are happily in a position to prepare the preliminaries for its advent and we have already started doing so

Disruptionists and the enemies of Musalmans have recently started the cry of Sovereign Independent Provinces as the last lingering hope of destroying the unity of Islam in India Their motive in doing so is to

perpetuate them as weak and isolated units which could be conveniently swallowed up later by the Hindu State of Hindustan It is surprising that the Congress should advocate Sovereign Independence for small units like the Frontier Province when they have declared even Pakistan to be too small a State, economically and otherwise, to exist independently In the modern world, it is impossible for provinces like Sind or the Frontier to exist as Sovereign Independent States They should, therefore, elect to remain as units within a great Union of Pakistan

The Memorandum which is said to have been submitted by Mr Jairamdas Doulatram, the Hindu member of the present Constituent Assembly from Sind and others, demanding that they should be linked with Hindustan[1] and not with Pakistan is again an attempt on the part of the Hindu minority in Sind, forming only 27% of its population, to impose their will, as they always seek to do, on the overwhelming Muslim majority of 73% These gentlemen are of course dancing to the tune called to them by their masters in Hindustan I wish that my friends, instead of continuing their fight to the bitter end, forgot their wrath and fury against Pakistan and settled down to doing something constructive for the province The people of Sind have made their choice and that choice is Pakistan and nothing can alter it Nor will the cry of Sindhi and non-Sindhi or *Mulki* and *Ghair Mulki* help anybody It is certainly better for us in Sind to be linked with the Muslim State of Pakistan than with a Hindu-dominated State of Hindustan As I have clearly said in another statement, we welcome our Muslim brethren from the minority provinces with open arms Pakistan is as much their home as it is ours

I would also take this opportunity of inviting our great Sovereign Constituent body, namely the Constituent Assembly for Pakistan, when it comes into being, to hold its sittings at Karachi Our Government, which will be its own Government, will make all possible arrangements for it It would be in the fitness of things that the capital of a province, which I have described as the gateway of Pakistan, should be the meeting place of this historic body

ABDUS SATTAR PIRZADA
Reforms Minister,
Government of Sind

[1]On 12 May Jairamdas Daulatram, a Congressman from Sind, stated that he had at Delhi "discussed minority questions with particular reference to non-Muslim minority living in the Pakistan area after the partition of the Punjab and Bengal, and the problems which would arise after the division of India" See *Pakistan Times*, 16 May 1947 It is possible that Nehru's references to contiguous majority areas in Sind in para 6(g) of Annex to No 438 and to Tharparkar area in No 452 were made at his instance

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Gulamhussain A Sonavala to M A Jinnah

F 908/99

ISMAIL BUILDING, 4TH FLOOR,
381 HORNBY ROAD, FORT, BOMBAY-1,
21 May 1947

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am enclosing herewith a copy of a letter addressed to the Commerce Member, Government of India, on the subject of Muslim representation on the Board of Trustees of the Bombay Port Trust

As you are aware, the above Chamber is an offspring of the League and as such is the only representative body of Muslim commercial opinion

There are others who are trying to sabotage the claim of this Chamber and I am writing to you to enlist your powerful support to secure the just recognition of this Chamber

Hope you will please support our claim

Yours sincerely,
GULAMHUSSAIN A SONAVALA
Vice-President,
Bombay Provincial Muslim Chamber of Commerce

Enclosure to No 462
Gulamhussain A Sonavala to Commerce Member, Government of India (Copy to M A Jinnah)

F 908/100

ISMAIL BUILDING, 4TH FLOOR,
381 HORNBY ROAD, FORT, BOMBAY-1,
21 May 1947

Dear Sir,

We understand the Government of India are seriously contemplating adequate representation of Muslims on the Port Trusts all over India

So far as Bombay is concerned we are the only recognised representative and authoritative body of Muslim commercial opinion As such we claim that we are the only commercial organisation entitled to represent Muslim commercial interests in the Board of Trustees of the Bombay Port Trust

Since, as is reported, a re-shuffle of the Board is quite imminent we herewith submit our Chamber's claim for due representation on the Bombay Port Trust

We trust that when appointments are made, our Chamber's claim for representation on the Bombay Port Trust will be adequately met

Yours faithfully,
GULAMHUSSAIN A SONAVALA
Vice President

Copy forwarded to

1 The Chairman, Board of Trustees, Bombay Port Trust
2 Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah
3 The Hon'ble Liaquat Ali Khan
4 The Hon'ble Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar
5 The Hon'ble Ghazanfar Ali Khan

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Mohammad Zahir-ud-Din to M A Jinnah

F 908/101

AMBALA,
21 May 1947

Dear [Quaid-i-Azam],

The question of retrenchment of the employees of Military Accounts Department has been engaging the attention of the Government for a considerable time now and actual retrenchment has been commenced since 15 May 1947 At present 30,000 persons are employed both in the permanent and temporary cadres Out of this large number, only 5,000 are Muslims, about 500 belonging to the permanent cadre and the rest being temporary The Home Department, *vide* its Resolution No 14/17-B/33 dated 4-7-34,[1] fixed the percentage of Muslims for vacancies to be filled by direct recruitment at 25% But this percentage has not been maintained either on the permanent or on the temporary side Incalculable harm has, therefore, been done to the Muslims and more serious injury will be caused to their interests, if some sort of vigorous action is not taken immediately to safeguard them

Our plea is that since the Muslims hold only one-sixth of the total of 30,000 which brings the percentage down to 16 5, the services of not a

single Muslim should be dispensed with unless and until this deficiency in percentage is made up by discharging 10,000 non-Muslims from the temporary cadre

This is the position in a nutshell The All India Military Accounts Muslim Employees Union has knocked at many doors, but to no avail As a last resort, they have decided to lay their grievances for redress before you and to seek your help in saving thousands of Muslim families from impending disaster

As President of the Union, I approach you, therefore, with the request that you may be pleased to grant an interview to a deputation of the Union at your earliest convenience We would [only] waste a minute of your valuable time We are fully conscious of the pressure of heavy work and responsibilities which claim your constant attention and we cannot but seek shelter in your solicitude and sympathy for the Muslims of the Land Since the matter is one of great urgency, an early date for the desired interview is solicited

With humble regards,

I am, truly yours,
MOHAMMAD ZAHIR-UD-DIN
Advocate & President,
All India Military Accounts Muslim Employees Union

[1]Not available in *QAP*

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M A Jinnah's Replies[1] to the Questionnaire from Doon Campbell, Reuter's Correspondent

D 167/203-206

NEW DELHI,
21 May 1947

Question 1 What sort of relationship do you envisage between Pakistan and Hindustan?

Answer Friendly and reciprocal in the mutual interest of both That is why I have been urging that let us separate in a friendly way and remain friends thereafter

Question 2 How would you divide the armed forces? Do you envisage a defence pact or any other kind of military alliance between Pakistan and Hindustan?

Answer All the armed forces must be divided completely, but I do

envisage an alliance, pact or treaty between Pakistan and Hindustan, again in the mutual interest of both and against any aggressive outsider

Question 3 Do you favour a federation of Pakistan States even if there is to be a partition of the Punjab and Bengal?

Answer The new clamour for partition that is started by the vocal section of the Caste Hindus in Bengal and the Sikhs in particular in the Punjab will have disastrous results if these two provinces are partitioned and the Sikhs in the Punjab will be the greatest sufferers, and Muslims under contemplated Western Punjab will no doubt be hit, but it certainly will deal the greatest blow to those, particularly the Sikhs, for whose benefit this new hare has been started Similarly in Western Bengal, Caste Hindus will suffer the most and so will the Caste Hindus in Eastern Punjab This idea of partition is not only thoughtless and reckless, but if, unfortunately, His Majesty's Government favour it, in my opinion it will be a grave error and will prove dangerous immediately and far more so in the future Immediately it will lead to bitterness and unfriendly attitude between Eastern Bengal and Western Bengal and same will be the case with torn Punjab, i e between Western Punjab and Eastern Punjab

Partition of the Punjab and Bengal, if effected, will, no doubt, weaken Pakistan to a certain extent Weak Pakistan and a strong Hindustan will be a temptation for the strong Hindustan to try to dictate I have always said that Pakistan must be viable and sufficiently strong as a balance *vis-a-vis* Hindustan I am, therefore, deadly against the partition of Bengal and the Punjab and we shall fight every inch against it

Question 4 Will you demand a corridor through Hindustan connecting the Eastern and Western Pakistan States?

Answer Yes

Question 5 Do you envisage the formation of a Pan-Islamic State stretching from the Near and Middle East to the Far East after the establishment of Pakistan?

Answer The theory of Pan-Islamism has long ago exploded, but we shall certainly establish friendly relations and co-operate for the mutual good and world peace and we shall always stretch our hand of friendship to the Near and Middle East and the Far East after the establishment of Pakistan

Question 6 On what basis will the Central Administration of Pakistan be set up? What will be the attitude of this Government to the Indian States?

Answer The basis of the Central Administration of Pakistan and that of the units to be set up will be decided, no doubt, by the Pakistan Constituent Assembly But the Government of Pakistan can only be a

popular, representative and democratic form of Government Its Parliament and Cabinet responsible to the Parliament will be both finally responsible to the electorate and the people in general without any distinction of caste, creed or sect, who will be the final deciding factor with regard to the policy and programme of the Government that may be adopted from time to time

As regards our attitude towards the Indian States I may make it clear once more that the policy of the Muslim League has been and is not to interfere with the Indian States, with regard to their internal affairs But while we expect as rapid a progress as possible in the various States towards the establishment of full responsible government, it is primarily the concern of the ruler and his people

As regards the position of the States in the light of the announcement made by His Majesty's Government embodied in the White Paper of 20th February, I wish to make it clear that the States are at liberty to form a confederation as one solid group or confederate into more than one group, or stand as individual States It is a matter entirely for them to decide It is clear, as far as I can understand, that Paramountcy is going to terminate and, therefore, they are completely independent and free It is for them to adjust such matters as there may be by virtue of their treaties and agreements with the paramount power They must consider as completely independent and free States, free from any paramountcy, as to what is best in their interest, and it will be open to them to decide whether they should join the Pakistan Constituent Assembly or the Hindustan Constituent Assembly, for there must be and will be two sovereign Constituent Assemblies of Pakistan and Hindustan

Question 7 In general terms what will be the foreign policy of Pakistan? Will it apply for membership of the United Nations?

Answer The foreign policy of Pakistan can only be for peace and friendly relations with all other nations and we shall certainly play our part in the membership of the United Nations

Question 8 On which major power is Pakistan most likely to lean?

Answer The one that will be in our best interests It will not be a case of leaning on any power, but we shall certainly establish friendship and alliances which will be for the benefit of all those who may enter into such an alliance

Question 9 What sort of relationship do you envisage between Pakistan and Britain?

Answer This question can only be decided by the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan and, as I understand the situation, relationship between Pakistan and Britain can be established which will be really

beneficial for both Pakistan cannot live in isolation, nor can any other nation do so today We shall have to choose our friends and I trust, wisely

Question 10 What are your views in regard to the protection of minorities in Pakistan territories?

Answer There is only one answer The minorities must be protected and safeguarded The minorities in Pakistan will be the citizens of Pakistan and enjoy all the rights, privileges and obligations of citizenship without any distinction of caste, creed or sect, and I have no doubt in my mind that they will be treated justly and fairly The Government will run the administration and control the legislative measures by its parliament and the collective conscience of parliament itself will be a guarantee that the minorities need not have any apprehensions of any injustice being done to them

Over and above that, there will be provisions for the protection and safeguard of the minorities which, in my opinion, must be embodied in the Constitution itself And this will leave no doubt as to the fundamental rights of the citizens, protection of religion and faith of every section, freedom of thought, expression and association and protection of their cultural and social life

M A JINNAH

[1]This typewritten document contains corrections in Jinnah's handwriting as well as his signature

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M A Jinnah to Eric Mieville[1]

F 22/67-68

22 May 1947

I have the following comments on the Revised Draft Announcement[2] forwarded with your letter of 20th May 1947 I shall be glad if you would communicate these comments to the Viceroy by telegram

III BENGAL AND PUNJAB—PARAS 5, 6, 7 & 8

According to these proposals the fate of Western Bengal will be decided by the present members of the Bengal Legislative Assembly returned from that area But as I pointed out earlier,[3] this will not reflect the will of the people of that area, the majority of whom belong to the Scheduled Castes The Communal [Award] as modified by the Poona Pact[4] and the high franchise have left these poor and ignorant people at the mercy of the Caste Hindus in the electorate The only satisfac-

tory way of getting a free and fair verdict on the issue of partition of Bengal is by a referendum in Western Bengal I would strongly urge again that the Scheduled Castes should not be deprived of the right to decide their own future and that this further disability should not be added to their many handicaps in life

The separation of Western Bengal raises the big question of Calcutta which is the centre of the economic and cultural life of the whole of Bengal If Bengal is to be partitioned, Eastern Bengal should not be deprived of the port of Calcutta At the very least it should be made a free port

The revised draft makes no mention either of a referendum in Western Bengal or of the treatment of Calcutta I suggest that it should be amplified to cover both these points [5]

VII ASSAM—PARA 13

In the same way as the Muslim majority areas of Assam are being allowed to amalgamate with Eastern Bengal, those areas of the Purnea District[6] in Bihar which are contiguous to Eastern Bengal and have a Muslim majority should be given the choice of amalgamating with Eastern Bengal The Muslim population in this area is of a considerable size and cannot be ignored I suggest that provisions similar to those for Assam should be added to the draft in respect of these areas

XI THE STATES—PARA 18

The original draft[7] reads as follows

"H M G wish to make it clear that the decisions announced above relate only to British India and that their policy towards Indian States remains unchanged Some of the States are already participating in the deliberations of the existing Constituent Assembly H M G hope that all the others will join either the existing Constituent Assembly or the new Constituent Assembly "

This was in accordance with the sense of our discussion and is the logical outcome of the partition of British India In the revised draft, however, the last two sentences have been omitted As I presume they state the views of H M G correctly, they should be reinserted If they do not, it is only fair that the States and the Muslim League should not be left in doubt as to what the views of H M G are Vagueness in an important matter like this is likely to create confusion in the public mind

XII NECESSITY FOR SPEED—PARA 19

This paragraph authorised Provinces or parts of Provinces to proceed independently as far as practicable within the conditions of this Plan The only point which parts of Provinces have to determine is which Constituent Assembly they will join No action should be taken regarding

Provincial administration till after the report of the Boundary Commission has been put into effect So, for the sake of clarity I suggest that the words "within the conditions of this Plan" in line 6 of para 19 be inserted

M A JINNAH

[1]Copies of this document are also available in *QAP* F 22/69-70 and F 142/36-37
[2]Enclosure to No 451
[3]No 437
[4]See No 437, note 5
[5]Some of the points raised in this document were also highlighted by Jinnah in his replies to a press correspondent See No 464
[6]The areas of Purnea District which were contiguous to Eastern Bengal and had Muslim majority comprised Kishanganj Sub-division
[7]No 418, para 19

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Ahmad Ispahani to M A Jinnah

F 310/61

51 EZRA STREET, CALCUTTA,
22 May 1947

My Dear Mr Jinnah,

Tomorrow evening I am calling a meeting at my house at 5 30 of all the Muslim organisations in existence in Calcutta who are trying to work in different angles Most of them have complained to me against the present Government I am also inviting three or four Ministers so that they may know what the public opinion is

After reading what you had to say to Reuter's representative[1] the position is quite clear for every Musalman to hope for the best and be prepared for the worst, as you have often said We are trying to organise with our little resources and talent that we have at our disposal Our effort of tomorrow is to put up a joint organisation to meet any emergency

My son Sadri, who is now in England, is rather disappointed with Suleri [2] We really do need somebody bigger than Suleri in London Shoaib Qureshi would have fitted the job if he was a full-fledged Leaguer

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
AHMAD ISPAHANI

[1]See No 464
[2]Z A Suleri

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Manzar-i-Alam to M A. Jinnah

F 227/25

ALL INDIA STATES MUSLIM LEAGUE,
LIAISON OFFICE, DELHI,
22 May 1947

Sir,

This is to inform you that the following cablegram has been sent by the undersigned to Mr Attlee, Lord Mountbatten and Secretary of State for India in London

"Rectify gross injustice to thirty million States Muslims by British Cabinet Mission Plan in not specifying their separate seats in Constituent Assembly No faith in Congress and Princes Chamber for betraying States Muslims as proved from elections to Constituent Assembly in which not a single Muslim returned from any Indian State Urge British Cabinet to provide before Paramountcy terminates effective safeguards for political, economic, social, cultural and religious interests of States Muslims with approval and consent of All India Muslim League Otherwise Muslim majority areas in Indian States must be partitioned to form independent unit of Sovereign Pakistan "

Yours sincerely,
MANZAR-I-ALAM,
Convener,
All India States Muslim League

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Eric Mieville to M A Jinnah

F 22/85

THE VICEROY'S HOUSE, NEW DELHI,
22 May 1947

Dear Mr Jinnah,

I write to thank you for your letter of yesterday's date[1] with which you enclosed a note[2] which I have forwarded this morning to Lord Mountbatten by cable

As I told you I would do when I last saw you, I am sending to Pandit Nehru for his confidential information copies of your two notes to the Viceroy of May 19th[3] and 21st[4] in the same way as I gave you for your confidential information copies of Pandit Nehru's letter to the Viceroy of 17th May[5] and his letter to Captain Brockman of 19th May [6]

Yours sincerely,
ERIC C MIEVILLE

[1]No 459
[2]Enclosure to No 459
[3]No 444
[4]No 459 and its Enclosure
[5]No 452
[6]Annex to No 452

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A A Quddoosi to M A Jinnah

F 917/132-133

NABI BAGH NEW MODEL HIGH SCHOOL, DELHI,[1]
22 May 1947

Most respected Quaid-i-Azam,

Before submitting my humble views in the form of a memorandum, I beg to apologise for the encroachment upon your most precious time, especially at this stage when the final decision of the British Government, solving the constitutional problem of India, is shortly to be announced It is a sincere and earnest desire to serve my nation that has encouraged me to lay before you this humble memorandum for a favourable consideration, and if any thing in it is found useful, to give it a practical shape in the way you think proper I, however, lay my humble services at your disposal to work out any changed position proposed by you in any of the suggestions

Thanking you in anticipation,

Yours most obediently,
A A QUDDOOSI
Honorary Secretary

[1]The School, established in 1937, aimed at educating children in the teachings of Islam and training them in industry and commerce as well

Enclosure 1 to No 469

F 917/134-148

MEMORANDUM

It is now an admitted fact that the division of India into Pakistan and Hindustan is the only solution of the political problem of this country The Muslim League, which has so efficiently steered the ship of the Muslim nation in the stormy main of politics under the guidance of their most worthy and ablest leader, Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, has succeeded in achieving their demand Whether the Congress and the other non-Muslim parties come to a compromise peacefully today, or at a later date after unwise bloodshed, the Muslim League is not to go back an inch from their demand

In view of this it is high time now to examine the extent to which the inclusion of the provinces[1] demanded by the Muslim League with their present boundaries into Pakistan will serve the object of safeguarding the religion and social, political and cultural interests of the Musalmans of India and also whether such division will solve the political problem once for all

We fully trust that the division asked for by the Muslim League would have no doubt solved the problem, had the spirit with which the demand was started might have [*sic*] been appreciated by the other party or parties as well Unfortunately the reverse happened The other communities are taking our demand in quite a different light and the very basis on which this division would have been useful to both the communities has practically been ignored A stage has arrived when the details of division are to be reviewed and analysed The points raised by the Cabinet Mission in their statement dated 16th May 1946[2] for and against the demand of the division of the country will help us to some extent The points[3] are

1 It has shown an almost unusual [*sic*] desire outside the supporters of the Muslim League for the unity of India
2 Nor can we see any justification for including within the sovereign state of Pakistan those districts of Punjab and Bengal and Assam in which the population is predominantly non-Muslim This point would particularly affect the position of Sikhs
3 There are weighty administrative, economic and military considerations The whole of the transportation, postal and telegraph system of India have [*sic*] been established on the basis of United India To disintegrate them would greatly injure both parts of India

4 The case for a united defence is even stronger. The Indian Navy and Air Force would become less effective.
5 The two sections of the suggested Pakistan contain the two most vulnerable frontiers in India and for a successful defence in depth the area of Pakistan would be insufficient
6 A further consideration of importance is the great difficulty which the Indian States would find in associating themselves with the divided British India
7. Finally there is the geographical fact that the two halves of the proposed Pakistan State are separated by some seven hundred miles and the communications between them both in war and peace be dependent on the goodwill of Hindustan.

While examining these points we find

Points 1, 3, 4, 5 and 6 It is a fact that with the exception of the Muslims no other community endorsed the demand of Pakistan and apart from the points of view of defence, economic and other resources, it cannot be questioned that united India would have been a mighty empire and a strongest [*sic*] power in the world from all points of view and we should have agreed to it, had there been no danger of Hindu domination in the administration with the help of their brute majority and a risk of the Muslims being let down in all walks of life But it is now gratifying to see that through the untiring efforts of the Quaid-i-Azam, it has practically been decided that India will very shortly be divided into Pakistan and Hindustan, and we fully believe that all difficulties pointed out by the Mission will be solved by the efforts of both the Governments with as little loss to the country as possible

Items 2 and 7 In spite of the fact that India is going to be divided shortly, these two points need consideration The Division of India had been based on the Two Nation Theory and accordingly separate lands have been earmarked for both the Nations, the question of vivisection of provinces need not have arisen The Muslim Nation has still complete confidence that it is still possible that a wise and just policy in this respect may prevail in the end, but hatred and bitterness between the two major nations and the third community, i e the Sikhs, have spread to such an extent that it has become nearly impossible to bring any compromise between them to guarantee future peace and prosperity in this country The fact that non-Muslims are in heavy majority in the eastern Punjab, western Bengal and northern Assam stands there and it is possible that the demand of the Hindus and Sikhs for the division of these provinces may succeed and we may be compelled to come to a compromise on the *Partition* basis This will

naturally lead, as the spokesmen of the Muslim League have indicated in their recent statements, to the side by side partition of other Hindu-majority provinces, namely U P , Bihar, Bombay, Madras and Delhi In order to avoid this catastrophe I may be allowed to lay two humble suggestions for your gracious consideration

Proposal No 1 The districts having non-Muslim majority in the Punjab, Bengal, Assam, and the districts having great [*sic*] Muslim population comparatively in U.P., Bihar, Madras, Bombay, C P and Delhi may be formed into Hindu and Muslim pockets respectively and arrangements may be made for exchange of population, so that the rest of the Provinces may be free to be members of majority community for administration purposes as they like in each province The administration of these pockets be entrusted to a separate block of ministry of each province with Ministers in the ratio of population of each community including the Premier of the Province as one of the Ministers This administration should be free from the Provincial Ministry's interference as a whole, but the pockets thus formed will be part and participle [*sic* for parcel] of the province for all other purposes The position of the population after forming pockets in the way suggested above is explained in Statement No 2 (a, b, c, d, e, f, g, h, and j) enclosed

Proposal No 2 New provinces may be created with the Hindu-majority districts of the Punjab on the one side and the proposed Muslim districts in the U P and Delhi Provinces on the other side, and another with northern Assam, western Bengal and northern Muslim pocket of Bihar with 50 50 Hindu-Muslim representation in administration in each of the two proposed provinces The position of population of each community in these two provinces is also shown in Statement No 3

Other Hindu Provinces may have Muslim pockets as shown in Statement No 2

Third and last alternative If both the above-mentioned suggestions do not satisfy the two major nations and the Sikhs, the last, though most difficult, is the solution of partitioning all the provinces and transferring of Hindu population from Muslim areas and Muslim population from the Hindu-administered areas This will naturally create economical [*sic*] difficulties, a lot of rehabilitation work and loss of life and property in some cases But things of this kind always happen in a great revolution and we on our part will have to swallow this bitterest pill The partition of all the provinces has been proposed on population basis, irrespective of the fact what property any indi-

vidual of any community had possessed in any part of the province which he will have to abandon Great care has also been taken in grouping such parts in Hindu or Muslim Blocks which had been the cradle of civilisation of that community and which have some relation of culture, history or religion with a particular community Statements Nos 4 and 5 have been prepared to show the position of population in such blocks as well as the quantity of land exchanged and allowed to be partitioned from Pakistan and Hindustan, and the population of each community to be migrated A map showing the boundary lines of the divided parts and approximate frontiers of such areas is also enclosed[4] This will give some idea of the pockets as well as the possible boundaries of both the great states Fixation of boundary is surely the work of a Commission which will be set up if the basis of division is agreed upon, but this is just to give some idea of how to fix these boundaries Efforts have been made to stick to the natural boundaries as far as possible, but where it has not been, advantage has been taken of the existing boundaries of the districts as well as of railway lines

The division of provinces will automatically cut short the distance which at present exists between the two parts of Pakistan. The N W F P. and Sind in Pakistan and C P and Orissa in Hindustan have not been divided as the provinces contain very meagre percentage of the minor community and it is presumed that neither Muslims nor Hindus will demand partition of these provinces

Migration The question of transfer of population which has already been the burning topic will naturally be taken up whether the provinces are divided or not In case the provinces are not divided the population of a minor community may be shifted to proposed pockets where there is comparatively more population of that community as proposed in Statement No 2 This can only ensure security of life and property In case this is not agreed upon by the other party, the transfer of population from Hindustan to Pakistan and from Pakistan to Hindustan (as demanded now) will create more difficult problems such as climate change, transfer of one community, as for example, from Madras to as far as Sind or the Punjab or Bengal, leaving their religious, historical and cultural places, their universities, etc , but if pockets as proposed are made, or if India is divided provincially, as suggested in the map enclosed, it will facilitate the transfer of both the communities from one place to another but in the same province If migration is to take place on large scale, i e if States are also to be affected, this should also be done keeping in view the region in which

the community which is to be transferred, is living at present For example Muslims from Central India States should be transferred to Bhopal and Jaora, from Western States to Cutch block of Muslim States, from Orissa and Madras and Mysore States to Hyderabad Deccan and from Northern States to Punjab or Bahawalpur States and so on

Centrally Administered Areas In the case of partition of provinces, Baluchistan will form a part of Pakistan, and Coorg a part of Madras, i e Hindustan. Delhi will have to be divided as proposed in the map and Ajmer being away from all British provinces should be administered by a joint Board containing 50·50 representation from both the communities

Religious monuments and visiting places A convention will probably be drawn between the two Governments to safeguard all such places and keep them open to the visitors of the Community interested in them, and with full responsibility of safeguarding life and prosperity [*sic* for property] at such occasions The cemeteries of Muslims should be enclosed by barbed wires to avoid any encroachment

[1]For details see Statement No 1
[2]Appendix III
[3]Points 1 to 7 raised herein correspond to paras 4-10, ibid
[4]Not printed

STATEMENT NO 1 SHOWING POSITION OF POPULATION IN PAKISTAN AND HINDUSTAN AS DEMANDED BY THE MUSLIM LEAGUE

PAKISTAN

S No	Province	Area in Sq Miles	Population	Hindus	Muslims	Others
1	N W F P	14223	3038067	80321	2788797	68949
2	Punjab	99089	28418819	9550479	16217242	4651098
3	Baluchistan	54456	501631	44623	438930	18078
4	Sind	48136	4575008	1269926	3208325	96757
5	Bengal	77442	60306525	25059024	33005434	2242067
6	Assam	54451	10204733	4213223	3442479	2549031
	Total	347797	107044783	38317596	59101207	9625980
	Area according to percentage of population in British India	320012		36%	55%	9%

HINDUSTAN

S No	Province	Area in Sq Miles	Population	Hindus	Muslims	Others
1	Madras	126166	49341810	42799822	3896452	2645536
2	Bombay	76743	20849840	16555390	1920368	2374082
3	U P	106247	55020617	45811669	8416308	792640
4	Bihar	69745	36346151	26514269	4715314	5110568
5	Orissa	32198	8728544	6832686	146301	1749557
6	C P	98755	13208718	9967104	448528	2793086
7	Berar	17809	3604866	2964892	335169	304805
8	Ajmer Merwara	2400	583693	376481	89899	117313
9	Andaman	2508	21316	8420	7738	5158
10	Nicobar	635	12452	7	47	12398
11	Delhi	574	917939	567225	304971	45743
12	Coorg	1593	168726	130753	14730	23243
13	Panth Piploda	-	5267	5227	40	
	Total	534893	188803939	152533945	20295865	15974129
				80½%	11%	8½%
	Grand Total	882690	295848722	190851541	79397072	25600104

STATEMENT NO 2 SHOWING HINDU MUSLIM POCKETS IN DIFFERENT PROVINCES

(a) PUNJAB HINDU POCKET

S No	Districts	Area	Population	Hindus	Muslims	Others
1	Hissar	5213	1006709	653276	285208	68225
2	Rohtak	2246	956399	780475	166569	9355
3	Gurgaon	2234	956896	665936	285992	4968
4	Karnal	3126	994575	666036	304346	24193
5	Ambala	1851	847745	410333	268999	168413
6	Simla	80	38578	29466	7022	2090
7	Kangra	9979	899377	838479	32249	28649
8	Hoshiarpur	2195	1170323	468225	380759	321339
9	Ludhiana	1399	818615	166678	302482	349455
10	Ferozepur	4085	1423076	279260	641448	512368
11	Amritsar	1572	1413876	216778	657695	539404
	Total	33980	10536169	5174942	3332769	2028458
	Non Muslim population transferred from other districts		4998177	2375537		2622640
			15534346	7550479	3332769	4651098
				49%	21%	30%
	Muslim Punjab	65109	12884473		12884473	
	Grand Total	99089	28418819	7550479	16217242	4651098

(b) U P / DELHI MUSLIM POCKET

S No	Districts	Total Area	Area Pocketed	Population	Hindus	Muslims	Total Non Muslims in the Pocket
1	Saharanpur	2134	2134	1179643	755296	396287	783356
2	Muzaffarnagar	1682	1682	1056759	727322	307519	749240
3	Meerut	2323	2323	1896582	1391754	444383	1452199
4	Buland Shahr	1829	1220	1317213	1032961	243819	715556
5	Aligarh	1940	970	1372641	1151810	186381	593130
6	Budaun	1994	997	1162322	922300	210168	476077
7	Shahjahanpur	1770	1012	983385	806329	173878	485703
8	Hardoi	2320	1160	1239279	1092241	146259	507300
9	Lucknow	976	380	949728	716909	220022	291882
10	Barabanki	1722	522	1162508	948440	212825	179320
11	Bareilly	1591	1591	1176197	822530	334285	841912
12	Muradabad	2288	2288	1473151	784384	567358	905793
13	Bijnor	1869	1869	910223	554551	317126	573097
14	Delhi	574	291	917939	567225	304971	14930
	Total	25012	18439	16797570 152654776	12274052	4085281	8569495
							47%
	Population transferred from other districts of U P			4635998	4635998		Hindus 8171258 Others 398237
	Total			17290774		8721279 51%	8569495 2%
	Hindu U P and Delhi		86848 1251	38049744	598038		Hindus 37655341 Others 394403 38049744
			283				Delhi Hindus 552295 Others 45743 38647782
				55939556			
	Total		1060821	55939556		8721279	47217277

(c) BIHAR/ORISSA MUSLIM POCKET

S No	Districts	Area	Area Pocketed	Population	Hindus	Muslims	Others	Hindus in the Pocket	Others in the Pocket
1	Purnea	4998	4998	2390105	1307363	976048	106694	1307363	106694
2	Bhagalpur	4248	2124	2408879	2022766	279575	106538	818327	106538
3	Darbhanga	3347	1600	3457070	2967544	487835	1691	1827544	1691
4	Monghyr	3975	1325	2564544	2244570	264411	55563	534874	55563
5	Muzaffarpur	3025	504	3244651	2816852	424797	3002		3002
	Total Populalation in Pocket	19593	10551	14065249	11359095	2432666	273488	4488108	273488
				7194262					
	Muslim Population transferred from other districts			2282648 146301	Bihar Orissa	2282648 146301			
	Total			9623211		4861615 51%		4488108 46%	273488 3%

Hindus in Bihar		Bihar	26863241		22026161	4837080
and Orissa		Orissa	8582243		6832686	1749557
	Bihar	59194	35445484		28858847	6586637
	Orissa	32198				
Grand Total		101943	45068695	4861615	33346955	6860125

(d) ASSAM HINDU POCKET

S No	Districts	Area	Area of Pocket	Populaion	Hindus	Muslims	Others
1	Kamrup	3840	3840	1264200	696549	367522	200129
2	Darrang	2804	2804	736791	347758	120999	268034
3	Nowgong	3898	3898	710800	288351	250113	172336
4	Sibsagar	5128	5128	1074741	643191	51769	379781
5	Lakhimpur	4156	4156	864842	501036	44579	319227
	Total	19826	19826	4651374	2476885	834982	1339507
Hindu population transferred from other districts				1736338	1736338		
	Total			6387712	4213223	834982	1339507
					67%	13%	20%
Muslim Assam		34625	34625	3817021		2607497	1209524
						70%	30%
	Grand Total	54451	54451	10204733	4213223	3442479	2549031

(e) BENGAL HINDU POCKET

S No	Districts	Area	Population	Hindus	Muslims	Others
1	Burdwan	2705	1890732	1393820	336665	160247
2	Birbhum	1743	1048317	686436	287310	74571
3	Bankura	2646	1289640	878559	55664	355517
4	Midnapur	5274	3190647	2681963	246559	262125
5	Hoogly	1206	1372719	1099544	207077	66098
6	Howrah	1561	1490304	1184863	296325	9116
7	Jalpaiguri	3050	1089513	551647	251460	286406
8	Darjeeling	1192	376369	178496	9125	188748
	Total	19377	11748241	8655328	1690085	1402828
Hindu population transferred from other districts			16403696	16403696		
	Total	19377	28151937	25059024	1690085	1402828
				89%	6%	5%
Muslim Bengal		58065	32154588		31315349	839239
					97%	3%
	Grand Total	77442	60306525	25059024	33005434	2242067

(f) BOMBAY MUSLIM POCKET

S No	Districts	Area	Area of *Pocket*	Population	Hindus	Muslims	Others *in the* Pocket	Hindus in *the Pocket*	Others in *the Pocket*
1	Ahmadabad City & suburb	3899	1300	1963438	1547503	294832	121103	515834	40368
2	Barouch & Panch Mahal	3198	424	924527	496607	143826	284094	62076	35512
3	Surat	1695	200	881058	459807	76251	345000	57476	43125
4	Thana	3526	300	932733	589704	43950	299079	49142	24923
5	Bombay City & suburb	183	10	1741030	1180812	280618	279600		
6	Canara North	3961	3961	441157	385729	35300	20228	385729	20228
	Total	16462	6195	6883943	4660162	874677	1349104	1070657	164156
Muslims to be transferred from other districts						1045691			
	Total		6195	3155181		1920368		1070657	164156
						61%		34%	5%
	Hindu Bombay		70548	17694659				15484733	2209926
								87%	13%
	Grand Total		76743	20849840		1920368		16555390	2374082

(g) MADRAS/COORG MUSLIM POCKET

S No	Districts	Area	Area of Pocket	Population	Hindus	Muslims	Others	Hindus in Pocket	Others in Pocket
1	South Canara	4045	4045	1523516	1108147	214109	201260	1108147	201260
2	Malabar	5790	5790	3929425	2478653	1337760	113012	2478653	113012
	Total	9835	9835	5452941	3586800	1551869	314272	3586800	314272
Muslims to be transferred from other districts		Madras		2344583		2344583			
		Coorg		14730		14730			
	Total	9835	9835	7812254	3586800	3911182	314272	3586800	314272
						50%		46%	4%
Hindu Madras		116331	116331	41544286	39213022		2354507	39213022	2331264
Coorg		1593	1593	153996	130753			130753	23243
Grand Total		127759	127759	49510536	42930575	3911182	2668779	42930575	2668779

(h) C P & BERAR MUSLIM POCKET

S No	Districts	Area	Population	Hindus	Muslims	Others
1	Amraoti	4715	988524	817280	98865	72379
2	Akola	4093	907742	765383	101886	40473
	Total	8808	1896266	158‥663	200751	112852
Muslims transferred from other districts		C P	448528		448528	
		Berar	134418		134418	
Total	8808	2479212	1582663	783697	112852	
				64%	32%	4%
Hindu C P and		98755	12760190	9967104		2793086
	Berar	9001	1574182	1382229		191953
	Total	116564	16813584	12931996	783697	3097891

(j) HINDU POCKET IN SIND

S No	Districts	Area	Population	Hindus	Muslims	Others
1	Tharparkar	5550	581004	247496	292025	41483
2	Hyderabad	4476	778748	245849	507620	25279
3	Nawabshah	2857	584178	140428	436414	7336
	Total	12883	1943930	633773	1236059	74098
Hindu population to be transferred from other districts			636101	636101		
	Total	12883	2580031	1269874	1236059	74098
				49%	48%	3%
Muslim Sind		35253	1994977		1972266	22711
	Total	48136	4875008	1269874	3208325	96809

SUMMARY OF PROPOSED POCKETS IN PAKISTAN AND HINDUSTAN

S No	Provinces	Area of Pocket	Population	Hindus	Muslims	Others
PAKISTAN						
1	Punjab	33980	15534346	7550479	3332769	4651098
2	Assam	19826	6387712	4213223	834982	1339507
3	Bengal	19377	28151937	25059024	1690085	1402828
4	Sind	12883	1943930	633773	1236059	74098
	Total	86066	52017925	37456499	7093895	7467531
HINDUSTAN						
1	U P & Delhi	18439	17290774	8171258	8721279	398237
2	Bihar & Orissa	10551	962321	4488108	4861615	273488
3	Bombay	6195	3155181	1070657	1920368	164156
4	Madras & Coorg	9835	7812254	3586800	3911182	314272
5	C P & Berar	8808	2479212	1582663	783697	112852
	Total	53828	40360632	18899486	20198141	1263005
	Grand Total	139894	92378557	56355985	27292036	8730536

STATEMENT SHOWING THE SHIFTING OF POPULATION INTO POCKETS

S No	PAKISTAN Provinces	Hindus	Others	HINDUSTAN Provinces	Muslims
1	Punjab	2325537	2622640	U P & Delhi	4635998
2	Assam	1736338		Bihar & Orissa	2428949
3	Bengal	16403696		Bombay	1045691
4	Sind	636101		Madras & Coorg	2359313
				C P & Berar	582946
	Total	21101672	2622640	Total	11052897

STATEMENT NO 3 SHOWING POSITION OF NEW PROVINCES WITHOUT DISTURBING THE BOUNDARIES OF DISTRICTS AND WITHOUT TRANSFER OF POPULATION

EAST PUNJAB DELHI AND U P DISTRICTS

S No	Districts	Area	Population	Hindus	Muslims	Others
EAST PUNJAB						
1	Kangra	9979	899377	838479	32249	28649
2	Simla	80	38578	29466	7022	2090
3	Hoshiarpur	2195	1170323	468225	380759	321339
4	Ferozepore	4085	1423076	279260	641441	502375
5	Jullundur	1334	1127190	198160	509904	419126
6	Ludhiana	1399	818615	166678	302482	349455
7	Ambala	1851	847745	410333	268999	168413
8	Karnal	3126	994575	666036	304346	24193
9	Rohtak	2246	956399	780475	166569	9355
10	Hissar	5213	1006709	653276	285208	68225
11	Gurgaon	2234	956896	665936	285992	4968
	Total	33742	10239483	5156324	3184971	1898188
DELHI AND U P						
1	Delhi	574	917939	567225	304971	45743
2	Dehradun	1202	266244	213647	41426	11171
3	Saharanpur	2134	1179643	755296	396287	28060
4	Muzaffarnagar	1682	1056759	727322	307519	21918
5	Bulandshahar	1829	1317213	1032961	243819	40433
6	Aligarh	1940	1372641	1151810	186381	34450
7	Bijnore	1869	910223	554551	337126	18546
8	Moradabad	2288	1473151	784384	567358	121409
9	Bareilly	1591	1176197	822530	334285	19382
10	Shahjahanpur	1770	983385	806329	173878	3178
11	Budaun	1994	1162322	922300	210168	29854
	Total	18873	11815717	8338355	3103218	374144
	Grand Total		22055200	13494679 61%	6288189 28½%	2272332 10½%
BENGAL-CUM ASSAM-CUM BIHAR						
1	Assam Hindu Pocket 5 districts Population transferred	19826	4651374 1736338	2476885 1736338	834982	1339507
2	Bengal Hindu Pocket 8 districts	19377	11748241	8655328	1690085	1402828
3	Bihar Muslim Pocket 5 districts Population shifted	10551	7194262	4488108	2432666	273488
	Total 18 Districts	49754	2428949 27759164	17356659 62%	2428949 7386682 27%	3015823 11%

STATEMENT NO 4 SHOWING PARTITION OF PROVINCES AS SHOWN IN THE MAP ENCLOSED[1]

S No	District	Area Partitioned	Area	Population	Muslims	Hindus	Others
	PUNJAB						
1	Kangra	9979	9979	899377	32249	838479	28649
2	Jullundur	1334	1334	1127190	509904	198160	419126
3	Ambala	1851	232	578746		410333	168413
4	Karnal	3126	2068	890453	200224	666036	24193
5	Rohtak	2246	2246	956399	166569	780475	9355
6	Hissar	5213	5213	1006709	285208	653276	68225
7	Gurgaon	2234	2234	956896	285992	665936	4968
8	Hoshiarpur	2195	2195	1170323	380759	468225	321339
	Total	28178	25501	7586093	1860905	4680920	1044268
	Population to be exchanged			4615484	-1860905	+2869559	+3606830
	Net Total		25501	12201577		7550479	4651098

S No	District	Area	Area Pocketed	Population	Muslims	Hindus	Others
	BENGAL						
1	Murshidabad	2063	2063	1640530	927744	684987	27799
2	Birbhum	1743	1743	1048317	287310	686436	74571
3	Burdwan	2705	2705	1890732	336665	1393820	160247
4	Bankura	2816	2816	1289640	55564	878559	355517
5	Midnapur	5274	5274	3190647	246559	2681963	262125
6	Hoogly	1206	1206	1372719	207077	1099544	66098
7	Howrah	1561	1561	1490304	296325	1184863	9116
	Total	17368	17368	11922889	2357244	8610172	955473
	Population to be exchanged			14091608	-2357244	+16448852	
	Net Total	17368	17368	26014497		25059024	955473

STATEMENT NO 5 SHOWING THE POSITION OF "PAKISTAN" AND "HINDUSTAN
AFTER PARTITIONING THE PROVINCES

PAKISTAN

S No	Districts (Provinces)	Area	Population	Hindus	Muslims	Others
1	N W F P	14223	3038067	180321	2788797	68949
2	Punjab	73588	16217242	(2869569)[1]	16217242	(3606830)
3	Baluchistan	56456	501631	44623	438930	18078
4	Sind	48136	4575008	1269926	3208325	96757
5	Bengal	60074	34292028	(16448852)	33005434	1286594
6	Assam	34625	4652003	(1736338)	3442479	1209524
	Total	287102[2]	63275979	1424870 (21054759)	59101207	2679902 (3606830)
7	Madras	9835	3896452	(3586800)	(3896452)	314272
8	Coorg		314272 14730	(14730)		
9	Bombay	6195	2084525	(1070657)	1920368	164156
10	U P	18439	8814545	(8171258)	8416308	398237
11	Bihar	10551	4988802	(4488108)	4715814	273488
12	Orissa		146301		146301	
13	C P &Berar					
14	Delhi	291	319901		304971	14930
15	Ajmer					
16	Andaman					
17	Nicobar					
18	Panth Piploda					
	Total	45311	20579527	(17316823)	19414444	1165083
	Grand Total	330413	83855506	1414870 (38371632)	78515651	3844985 (3606830)

HINDUSTAN

S No	Districts (Provinces)	Area	Population	Hindus	Muslims	Others
1	N W F P					
2	Punjab	25501	12201577	7550479	(1860905)	4651098
3	Baluchistan					
4	Sind					
5	Bengal	17368	26014497	25059024	(2357244)	955473
6	Assam	19826	5552730	4213223	(834982)	1339507
	Total	62695	43768804	36822726	(5053131)	6946078
7	Madras	116331	45131086	427998212	(2344583)	2331264
8	Coorg	1593	153996	130753	(14730)	23243
9	Bombay	70548	18765316	16555390	(1045691)	2209926
10	U P	86848	46206072	45811669	(4085281)	394403
11	Bihar	59194	31351349	26514269	(2282648)	4837080
12	Orissa	32198	8582243	6832686	(146301)	1749557
13	C P & Berar	116384	16813584	12931996	783697	3097891
14	Delhi	283	598038	567225	89899	30813
15	Ajmer	2400	583693	376481	7738	117313
16	Andaman	2508	21316	8420	47	5158
17	Nicobar	635	12452	7	40	12398
18	Panth Piploda		5267	5227	881421	
	Total	418922	167424412	151733945		14809046
	Grand Total	481617	211193216	188556671	(9879534) 881421 (14932665)	21755124

[1]Figures in brackets show the population to be migrated
[2]Some of the figures recorded in the original are confusing and some of the totals are also incorrect

Enclosure 2 to No 469

F 722/38

POLITICAL MAP OF INDIA
SHOWING BOUNDARIES OF PAKISTAN AND HINDUSTAN
AFTER PARTITIONING OF PROVINCES ON POPULATION BASIS

[*See map at end*]

470

Mrs K L Rallia Ram to M A Jinnah

F 487/49-51

5 MASSON ROAD, LAHORE,
22 May 1947

Dear Mr Jinnah,

Thank you for your letter of May 10th [1] I am glad that you have received all my letters

Today I am forwarding some very significant cuttings from the press [2] There are two maps worth studying in it and the suggestions by the Hindus to the Governor Jenkins as to what he should do with the Muslims If the Hindus had the power they would annihilate the Muslims entirely and at the same time emasculate them I suppose these must be their plans if they had the Central Government control After spreading the mischief of partition, hatred and bitterness in the Punjab, they now turn the mischief into the purely Muslim Province of the Frontier, their only motive being to somehow frustrate the sovereign State of Muslims What a shame it is that the very thing for which they have fought for 60 years is being denied to a 100 million souls of India This is the Hindu way of dealing justice!

Trusting you are keeping fit and healthy,

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,
MRS K L RALLIA RAM

PS The song of Partition of the Punjab goes on and on Here are some other cuttings.[3]

MRS K L RALLIA RAM
22 May [*1947*]

I hope you are noting the tendency of the Congress to now court the

Maharaja of Kashmir into friendship when the Muslim Conference has decided to side with him See what Kripalani[4] and Diwan Chaman Lall are doing there The two Brahmans are having a tete-a-tete in order to foul the Muslim game

[1 2 & 3]Not available in *QAP*
[4]Acharya J B Kripalani

471

Statement of amounts received by the Dawn[1] *from M A Jinnah*

F 773/56

THE *DAWN*, P O BOX NO 103, DELHI,
23 May 1947

Date	*Particulars*	*Amount in Rupees*
08 10 42	By cheque	10,000-0-0
10 10 42	through	6,000-0-0
14 10 42[2]	Nawabzada	3,000-0-0
11 11 42	Saheb[3]	10,000-0-0
01 04 43	" " "	10,000-0-0
04 05 43	" " "	10,000-0-0
22 05 43	" " "	12,000-0-0
30 05 43	" " "	17,000-0-0
15 07 44	" " "	22,500-0-0
25 04 46	" " "	10,000-0-0
03 09 46	" " "	24,050-0-0
08 11 46	" " "	50,000-0-0
05 02 47	" " "	50,000-0-0
12 05 47	" " "	50,000-0-0
Total		284,550-0-0

Certified correct

ASHRAF HUSSAIN TAFTA
Accountant
for the Dawn

[1]The *Dawn* was founded by Jinnah on 26 October 1941
[2]Against this date there is a note saying "Received in September 1942" which seems to be ambiguous
[3]Refers to Liaquat Ali Khan

472

M A. Jinnah to S J Begum

F 1108/30

23 May 1947

Dear Madam,

I have received your letter of 21st May, 1947,[1] and although I wish you success in your venture, I cannot send you a message as I am not aware of its financial position or its management or any scheme Nor do I know the purpose or the policy that this proposed Urdu daily will have in view and follow

As regards my sister you can get in touch with her directly, but I cannot imagine how she can be founder of the proposed daily unless she will be able to have a voice in the management, control and administration of the paper I hope you will appreciate that the name of my sister or myself being associated will mislead the public and create the impression that we are responsible for the paper and its policy which is not the case

Yours faithfully,
M A JINNAH

Miss S J Begum,
1057 Haveli Azam Khan,
Gali Mochiyan,
Delhi

[1]Not available in *QAP*

473

M A Jinnah to Mohammad Daud

F 1108/29

23 May 1947

Dear Sir,

I have received your letter of the 19th May[1] and I thank you for it I was very glad to hear that the Sind Madressah-tul-Islam has made good progress

Education of our people is not only important but essential for the

nation functioning fully in every department of life I wish you all success in the progress and the welfare of your school

Yours faithfully,
M A JINNAH

Mohammad Daud, Esq.,
Headmaster,
Sind Madressah-tul-Islam,
Lyari Quarter,
Karachi

[1]Not available in *QAP*

474

M A Jinnah to Nizam of Hyderabad

F 696/113

23 May 1947

Your Exalted Highness,

I am in receipt of your letter of 15th of May[1] and I shall await the arrival of Monckton[2] and shall be glad to see him when he is in Delhi

As regards my coming to Hyderabad, I shall try my best to avail myself of your kind invitation in June or July The date can be fixed later on

Looking forward to meeting you,

Yours sincerely,
M A JINNAH

His Exalted Highness
The Nizam of Hyderabad,
The Palace,
Hyderabad (Deccan)

[1]No 425
[2]W T Monckton, Constitutional Adviser to the Nizam

475

M A Jinnah to Yar Mohamed Tanwari

F 1108/28

23 May 1947

Dear Sir,

I have received your letter[1] and while I wish you all success and prosperity in the business that you have started, I regret that I cannot allow you to use my name for the book depot Please take steps at once to remove my name

You can very well appreciate that it is misleading to use my name because it creates the false impression that I have some connection with the book depot, its management, control and organization While I appreciate your services that you describe you have rendered to the Muslim League, I am sorry I cannot break this principle of mine to which I have always adhered in every case and I have not allowed my name to be used as a trade mark or a trade name and so I cannot give you permission to use my name because it will give the impression that I am associated with your book depot directly or indirectly

Yours faithfully,
M A JINNAH

Yar Mohamed Tanwari,
Near Central Bank Building,
Central Bank, Napier Road,
Karachi

[1]Not available in *QAP*

476

Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy to Liaquat Ali Khan[1]

F 458/80

BENGAL SECRETARIAT, CALCUTTA,
23 May 1947

My dear Liaquat Ali Sahib,

I hope to come to Delhi on the 25th or the 26th Representatives of

the Working Committee of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League will also come up with Maulana Akram Khan about the 30th or the 31st

I have had more chances of judging the situation There is not the ghost of a chance of winning in any fight once the partition is announced Even before the partition is announced, it is impossible to arouse Hindu public opinion against it The Hindu leaders, Mr Sarat Chandra Bose and Mr K. S Roy, are indeed taking a great risk in setting their face against partition They do not hope to be able to convince their community but they hope to be able to induce their High Command to agree I think they deserve great honour and respect for their courage We have not been able to touch a single Scheduled Caste member yet and not one of them has come forward to say that he is in sympathy with the non-partition movement

Even the Hindus of East Bengal, who do not count in the voting, are supporting the partition with death staring them in the face

Even the talk of partition has led to a recrudescence of riots in Calcutta, and when it is announced then two things might happen—either the Muslims of Calcutta will succumb and accept or they will fight—and if Calcutta passes into the hands of the Hindus, they will be decimated

More when we meet

Yours sincerely,
H S SUHRAWARDY

The Hon'ble Mr Liaquat Ali Khan,
8 Hardinge Avenue,
Delhi

[1]The original was provided to Jinnah by Liaquat Ali Khan

477

M M Junaid to M A Jinnah

F 886/220-221

10 REKABGANJ ROAD, NEW DELHI,
24 May 1947

Quaid-i-Azam,

In response to your talk last evening at the residence of Mr Hasnie,[1] I offer my assistance to you in the work before us I am a professional Economist and at present I am advising the Food Department of the

Government of India in economic matters. I have been impelled to make this offer by the realization that of all the questions facing us, economic problems are going to be most important and that at present the League High Command does not possess among its advisers a single professionally trained economist In contrast, the Congress has many economists at its command, some good, others indifferent, and I recently saw in London, where I had been sent by the Government of India to attend the International Wheat Conference, that Departments of H.M G. are honeycombed with economic experts and I found that most of them were outstanding men

I am sure issues involving decisions on economic questions must be arising before you every day I shall be very glad to advise on any issues referred to me

Yours sincerely,
M M JUNAID
M A, Ph D (London)
Director of Statistics, Department of Food, Government of India

[1]S A Hasnie, Adviser, Indian Delegation to the International Wheat Conference, London, 1947

478

Liaquat Ali Khan to Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah

(Copy to Jinnah)

F 144/109

NEW DELHI,
24 May 1947

My dear Mr Hidayatullah,

This is to introduce to you Mr S A Ashraf of the Bihar Civil Service, who is at present Additional District Magistrate, Patna [1] He comes from a very respectable and well-known family of Syeds in Bihar and his people have served the cause of the Muslim Nation in various capacities The late Mr S. A Manzar, Bar-at-Law, who was Mr Ashraf's elder brother, was Vice-President of the Provincial Muslim League and a devoted servant of the League cause

2 Mr Ashraf has been known to me for some years past. He has the reputation of [having] outstanding ability and I have heard excellent reports about his work He was in charge of operations during the

great Bihar carnage when he rendered valuable service to the Muslim nation and at great personal risk saved the lives of a large number of Muslim women and children

3 Mr Ashraf wishes to take up employment in Sind, and I have no doubt that if given a chance he would prove to be an asset to the Administration He is about 42 years old, and would be prepared to resign his job in Bihar, if necessary I hope you will give your best consideration to his case

Yours sincerely,
LIAQUAT ALI KHAN

The Hon'ble Sheikh Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah,
Prime Minister, Sind,
Karachi

[1]See No 460

479

Liaquat Ali Khan to M A Jinnah

F 335/285

NEW DELHI,
24 May 1947

My dear Mr Jinnah,

Here are two more letters from Mr Suhrawardy They arrived today

I am leaving for Lahore this afternoon and will be back either Monday or Tuesday morning

Yours sincerely,
LIAQUAT ALI KHAN

Enclosure 1 to No 479
H S Suhrawardy to Liaquat Ali Khan

F 458/75-79

BENGAL SECRETARIAT, CALCUTTA,
21 May 1947

My dear Liaquat Ali Sahib,

I have had a talk with Maulana Akram Khan I feel that I must once

more impress upon the Quaid-i-Azam through you the disaster that will overtake us if Bengal is partitioned or if the partition of Bengal is announced on the 2nd of June, that is to say, if we cannot come to an agreement before the 2nd of June. He seems to think that the Quaid-i-Azam feels that any settlement with the Hindus here or the local Congress, which will of course have to be ratified by the High Commands, will mean that we are giving up our principles—referring probably to the Two Nation Theory or to Bengal being declared a Muslim zone or to Bengal from the beginning forming part and parcel of a Pakistan Federation. Now my submission is this, that we are not compromising our principles in any way by coming to an agreement for Bengal, and even if we do, the compromise will be of such a minor nature that it will be expedient to make that compromise in view of the terrible disaster that will overwhelm Bengal, and particularly the Muslims of Bengal, if Bengal is partitioned. I wish to expand this. The Lahore Resolution visualised Independent Sovereign States of those areas where the Muslims are in a majority, with such readjustments, etc., etc. This in practice came down to provincial boundaries to start with. Hence a Free State of Bengal subscribes to this criterion. Nowhere do I find it stated that there must be a declaration from the beginning that it will be Pakistan or that it should form part of a Federation of Pakistan States. So, what principles after all are we compromising? As regards joint electorate within the agreement, the present formula is equivalent practically to separate electorate, and it may surprise you to know that our formula of joint electorate with adult franchise unadulterated has alarmed the Hindu leaders who are demanding reservation of seats in proportion to the population, giving us therefore a statutory majority. Also the formula which has been accepted means practically separate electorate. It keeps their face, viz. their demand for joint electorate, and at the same time it gives us what we want, viz. separate electorate. Joint Ministries have, as I have said over and over again, been treated as an all-India issue. But when India is definitely going to be partitioned into Zone "A" and Zone "B" and we are pulling out, each one framing its own Constitution, then we may be left to frame ours, and the manner in which we settle our affairs will not affect the Ministries either of Zone "A" or of Zone "B". And what after all is the alternative unless we come to an agreement now? It would appear that the Quaid-i-Azam intends to fight against the partition inch by inch even after the declaration, that is to say that he will fight in the Legislative Assembly, in the Notional Assemblies and even at the time of a referendum which he hopes will be granted

but which the Viceroy has reiterated over and over again cannot be conceded Now may I say with great respect that there is no hope whatsoever of retrievement if partition is declared on the 2nd of June We may force a non-partition resolution in the Assembly, but this is valueless as there will be Notional Assemblies In the Notional Assembly of the Hindu-majority areas composed of the present Members of the Legislature or of Members elected by the present Members of the Legislature on the basis of one for a million or one for two millions, there is absolutely no hope of getting a single Hindu vote in our favour Even if we today arouse a volume of opinion amongst the Scheduled Castes—and I can tell you that the task is extremely uphill and except two meetings in the Burdwan Division it has not been possible to hold more, and the Scheduled Caste workers are even afraid to go amongst the Scheduled Castes in the Burdwan Division, and they want protection and they want officers to support them—even if we were able to arouse Scheduled Caste public opinion in any degree or form, the present representatives of the Scheduled Castes or those that will be elected by the present representatives will all vote in favour of partition Further, once partition is announced, there will be no hope of trying to get Hindu opinion in our favour, Scheduled Caste or Caste The propaganda of the Scheduled Castes in our favour will be that they will be divided, hence there should not be a partition This is weak against the propaganda of the Hindus, viz that "we Hindus of these areas, both Caste and Scheduled Caste, will govern together and have a great Hindu province which will be linked to the Hindu provinces of the rest of India and which will dominate over the Muslims, a province which will be rich in resources and which we shall not surrender" Please realise that this partition will give to the Western Bengal Hindus such a great victory that they will not give up an inch of ground once the partition is announced So, neither shall we win in the Notional Assemblies, nor is there any hope of winning even if a referendum is given at a subsequent stage And what I am telling you is an absolute fact which everyone here knows, and let there be no misconception regarding this I repeat, once the partition is announced there is not the slightest hope of getting Hindu opinion from any section against that partition West Bengal, which will be Hindu-dominated, will be rich in resources, and why should they agree to link themselves up with a large rural population with the prospect of utilising their resources for the benefit of the rural population and with the further prospect of being dominated by Muslims, whereas they can utilise all those resources for their own wealth and develop-

ment and at the same time save themselves from Muslim domination? I use the word "domination" because, if all these things are not being done by agreement but are based upon a struggle, that will be the result in spite of all that we may say about treating the Hindu minorities fairly and squarely and everybody having a share in the administration. And what will be the disaster? If there is a struggle, nothing can save the Muslims of West Bengal from being wiped out, and nothing can save the Hindus of East Bengal, even the Scheduled Caste Hindus, from being wiped out. I am including the Scheduled Castes also because, however much we may try and differentiate between Caste and Scheduled Caste Hindus, there is no differentiation made where there is a communal struggle, as is evidenced by the fact that the Muslims attacked the Scheduled Caste Hindus in Tippera and Noakhali, and the Hindus attacked the Congress Muslims and killed them in Calcutta and Bihar. Now no Government is powerful enough to be able to save this province however much we may try. Before Government's resources can be mobilised—and these resources are really peace-time resources—the mischief will have been done and the massacre already enacted. If we use the army, what is the army we are getting here? It is all a Hindu army. It would seem as if there are no Muslims in the army, and while they talk about the army being free from communalism, they will not send Muslim troops to Bengal. So, the army will not come to our help but will actually work against us.

So much for life and death. Then comes the condition of East Bengal. I have in a previous letter[1] told you how absolutely unprepared East Bengal is for a struggle for existence. I will not repeat it here. Please once more refer to the previous letter. If North Bengal also goes to the Hindus, viz. the areas of Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling and the top portion of Dinajpur (which may go to them when a Boundary Commission is set up), then one more commodity, viz. tea, also goes to them. What will be left of East Bengal will be an area absolutely deficit in foodgrains, and by the time other Muslim areas or surplus areas send foodgrains to us, the Muslims of East Bengal will be dead, they will have to pass not through one famine but through several famines, and I can quite visualise that within six months of the partition the Muslims of East Bengal will be kneeling before West Bengal or before Group A or before the Congress to be taken into their fold. What else, after all, is the alternative? So, will you please give some thought to the problem of Bengal and discuss this matter with the Quaid-i-Azam? Pakistan having been gained, is it not worthwhile that we should consolidate our gains? Will you also realise that with the partition cry having been

raised, how difficult indeed it is to induce the Hindus to co-operate with us on the basis of a Free State of Bengal? But some who have vision and some who do not wish to hold themselves responsible for the murder of Hindus and Muslims, that will surely follow if Bengal is partitioned, are prepared to come to an agreement with us For Heaven's sake let us take advantage of this And now there will be only one snag, it may be a very big snag but it will be a snag for which we shall not be responsible either before God or [before] man or before our own conscience, and that is that the Congress High Command, in its dream of giving a blow to Pakistani Bengal and in its dream of dominating the Muslims in one section of Bengal, may not agree to the agreement arrived at between ourselves If so, all that can be said is that we have done our best, and we or the Muslim League will not be held responsible for the horrors that will follow Secondly, if we had agreed and if the Quaid-i-Azam also says that he is prepared to agree on these terms and if the Congress stands out, then it may well be that the Viceroy may not announce the partition of Bengal in view of the unreasonableness of the Congress attitude, it may well be too that the Viceroy may force the Congress to yield But let us not, for fear that the Congress High Command may not accept, also fail to do our bit The Quaid-i-Azam has always been brave and courageous to do the right thing, and although the Congress High Command has not accepted, he has come out in shining glory because he has done the right thing and without considering whether the Congress will accept or not

Please, may I have an answer?

Yours sincerely,
H S SUHRAWARDY

The Hon'ble Mr Liaquat Ali Khan,
8 Hardinge Avenue,
New Delhi

[1]Not available in *QAP*

Enclosure 2 to No 479
Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy to Liaquat Ali Khan

F 548/74

BENGAL SECRETARIAT, CALCUTTA,
21 May 1947

My dear Liaquat Ali Sahib,

I am sending you the final draft of the agreement[1] which has been arrived at between us This agreement appears to our limited intelligence to be eminently reasonable Mr K S Roy is going to Mussoorie tomorrow to see his High Command and ascertain their reactions and try and induce them to accept, if the local Congress Committee accepts it Mr Sarat Chandra Bose and Mr K S Roy either individually or together would like to see the Quaid-i-Azam to ascertain his reactions and to get his consent Will you please do me the favour of letting me know what you think about these terms Members of the Working Committee here will probably consider them reasonable

2 There is another avenue open and that is to form a Coalition Ministry without conditions but only on one condition that if a Coalition Ministry is formed Bengal will not be partitioned As I have said in an earlier letter[2], I can quite see that Coalition Ministries have an all-India background as long as the contest is on But once it is settled that India will be partitioned, Bengal may be permitted to have a Coalition Ministry in order to somehow or other avoid the evil day A letter or a telegram or a telephone call will greatly oblige

Yours sincerely,
H S SUHRAWARDY

The Hon'ble Mr Liaquat Ali Khan,
8 Hardinge Avenue,
New Delhi

[1]Annex
[2]Enclosure 1

Annex to Enclosure 2 to No 479

HINDU-MUSLIM PACT FOR BENGAL[1]

CALCUTTA, May 23 —It is learned from authoritative sources that concrete terms have emerged out of the discussions that have taken

place between Mr Sarat Chandra Bose and certain prominent Congress and Muslim League leaders regarding the future constitution of Bengal and the formation of a new Cabinet

The terms are as follows

1 Bengal will be a free State The free State of Bengal will decide its relations with the rest of India

2 The Constitution of the free State of Bengal will provide for election to the Bengal legislature on the basis of joint electorate and adult franchise, with reservation of seats proportionate to the population amongst Hindus and Muslims The seats as between Hindus and Scheduled Caste Hindus will be distributed amongst them in proportion to their respective population or in such manner as may be agreed among them The constituencies will be multiple constituencies and the votes will be distributive and not cumulative A candidate who gets the majority of the votes of his own community cast during the elections and 25 per cent of the votes of the other communities so cast will be declared elected If no candidate satisfies these conditions, that candidate who gets the largest number of votes of his own community will be elected

3 On the announcement by His Majesty's Government that the proposal of the free State of Bengal has been accepted and that Bengal will not be partitioned, the present Bengal Ministry will be dissolved and a new interim Ministry brought into being, consisting of an equal number of Muslims and Hindus (including Scheduled Caste Hindus) but excluding the Chief Minister In this Ministry the Chief Minister will be a Muslim and the Home Minister a Hindu

4 Pending the final emergence of a legislature and a Ministry under the new Constitution the Hindus (including Scheduled Caste Hindus) and the Muslims will have an equal share in the services including military and police The services will be manned by Bengalis

5 A Constituent Assembly composed of 30 persons, 16 Muslims and 14 non-Muslims, will be elected by the Muslims and non-Muslims of the legislature, respectively, excluding the Europeans

The terms emerged in this form at a conference which was held at Mr Bose's residence last Tuesday evening which was attended by several leaders

It will be remembered that the discussions were initiated by Mr Bose in January last The terms will be placed before the Congress and Muslim League organisations for discussion

[1]*Civil & Military Gazette*, 24 May 1947

480

Mehtar of Chitral to M A Jinnah

F 974/1

CHITRAL STATE,
25 May 1947

My dear friend,

Moulvi Mohammad Wazir Khan, Qazi of Chitral, who had the honour of meeting you while he was in Delhi, has come up and conveyed to me your kind message of good wishes I write this to express my gratitude for your kind thought

Your sincere friend,
MUZAFFAR UL MULK

481

Mumtaz Daultana to M A Jinnah
Misc /V[1]

8 DURAND ROAD, LAHORE,
25 May 1947

Most Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

I am very deeply grateful to you for the very kind and generous sympathy which you have expressed on the sudden and untimely death of my uncle, the late Mian Allahyar Khan Daultana

He was a pillar of strength to the League in the Punjab His deep honesty and sense of duty coupled with a rare personal charm and affability which made him perhaps the most popular and respected person in our party were always used as a great cohesive and cementing force in the Punjab League politics I feel that the large measure of unity which we have despite trials, always succeeded in maintaining in our midst, was chiefly due to his discreet and unobstrusive but persistent efforts

To me personally the loss is irreparable He had taken upon himself all my personal burdens which had left me free to devote all energy I had to the national work

His very deep devotion and personal attachment to you was a

quality common to all of us, but in him it burned with the intensity of a religious flame

Your tribute to his memory is the final consecration of his life and its humane patriotic mission

With deepest respects,

Yours most obediently,
MUMTAZ

[1]Copy provided by Javed Amin, son of the late Farrukh Amin, Assistant Private Secretary to the first Governor-General of Pakistan

482

M H Ismail to M A Jinnah

F 886/222-224

C/O MESSRS H HIRJI & CO,
90-96 CANNON STREET, LONDON, E C 4,
25 May 1947

Dear Mr Jinnah,

I trust you will permit me the liberty of addressing you directly in this manner I am a resident of Bombay and am at present employed as District Locomotive and Carriage Superintendent in the B B & C I Railway I feel it sincerely and strongly that it is my duty at this juncture to set aside desires of personal gain and to devote myself fully and completely to the aims and objects of the Muslim League My qualifications and experience are as follows

1 Licentiate in Mechanical Engineering (Honours), Bombay

2 Five years' study and practical experience in factories and Universities of Berlin, Copenhagen and London, leading to

(a) V D I (Member of the German Society of Engineers)

(b) B Sc (Engineering), London

3 A very complete and fluent knowledge of the German language A fluent conversational and working knowledge of the French language A reasonable working knowledge of Danish and Swedish

4 Nine years' service in the superior official grade of the B B & C I Railway (Mechanical Engineering Department), during which time, on loan for 4 years to the Department of Supply (Munition Branch) In the Supply Department, served as Industrial Planning Officer (Munition Production) for South India Circle and later for the United Prov-

inces During this time I was in intimate contact with the industrial development of these provinces and actively assisted in the flotation of several new industrial concerns and expansion of existing ones

In the B B & C I Railway I was also independently responsible for planning, organizing and running a completely new department for the assembly, on the running belt mass production system, of American and Canadian wagons, imported by the Railway Board, piece-meal I am at present 37 years of age, of active habits and sound in health, and possess a family of wife and two small children I desire, in utmost sincerity, to place my services unreservedly at your disposal, to be utilised entirely as you deem desirable or expedient, either in a technical form or purely organisational form I had considered the question of already submitting my resignation to the Railway Board before writing to you, but it appeared advisable that I should place all facts before you and await your decision prior to taking this step I assure you most emphatically that I shall not hesitate one instant to resign my present post, if a chance exists of my services being utilised in your organization, in the interest of the Muslim community, *whatever form this may take* [1] The regulations require me to submit a six months' notice when resigning Arrangements can be made to settle my family at some suitable place, in order to leave me entirely free for my duties

I particularly wish to point out that personal risk or danger is of no consequence whatsoever to me I have faced a number of difficult situations in my life, both in India and various countries of Europe, and am used to quick thinking The question of remuneration does not interest me at all Although I am not rich I possess sufficient means to permit of existing for myself and my family for the next few years Under the circumstances, this matter is left *entirely and solely* to your discretion

Before proceeding further, I must tell you that my eldest brother, in Bombay, is married to Fatima Sobhani, the sister of the late Omar Sobhani He and his wife both hold pro-Congress views and, I believe, he is also an office bearer in the Nationalist Muslim organization in Bombay My views, as well as those of the rest of *our* family, are strongly and diametrically opposed to this and I give you my solemn assurance that I possess sufficient strength of character to place the interests of the Muslim community before all others, whether they be family ties or otherwise, *under all conceivable circumstances*

I am at present on leave in Europe and am touring on [*sic*] the continent on business, on behalf of a group of friends My leave expires

at the end of September this year and I would be normally returning to India some time before this Any letter addressed to me, as shown on this letterhead, would be immediately redirected to me, wherever I am I am writing this letter directly to you on the advice of Mr Ali M Khan, President, Muslim League Branch, Great Britain, with whom I have discussed this I shall be grateful for your advice and commands in this matter I am, of course, holding all further action pending receipt of your reply

I am sending two additional copies of this letter by subsequent post, in order to ensure delivery Permit me to close this letter with my sincere respects and feelings towards the great organization which you have brought to maturity

I beg to remain,
Yours sincerely,
M H ISMAIL

[1]Emphasis here and hereafter in the original

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Shahzada M Mataul Mulk to M A Jinnah

F 974/2

CHITRAL, CHITRAL STATE,
25 May 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I hope the Quaid-i-Azam is in the best of health Perhaps the Quaid-i-Azam remembers that on my arrival at Delhi, with the other members of the I N A , I had written to the Quaid-i-Azam saying that it was only for the cause of the Muslims that I had joined this organisation

Since my release I have been staying at home, and now that a very critical period is confronting the Muslims, I am ready to serve the Islamic cause in any manner the Quaid-i-Azam wishes me to do

This State is greatly reputed for its undeveloped mineral resources, but it is also more reputed for its backwardness I hope the Quaid-i-Azam will kindly take keen interest in the welfare of this Islamic State

With profound respects,

Yours most sincerely,
M MATAUL MULK

Enclosure to No 483

F 974/3

BRIEF LIFE SKETCH

1 Parentage	The late H H Sir Shujaul Mulk–Father The late Nawab of Dir's sister–Mother
2 Schooling	1932-36 Royal Indian Military College, Dehra Dun 1937-39 Indian Military Academy, Dehra Dun
3 Indian Army	1939-43 Did such appointments as Adjutant, Company Commander and at the time of the surrender was Captain and Second-in-Command of 2/15 Punjab Regiment
4 Joined I N A , 1943	Held various appointments such as Commandant, Recruit Training Centre, G S O I of No 3 Division, and Commander, 8th Grl [I N A] Brigade

5 In the end I was arrested by Subhas Chandra Bose, being considered a Muslim Leaguer Released from Delhi in April 1946

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K Sarwar Hasan to M A Jinnah

F 886/225

4 CAVALRY LINES, DELHI,
26 May 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am taking the liberty of sending you a note that I have prepared on Delimitation of Frontiers, Plebiscites and incidental problems I have made a special study of these matters and shall greatly value a few minutes' interview with you

Yours sincerely,
K SARWAR HASAN
M A , LL B (Cantab), Barrister-at-Law
Secretary,
Indian Institute of International Affairs,
Delhi

Enclosure to No 484

F 917/152-161 & 719/3-9
A Note on Delimitation of Frontiers After World War I
By K Sarwar Hasan

23 May 1947

This note is meant to be an objective discussion on the delimitation of frontiers after World War I and the machinery employed for and the problems resulting from that delimitation

The note has been prepared in a very great hurry in order that it should be ready in sufficient time before the all-important date June 2, 1947 Racing against time I have been able to draw only on such authorities as I was already familiar with and as I could lay my hands on easily This must be accepted as an explanation for some at least of its shortcomings

I—DELIMITATION OF FRONTIERS BY THE PEACE CONFERENCE OF 1919

Circumstances Confronting the Peace Conference

The Peace Settlement of 1919 resulted in the creation of a number of new States in Europe, for all of which new boundaries had to be devised It also led to the modification of the boundaries of some of the pre-existing states The purpose of this note is to show how—that is on what principles and by what mechanism—the new boundaries were delineated

For a proper appreciation of the procedure and processes evolved by the diplomats at Versailles, it is necessary to understand the circumstances with which they were confronted Mr Lloyd George in his extremely lucid book on the Peace Treaties states that "the duty of the peace negotiators was to define the boundaries of the newly risen communities In large areas the races were so intermingled that the task presented almost insurmountable difficulties The pattern did not in those areas present even a predominant colour "[1]

It might be pointed out that in the typical case of the successors of the Austro-Hungarian Empire the peace makers were called upon to delimit boundaries almost as between existing states, on the basis of claims put forward by the leaders of the new national Governments For on the collapse of the Empire new States had already been established and they were presented to the Peace Conference as a *fait accompli* Nevertheless, as Temperley puts it, it was the business of the Peace Conference finally to "decide the amount of air, space and freedom necessary to the life of the peoples "

Complex Character of the Problem of Frontiers

To quote Mr Lloyd George again, "of all the baffling problems which statesmanship is called upon to solve, there is none more difficult or dangerous than the adjustment of boundaries which are genuinely doubtful and confusing To what extent strategic and economic considerations be allowed to enter into the consideration of boundaries? Some frontiers which are ethnically indefensible provide the natural military defence for the protection of a country against potential invaders In others, market facilities for transport by rail or river interfere with the rigid application of the racial factor Dr Benes claimed territory inhabited by a preponderant majority of Magyars because it was essential to the Slovak population that they should have access to the Danube Mr Bratiano advanced similar claims in Bessarabia 'It was necessary', he contested, 'that this Province should extend to the Dniester because that river was essential to its economic existence' "[2]

Importance of Considerations Other Than Ethnic

Mr Lloyd George goes on to point out that the American and British representatives on the Commission themselves held the opinion that it was proper to take into consideration other factors than racial predominance in certain areas, for example, the means of communication for the inhabitants with their accustomed markets But he observes that "the greatest difficulty arose from the impossibility of deciding which of the contending races did actually predominate in border areas" He quotes the instance of Banat, one of the richest agricultural districts of Hungary "When the Committee which was trying to determine the appropriate boundary was taking evidence it found that in one particular region there were 160,000 Yugoslavs (130,000 of whom were Serbo-Croats and 30,000 Slovaks), 140,000 Germans and 130,000 Magyars On what principle could you determine the future destiny of this particular area? Ethnological considerations were too inconclusive Other elements had to be introduced into the decision "[3] It was extremely difficult to draw up boundaries in such a way as to avoid grumbling and grievances The Rumanians and Yugoslavs, apprehensive of a decision unfavourable to them, rushed their armies to occupy as much of the territory as possible before the Conference could decide the boundary line The matter was brought to the notice of the Supreme Council in Paris which, with a view to preventing the danger of blood being spilt, decided to interpose French troops between the contending armies Similar action had to be taken in some other cases when rival parties attempted to settle the issue by forcibly taking possession of a disputed area

Difficulties in applying the Principle of Self-determination

"It is easy," says Lloyd George, "to lay down principles, such as self-determination, of government with the consent of the governed But how are these principles to be applied in the delineation of boundaries under confusions of this kind? Had there been time to arrange a series of plebiscites to ascertain the wishes of the inhabitants in the doubtful areas more satisfactory results might have been secured But the definition of what constituted a doubtful district and what were its limits would have been essential before undertaking any reliable plebiscites To ensure a vote free from pressure and coercion every area would have had to be occupied by Allied troops drawn from an impartial country At least fifty such plebiscites would have been required It would have been an impracticable proposition A few plebiscites were held and they worked well because, being few, the Allies could concentrate upon them "[4]

One alternative to plebiscites was boundary commissions to take evidence and to determine the result on the spot But that too required time There was also the same difficulty as to the provisional government of the disputed area For if it had been occupied by the forces of either of the contesting parties it would have been difficult to secure free and unbiased opinion

The actual determination of the boundary question was therefore left by the Peace Conference to the Foreign Secretaries of the four great Allied Powers They depended upon information gathered by their Intelligence Departments and by the agents of the Allied Powers detailed for various duties in the vanquished countries The representatives of the competing states were invited to state their case to the Council of Ten and afterwards to the Commissions which were appointed for investigation

In the case of Czechoslovakia the boundaries of Bohemia and Moravia as they existed about a thousand years ago and which included Germanic population, were accepted by the Supreme Council The Czechs admitted that this area included 3 5 million Germans (34 9 per cent) as against 6 25 million Czechs (62 5 per cent) But they based their claim on the fact that the area was (a) a geographical (and historical) unit, and (b) an economic unit The frontiers were exceptionally clearly defined by remarkable geographical features Economically the whole area was closely inter-connected, the German industrial area being dependent on the Czech agricultural area and *vice versa* The German area did not form a compact area attachable, e g to German Austria

Silesia was also claimed for inclusion in Czechoslovakia, although

there the Czechs were outnumbered by the Germans (44 per cent) and the Poles (32 per cent) "But for economic reasons (the coal-fields of Karvin are vitally necessary to Bohemia while Poland is already well-supplied) and because of railway connections (the chief route between Moravia and Slovakia passes through Teschen) they claimed that it is necessary to take the whole of Austrian Silesia "

Slovakia was sought to be included for it was contended that the strategic frontier (of the Danube, Matra Mountains, etc) and the railways in Slovakia were indispensable to the new State

The Ethnic Principle Violated

All these claims, it was admitted, violated the ethnic principle But they were accepted by the Peace Conference, of course with modifications, on the ground that they were justified by geographical, historical and economic considerations "They (the Allied Powers) thought it best to preserve as far as possible the historic boundaries of the Czech provinces belonging to the Kingdom of Bohemia They thought it convenient that the German-speaking people living close to the boundaries should remain associated with the Czech people, to be their co-workers in the evolution of that national unity of which history has made them partners "[5]

The claims of Czechoslovakia were placed before the Supreme Council in a skilful and adroit address by Dr Benes They were rebutted in a remarkable and almost prophetic speech delivered by Bauer, the Austrian Socialist leader He charged the Allies with violating the principle of self-determination which they had themselves proclaimed and thereby placing two-fifths of German Austrians under foreign domination He predicted that 3 5 million Germans and 2 million Slovaks in Czechoslovakia would one day revolt and that in any event there would be hatred and strife between the various elements of the new polyglot state Benes had promised full minority rights to the German Bohemians and accorded them all necessary guarantees, including proportional representation, special schools at state expense, equal access to all public offices, second language status for German, etc He envisaged a multi-national state like Switzerland Bauer refused to be consoled by this alluring prospect and declared that it would be impossible to reproduce in Czechoslovakia the model of Switzerland, which was the product of a special historical development

There were similar situations in respect of the other states that emerged from the ruins of the Austro-Hungarian Empire These we need not consider in detail The pattern of Czechoslovakia was the pattern of Yugoslavia, of Rumania and of Poland These new states

were created primarily on the ethnic principle, but due to historical, geographical and economic considerations as well as to the predilections of the arbiters of their fate who sat at Versailles (Wilson was intensely pro-Pole and the French had a passion for weakening Germany), their frontiers were so delineated that they came to include large minorities that were unfavourably disposed towards the main elements of their populations

The New Frontiers Inevitably Created New Minorities

We might sum up in the words of Professor Fenwick "In the practical application of the doctrine of self-determination the Peace Conference made compromises to meet economic as well as political conditions Questions were raised to which it was difficult to give an answer in any but the vaguest terms How much was to be the area which might be allowed the right of self-determination? Obviously a single city or a small district could not conveniently be permitted to isolate itself from the territory with which it had formed a geographical whole Should the interest of a small group desiring self-determination be allowed to defeat the important economic needs of a larger neighbouring group? If markets and manufacturing towns were cut off from the agricultural districts which fed them, there would be loss on both sides until such time as new artificial trade relationships could be created Moreover political considerations could not be overlooked The desire for strategic boundary led Italy to annex parts of the Tyrol, admittedly Austrian in nationality" [6] The net result was that it proved impossible in altering frontiers or setting up new states to avoid creating new minorities

To hold or not to hold Plebiscites

We have pointed out that in most cases the Council of Four sitting in Paris fixed the frontiers In others they sent Commissions of Inquiry to ascertain as far as possible the actual sentiments and compositions of the populations concerned In some cases the plebiscitary device was resorted to The American view was that a team of experts could obtain better evidence of the wishes of populations than could be provided by plebiscites The Rumanian Delegation strongly protested against the decision that a plebiscite should be held in Besserabia "Has a plebiscite any meaning", it asked, "in a country where the uncontested autochthonous nation still forms the absolute majority by at least two-thirds of the total?" Nor was a referendum held in respect of Alsace-Lorraine which the French claimed and received on "historic grounds "[7]

Public Expression of Opinion

The treaty with Germany provided for four plebiscites and one "public expression of opinion", the treaty with Austria provided for one plebiscite only The so-called "public expression of opinion" was an alternative to a proper plebiscite This was resorted to in the case of Eupen and Malmedy, two small areas which were claimed by the Belgians from Germany The Germans first renounced their right to the territory in favour of Belgium and the inhabitants who wished the whole or part of the area to remain under German sovereignty were allowed during the six months after the coming into force of the Treaty to record their desire in registers opened by the Belgian authorities The results were to be communicated to the League of Nations and Belgium undertook to accept the decision of the League [8]

II—PLEBISCITES

Indispensable Prerequisites of a Successful Plebiscite

Before we go on to consider how the Plebiscite Commissions were constituted and how they functioned, it would be appropriate to draw attention towards some indispensable prerequisites of a successful plebiscite It is essential that the area in which a plebiscite is held should be neutralised, that is, if it is under the authority of either of the contesting parties that authority should be terminated In respect of the areas for which plebiscites were provided for in the Treaty of Versailles, Germany made a renunciation of sovereignty by the very terms of the Treaty But the renunciation was to come into effect only after the plebiscite had been held and to apply only to such territory as was consequently taken away from her The same was true in the single instance of the plebiscite provided for in the Treaty of Saint-Germain with Austria In the case of Teschen which formerly belonged to Austria and was the subject of dispute between Czechoslovakia and Poland, sovereignty vested in neither of these two and Austria had renounced all her rights and titles under the Treaty

Troops of Contending Parties must be Evacuated

The principle underlying neutralisation is "that there must be no semblance of opportunity from military pressure during the plebiscite "[9] Accordingly, in respect of every plebiscite provided for in the Treaties of Versailles and Saint-Germain, it was laid down that the troops of the contending parties must be evacuated This was accepted by the German and Austrian Delegations at Paris Indeed the Austrians and the Hungarians agreed that the Plebiscite Commissions should be supported by troops of outside powers The German delegation wished that there should be no troops of any kind in the plebiscite

areas but did not specifically protest against the provisions in the Treaty that the Commissions should be supported by necessary forces The German delegation demanded control of administration of plebiscite areas by "a neutral authority composed of nationals of the States of Denmark, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland or Spain "[10] However the only troops available were those of Britain, France, Italy and the United States

Date of Neutralization to be fixed well in advance

The Treaty of Versailles had in each case specified the date of evacuation of German troops and of occupation by Allied forces to support the Plebiscite Commissions These dates were, so far as was practicable, adhered to The Treaty of Saint-Germain, on the other hand, had left the date to the discretion of the Plebiscite Commission itself and this resulted in disagreement and in delay in evacuation which was not effected until a month before the vote

Danger if a Party's Troops are not Evacuated

In the case of the Tacna-Arica plebiscite, to which the contesting parties were Chile and Peru, no provision had been made for evacuation of the Chilean occupying forces with the result that Chilean armed bands "prowled about the territory, leading in assaults against the Peruvians" [11] This experience firmly establishes the principle that the evacuation of the forces of both contending parties is a necessary condition precedent to a fair plebiscite

Neutral Forces to support Plebiscite Commissions

Equally necessary is it that the Plebiscite Commissions should be supported by substantial neutral forces In Schleswig (claimed both by Germany and Denmark) which had an area of roughly 2,000 sq miles and a population of about 274,000 the force consisted of 2 battalions, one British and one French, and 2 cruisers and 3 destroyers This proved more than sufficient and was never called into action But since it was known that the force was ready for an emergency, trouble was prevented In Allenstein, which was more than twice the area of Schleswig, there were one British and one French battalion Although not large, its presence had a very reassuring effect on the inhabitants In Upper Silesia whose area was 4,159 sq miles and population only 200,000 Allied forces at the disposal of the Commission at any one time were as much as 20,000 This was effective but not so effective as it might have been, as most of the troops were French and therefore pro-Pole

The following quotation given by Sarah Wambaugh from a well-informed British observer is significant "In maintaining order the British and Italian Commissioners were generally disposed to rely on

the local police for all purposes until they had actually shown themselves powerless to deal with a disturbance The French Commissioners were disposed to call out troops when a disturbance was merely threatened In Schleswig, Allenstein and Marienwerder, the first system was followed the troops were held in readiness on the rare occasions when disorder threatened, but never called into action In Upper Silesia each national contingent followed its own system British and Italian troops remained ready to assist the police, if necessary, while French troops were used for purposes of police work such as searching for arms or criminals, dispersing crowds and guarding bank messengers When serious disturbances arose the Italian troops came into action, but the French troops were confined to barracks No serious disturbances occurred in Upper Silesia during the presence of the British troops "[12]

Composition of Plebiscite Commissions

We now come to the all-important question of the composition of the Plebiscite Commissions The Schleswig Commission was the only one under the Treaty of Versailles which in addition to representatives of the Allied Powers contained representatives of the states concerned, that is, Germany and Denmark On the Commissions for Allenstein, Marienwerder, Teschen, Upper Silesia and Sopron all the members were representatives of the Allies The interested States had no members although they had non-voting advisers attached to them On the Klagenfurt Commission there were representatives of the Allied Powers in addition [to those] of the two interested States, Austria and Yugoslavia, who, although they had no vote, proved extremely useful In the Tacna-Arica Commission there was one representative of each of the two interested parties and a neutral chairman Wambaugh's view is that the fact that it had only one distinguished member greatly increased his difficulties There was constant friction in this Commission which seems to point towards the unwisdom of having representatives of interested parties as voting members

Chairman

In no case, however, has the President of a Plebiscite Commission been a representative of one of the interested parties

It is significant that the contending parties did not ask for membership on the Plebiscite Commission On the other hand, they demanded that the Commissions should be constituted of neutrals

Administration of Plebiscite Area Before the Vote is Taken

The question of the government and administration of the plebiscite area before the vote is taken and while it is being taken is one of

great moment In regard to Schleswig, Allenstein and Marienwerder the Treaty gave the Plebiscite Commissions "general powers of administration" and authority to take all necessary steps "to secure the freedom, fairness and secrecy of the vote" The Upper Silesian Commission's powers were specifically defined as "all powers exercised by the German or the Prussian Governments except those of legislation and taxation " In actual practice the other Commissions too exercised these same powers The three Commissions for the Polish plebiscite exercised the right to suspend all laws restricting the freedom of association, public meetings, etc , and all laws and decrees contrary to the fair execution of the plebiscite and to suspend the connection of all administrative services, political and judicial, with the German, Prussian and provincial governments [13]

In the Bohme and Le Rond-Von Simson Agreements, Germany undertook

1 To nominate a delegate as channel of communication between itself and the Commission, to place a senior official in charge of each branch of the administration and to require all the officials, except those suspended by the Commission, to remain at their posts

2 To continue to administer the railways, direct the food control, revenue and customs, and control the local finances, as long as these were not taken over by the Commissions, to give the usual transport and postal facilities, and to supply raw materials, rolling stock, food and coal under the same conditions as in the rest of Germany

3 To supply funds to meet the expenses of the plebiscite, to cover the local requirements of the Commissions and the Allied troops, and to make up any deficit on the local administration, until the decision as to the frontier had been given, when this extraordinary expenditure was to be divided between the two interested States

4 To leave all archives in their normal state and to provide each Commission with such documents as it might require concerning its area

"In order to assure the Commission that German authority over each area was suspended and that complete control would be in the hands of the respective Commissions, the following principles were agreed to as well

Powers of the Commission

1 All officials in each of the German areas were made directly responsible to the International Commission The German Government agreed that its authority over the local administration should cease entirely, except in so far as each Commission might wish it to continue All correspondence between local officials and the central

German authorities had to pass through the Commission's hands

2 No fresh laws, regulations, or taxes were to come into force in any plebiscite area until approved by the Commission, and each Commission was to have power to suspend any existing laws which it might consider contrary to the fair operation of the plebiscite.

3 The Commissions were to have power to suspend and expel any officials at will Those that remained were to be entirely at its disposal and to make a declaration of loyalty to it "[14]

Its Duties

Under the Paris Treaties the Plebiscite Commissions were to disturb existing conditions as little as possible They had to devise their own means of maintaining order and for carrying on of government They had also to arrange for the compilation of accurate lists of those entitled to vote and for making technical arrangements to secure [*sic* for ensure] that the vote should be free and fair and to tabulate the results and recommend frontiers in accordance with them

Actual administration was left in the hands of the local officials In some cases members of a Commission became departmental heads and were also assisted by Allied officials

The Treaty of Saint-Germain merely placed the Klagenfurt area "under the control of the Plebiscite Commission without giving it general powers of administration" The Commission's functions therefore were merely advisory and not executive This did not work satisfactorily from the point of view of the Commission's primary duty, that is, to organise the plebiscite and to take all measures necessary to ensure its freedom, fairness and secrecy It was therefore compelled to take control of the administration and also the right to suspend such laws as it thought would be prejudicial to a free vote

Conditions of Effective Neutralization

It is clear that for effective neutralisation of an area it is necessary that its administration should cease to be controlled by either party, and should pass into the hands of the impartial international commission The plebiscite should not be held merely as a matter of form, but it would be no more unless all the necessary psychological and physical prerequisites of a fair plebiscite were provided for. There must not only be a *de jure* but also a *de facto* termination of pre-existing authority In the case of Schleswig Commission it was laid down that

"1 The officials shall be entirely subordinate to the Commission as regards their functions and discipline

2 The salaries of the existing officials shall be paid as before by the German Government but through the medium of the Com-

mission, salaries of officials appointed by the Commission to fill new posts or to replace those dismissed shall be paid by the Commission

3 All important modifications of existing practice in the administrative services shall require the approval of the Commission before application in the plebiscite area

4 The railway, postal, telegraph, telephone and road maintenance and similar services, shall be conducted as before, but in some or all of such services the Commission shall appoint a senior official who shall be responsible for their efficient working and at the same time be the channel of communication between the Commission and the office in unoccupied Germany from which the services have hitherto been controlled

5 The gendarmerie (rural police) shall be disbanded and replaced by a force to be recruited by the Commission, which will also appoint a commanding officer for the other police forces in the area

6 Justice shall continue as before, the Commission reserving the right to intervene in political cases

7 The Commission shall lay down details of the boundary of the plebiscite areas "[15]

While many of the senior officials were removed by the various Commissions and new ones appointed by them, the old lower officials continued to function In some cases a system of control over their activities was set up In others an effort was made to equalise the number of officials drawn from amongst the members of the two groups, particularly in respect of the police Indeed in every area an effort was made that the representation of the two groups in the police force should be numerically equal, and the police were placed under a special representative of the Commission

Neutralization of Courts

Neutralization of the courts was effected by several plebiscite commissions In some cases the existing courts were retained, in others new tribunals were created Even new Supreme Courts and Courts of Appeal were set up Sometimes the judges were appointed from amongst the lawyers accompanying the Commission Special tribunals were set up with exclusive jurisdiction over offences against the plebiscite These consisted of Allied officers They had authority to try and judge cases of intentional irregularities in drawing up the voters' lists, or of violence, corruption or fraud connected with the plebiscite operations There were sometimes advisers or assessors drawn from members of the two parties

Control Over Movement of Persons

The Commissions were also generally given control over entrance, it and sojourn in their respective areas Regulations were made mpelling residents to carry identity cards issued by the Commission d non-residents to carry a regular passport from the country of eir citizenship with a special visa Non-resident voters might enter presentation of a certificate of identity Persons who on account of eir business had frequently to cross the border were given border culation cards

In Upper Silesia twelve days before the vote all entrance and exit of otor vehicles were forbidden Only such persons were allowed to ter as were non-resident voters or necessary companions of those 10 were infirm

Propaganda Not Prohibited

In no plebiscite, with one exception, was propaganda prohibited deed propaganda was not only considered legitimate but necessary a free and fair vote Propaganda committees were set up by rival rties and the Commissions even relied on them for assistance, such the posting of proclamations, transport[ing] of non-resident voters, tribution of application forms and registration cards, etc, etc In some es, regulations were made to control propaganda activities For ex- iple, in Schleswig notice of meetings must be given 24 hours in advance the police authorities, propaganda must not disturb public order nor directed against a government or the Commission or its troops

Self-determination and Plebiscite not to be used for Securing Secession

It might safely be conceded that the plebiscite is a more authoritative thod of determining territorial frontiers than that provided by any ier criterion—linguistic, historical, religious, strategic or economic addition, it has the effect of weakening the grievance of the losing rty, for it ascertains the actual wishes of the inhabitants Neverthe- s, it must be recognised that the plebiscite is a dangerous weapon ich there might be temptation to use for securing recognition of the ht of secession The principle of self-determination upon which biscite rests was not intended by President Wilson to extend to the ht of secession According to International Law the right of dispos- ; of territory is an essential attribute of the sovereignty of every te International Law does not recognise the right of national groups such to separate themselves from the state of which they form part the simple expression of a wish The principle of self-determination 1919, says Gilbert Murray, was applied "only to those peoples and

territories whose destinies had to be resettled in one way or the other because they had been unsettled by the War "[16] Murray's prescription for a small community that is mixed up with an alien nation is "that both sides should behave decently "[17]

We now come to the all-important question of the size and delimitation of the plebiscite area It is essential to secure an agreement of the parties with regard to it Necessarily the vote will be taken by small units Whether the vote should be counted by small units and the final line drawn according to the vote in each such unit, or whether the vote of the whole area shall be counted as a unit, is a matter for preliminary decision There are precedents for both methods It might be decided that the vote should be taken for the whole area "if the area has had a separate history from that of both States or has given evidence of a strong feeling of unity or if it should be kept together for some economic and geographic reasons "[18] If it is a region of no great local individualism, the line should be decided according to the local vote, for it is obvious that the smaller the unit the greater the degree of self-determination Moreover, it would be easier to take a decision on the results of a plebiscite if the votes are counted separately for each unit The only danger in it is that the problems of enclaves will arise

III—PROBLEMS OF NATIONALITY AND PROPERTY INCIDENTAL TO PARTITION

Status of the Inhabitants of Separated Territories

The question of the status of the inhabitants of separated territories is as important as it is difficult The Peace Treaties of 1919 provided that the inhabitants who were habitual residents in ceded territories should *ipso facto* acquire the nationality of the annexing state The Treaty of Saint-Germain further provided that an inhabitant of the Austrian territory ceded to Italy should have been born in the territory The same rule was incorporated in the treaties with Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Rumania

Nevertheless, all the treaties gave to the inhabitants of the ceded territories if 18 years of age or older to retain their old nationality provided the option was exercised within a specified period which extended from one to two years and provided further that those who availed of it should migrate within the course of the following year, they were free to retain their immovable property and to take with them their personal effects In the case of minors under 18 years the option of the father decided for the children and of the husband for his wife This right of option was not allowed to the inhabitants of Alsace-Lorraine

Public Property in the Separated Territory and Apportionment of Public Debts

All public property passes with the territory in which it is situated and the annexing state acquires title to it In respect of public property, such as state-owned railways, the general rule is that the annexing state is required to pay compensation for it The annexing state also generally assumes a proportionate part of the public debt of the ceding state There is a difference of opinion as to the basis for determining the proportion of the responsibility of the annexing state According to the terms of the Treaty of Versailles the powers to whom German territory was ceded undertook to pay the portion of the Imperial German pre-war debt calculated on the basis of the ratio between the average for the fiscal years 1911-13 of the revenues of the separated territory and the average for the same years of the revenues of the entire German Empire There were, it may be pointed out, some exceptions to this

Some other Points in the Treaties

There were some other interesting points in the treaty with Germany Article 363 required Germany to lease for a period of 99 years to Czechoslovakia certain areas in the ports of Hamburg and Stettin for the transit of goods to and from the latter State By Article 358 France was given the right to take water from the Rhine for navigation, irrigation, etc, and to erect on the German bank such works as were necessary for the exercise of that right Czechoslovakia was given the right to run its trains over Austrian railroads and to have trunk telegraph and telephone lines for its exclusive use across the Austrian territory Germany was required to allow freedom of transit through her territories and on her waterways to certain powers and to treat their nationals, vessels and property in German ports as if they were German Various German rivers or parts thereof were declared to be international as well as some canals, and they were placed under the administration of international commissions

Contracts entered into before Partition

The problem of contracts entered into before partition is also an interesting one There were provisions about it in the Paris Peace Treaties as also about pre-war debts due from nationals of one State to those of the other There were also provisions with regard to status of industrial, military and artistic property

The Paris Treaties contained provision by virtue of which enemy property held in the treaties of the Allied and Associated Powers was chargeable with the payment of private debts and private claims for

damages and also for claims under the reparation clauses These provisions amounted in effect to confiscation of private property

[1]Lloyd George, *The Truth about the Peace Treaties*, 1938, p 903
[2]Ibid , pp 912-913
[3]Ibid , p 916
[4]Ibid , p 917
[5]Temperley, *A History of the Peace Conference of Paris*, p 419
[6]Fenwick, *International Law*, p 266
[7]Cobban, *National Self-determination*, p 26
[8]Wambaugh, *Plebiscites since the World War I*, p 18
[9]Ibid , p 444
[10]Ibid , p 445
[11]Ibid , p 447
[12]Ibid , p 448
[13]Ibid , p 452
[14]Ibid , p 453
[15]Ibid , p 69
[16]Gilbert Murray, "Self-determination of Nationalities", *International Affairs*, I, p 9
[17]Ibid
[18]Op cit , p 503

485

Samin Jan and Abdul Qaiyum Khan to M A Jinnah

Telegram, F 666/384

PESHAWAR,
26 May 1947

Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah, New Delhi
Abdul Ghaffar Khan desires meeting you earliest opportunity New Delhi His wish conveyed to us through special emissary Also desires our presence there Kindly suggest date and wire instructions through Superintendent Central Jail Peshawar

SAMIN JAN AND ABDUL QAIYUM

486

Mrs K L Rallia Ram to M A Jinnah

F 487/54-55

5 MASSON ROAD, LAHORE,
26 May 1947

Dear Mr Jinnah,

Here are the cuttings[1] from yesterday's press, some from the *Civil & Military Gazette* and others from the *Hindustan Times* and the *Pakistan Times* The voice of the Muslim Punjab has been stilled by the hidden hand of Dalmia who has bought off the *Civil & Military Gazette* [Press] which was printing the paper I am sending you the cutting about the case filed against the *Civil & Military Gazette* The last underlined part shows that the hidden hand of Dalmia has struck at the Muslim press which was now not only counterblasting the Hindu attacks but was gaining voice to correct and balance the Muslim India opinion Lately, it had become the best paper of the Punjab, altho[ugh] its beginning was rather feeble and poor

I do hope, under the heavy strain of work and heat, God will give you strength and wisdom to carry through your work to a successful end

Long may you live

Sincerely yours,
MRS K L RALLIA RAM

[1]Not available in *QAP*

487

Abdul Latif Dada to M A Jinnah

F 910/300-321

8 ELPHINSTONE CIRCLE, FORT, BOMBAY,
27 May 1947

ANNOUNCEMENT
MUHAMMADI STEAMSHIP COMPANY LTD

(*Incorporated under the Indian Companies Act 1913*)

This is only an announcement and not a prospectus.

The subscription list will open on the 28th day of May 1947 at 11 a m

and close on the 23rd day of June 1947 at 3 p m

Authorised Capital Rs 5,00,00,000 divided into 4,50,000 Ordinary Shares of Rs 100 each and 50,000 4% Tax Free Cumulative Preference Shares of Rs 100 each

Present Issue

1,80,000 Ordinary Shares of Rs 100 each, and

20,000 4% Tax Free Cumulative Preference Shares of Rs 100 each to be issued at par

Out of the above 1,80,000 Ordinary Shares of Rs 100 each and 20,000 4% Tax Free Cumulative Preference Shares of Rs 100 each, 90,000 Ordinary Shares of Rs 100 each and 10,000 4% Tax Free Cumulative Preference Shares of Rs 100 each have been taken up and allotted to the Directors or their friends The balance of 90,000 Ordinary Shares of Rs 100 each and 10,000 4% Tax Free Cumulative Shares of Rs 100 each are now offered to the public

Rs 50 per share will be payable on application and the remaining Rs 50 share on allotment

DIRECTORS

1 Seth Ahmed Habib, Merchant, Esplanade Road, Bombay
2 Seth Haji Rahemtulla Hossen Kasum Dada, Merchant, Bantva, Kathiawar
3 Seth Ahmed Haji Habib, Merchant, Bantva, Kathiawar
4 Seth Abdulkarim Haji Adam Haji Pirmahomed, Merchant, Bantva, Kathiawar
5 Seth Ahmed Mohamed Siddik, Merchant, Bantva, Kathiawar
6 Seth Phiroz Merwanji Dalal, Merchant, 20 Apollo Street, Fort, Bombay
7 Seth Bhogilal C Shah, Public Accountant and Auditor, Kalbadevi, Bombay
8 Seth Yusuf Abdoola Haroon, Merchant, 786 Napier Road, Karachi
9 Seth Esmail Haji Suleman, Merchant, Bantva, Kathiawar
10 Seth Fakhruddin Valibhai, Merchant, 101 Abdul Rehman Street, Bombay
11 Seth Abdul Wahed Adamji, Merchant, Stephen House, Dalhousie Square, Calcutta
12 Seth Mirza Ahmad Ispahani, Merchant, 51 Ezra Street, Calcutta
13 Seth Hassanali P Ebrahim, Merchant, Chakla Street, Bombay
14 Seth Mohammedali Habib, Merchant, Esplanade Road, Bombay

MANAGING AGENTS

Ahmadi Shipping Agency Limited

BANKERS

Habib Bank Ltd , Mahomedali Road, Bombay

AUDITORS

1 Ahmed B Khan & Co , Mahomedali Road, Bombay
2 Ashraf G L Sajan Esq , Mahomedali Road, Bombay
3 Nausheer M Marfatia & Co , Alice Building, Hornby Road, Bombay
4 Kalyanivala & Mistry, 20 Apollo Street, Bombay
5 Shah & Company, 107 Mahatma Gandhi Road, Bombay

SOLICITORS

S F B Tyabji & Co , Central Bank Building,
55 Esplanade Road, Fort, Bombay

REGISTERED OFFICE

Laxmi Building , Bunder Road, Karachi

MAIN OFFICE

111 Esplanade Road, Bombay-1

This company has been incorporated for the purpose of carrying on the business of a Steamship Company in all its aspects and also for the purposes of running air services either supplementing or separate from its steamship service

During the last two decades ships and shipping and the development of the Indian Mercantile Marine have been much discussed in the press and in the Legislative Assemblies The Government of India has declared its policy to be, to help build a National Mercantile Marine and to give all aid to shipping companies in India In view of this declared policy the promoters anticipate no difficulty in obtaining the necessary exchange and other facilities for the purpose of starting the business of this company At present there is an acute shortage of shipping space and for some time to come all shipping acquired or chartered by the company will be fully employed Even after the present conditions no longer exist the company's business ought to be secure as the company has been fortunate in obtaining Directors and Managing Agents who themselves or through their friends control sufficient freight to keep the ships of the company fully occupied even in normal things [*sic*] In view of these factors the promoters, God pleasing, feel very confident of the future of the company

According to the latest available figures, which are those of the period immediately prior to the war, the maritime trade of England

was £ 1,354 million and that of India was £ 241 million British Merchant Shipping at that time was 18 million tons, whilst Indian Shipping was only 1,31,748 tons Therefore though the trade of England was about 5½ times as large as that of India, England's tonnage was over 136 times the tonnage of India It is legitimate to expect that a country's shipping resources should bear a reasonable proportion to its sea-borne trade and therefore legitimate to conclude that an enormous scope for expansion in the shipowning and shipbuilding industry exists in India

The strategic position which India has as a shipping country is apparent from a glance at the Map India is on the route between East and West and because of the enormous land mass of Central and Northern Asia every ton of cargo and every passenger passing from the East to the West must go by sea within hail of Indian shores

India with its strategic position on the shipping routes of the world, its enormous coastline, its vast natural resources, its even vaster potential for industrial production, its great overseas connections and colonisation, can properly expect to be a leading shipowning country in the world India's coastline extends for about 4,500 miles Immediately prior to the war about 70,00,000 tons of rice, timber, coal, salt, oils and other cargo were annually carried by the coastline trade alone Over 15,00,000 of passengers were carried on the West Coast of India and 5,00,000 were transported between India and Burma The overseas traffic was 250 lac tons and of about 2 lac passengers every year The value of the overseas trade exceeded Rs 400 crore Nevertheless the Indian Mercantile Marine did not carry even 5 per cent of this traffic

The strategic position of India is not without effect on the economics of shipping It is obvious that shipping companies based in India have enormous advantages in serving the passengers and carrying trade of the greater part of the Eastern Hemisphere Some figures will bear out the statement The leading Steam Navigation Company which is at present almost in monopolistic control of this trade has as its capital only a sum of £ 9,57,000 Yet from the years 1901 to 1925 the total profit which it made amounted to £ 51,71,000, that is to say approximately 22 per cent per annum of its share capital This profit was made after deducting very large sums for the Managing Agents' commission and paying very large and liberal remuneration to the vast number of persons to whom the company gave employment

It is under these circumstances that this company has been registered and the Directors have little doubt that there are very great prospects in the field of shipping remaining to be exploited

It is nevertheless realised that modern invention and particularly

the progress in the field of aircraft will considerably affect the future carrying trade of passengers by sea particularly of the luxury classes The company therefore proposes to bear this aspect of the matter in mind from the very commencement and schemes to have a series of airplane and seaplane lines supplementing its passenger services

The company plans to have its own shipyards at which in the first instance its own ships will be repaired and where ultimately ships of smaller sizes will also be constructed There are a very large number of small but very serviceable and undeveloped ports both on the East Coast as well as on the West Coast of India The company proposes to develop these ports and harbours and where such harbours are within the territories of Indian Princes to obtain their co-operation in such development

It is proposed, *Insha' Allah,* to acquire, gradually, a tonnage of about 50,000 tons as soon as this can be done at reasonable and economical prices The tonnage planned and audit costs are estimated as under

Number of Ships	Tonnage per Steamer	Cost per Steamer in Rupees	Total Tonnage	Estimated Total Cost in Rupees
2	1,500	4,50,000	3,000	9,00,000
2	3,000	9,00,000	6,000	18,00,000
4	5,000	15,00,000	20,000	60,00,000
1	7,000	21,00,000	7,000	21,00,000
1	8,000	24,00,000	8,000	24,00,000
10			44,000	1,32,00,000

It is proposed to operate the following routes

(1) Bombay—Karachi
(2) Bombay—Colombo via Calicut, Cochin
(3) Bombay—Rangoon—Calcutta
(4) Rangoon—Madras
(5) Bombay—Karachi—Persian Gulf ports
(6) Bombay—Aden—Suez—Europe
(7) Bombay—Mombasa
(8) Calcutta—Rangoon—Java—China—Japan—Australia
(9) Bombay—Cape of Good Hope—Americas

It is conservatively estimated that by God's grace the profit of the company will not be less than 25 per cent on the Paid-up Capital, that is to say Rs 50,00,000 per annum, which will be amply sufficient to

pay a handsome dividend as well as to set apart considerable sums as reserves for strengthening the financial position of the company

The number of shares fixed by the Articles as the qualification of a Director is 250 Under the Articles, the Directors are entitled to remuneration for attending each meeting of the Board a sum [sic for at a rate] not exceeding Rs 150

The company has entered into an agreement with the Ahmadi Shipping Agency Ltd, to act as the Secretaries, Treasurers and Agents of the Company Under the terms of this agreement the Ahmadi Shipping Agency Ltd, are entitled to an office allowance of Rs 7,500 per month which is to commence from the date of commencement of business Ahmadi Shipping Agency Ltd, will hold office for a term of 20 years and they will be entitled, in addition to the office allowance, to a remuneration at the rate of 10 per cent of the net profit of the company

The minimum subscription on which the Directors may proceed to allotment is 50,000 shares of Rs 100 each

The estimated amount of preliminary expenses is Rs 50,000

The names and addresses of the Auditors of the company are

1 Ahmed Khan & Co, Mahomedali Road, Bombay
2 Ashraf G L Sajan Esq, Mahomedali Road, Bombay
3 Nausheer M Marfatia & Co, Alice Building, Hornby Road, Bombay
4 Kalyanivala & Mistry, 20 Apollo Street, Fort, Bombay
5 Shah & Company, 107 Mahatma Gandhi Road, Bombay

By nine letters of agreement dated 12th May 1947 the underwriters hereinafter mentioned have underwritten the 90,000 Ordinary Shares and 10,000 Preference Shares of the Company that have not been taken up and allotted to the Directors or their friends Under the said agreements a commission at the rate of 3% on the paid-up value of the shares underwritten by the said underwriters respectively will be payable to them The said underwriters and their respective addresses are as follows

1 Habib Bank Ltd, Mahomedali Road, Bombay
2 Seth Abdul Latif Dada, Fort, Bombay
3 Seth Esmail Haji Suleman, Bantava, Kathiawar
4 Seth Moosa Omer, Mahomedali Road, Bombay
5. Seth Dawood Ebrahim Parekh, Mahomedali Road, Bombay
6 Seth Suntoomal Ravaldas, Fort, Bombay
7 Seth Osman Jiva Kasmani, Mahomedali Road, Bombay
8 Seth Yusufali Kassambhai, Marine Drive, Bombay
9 Seth Razak H Mahomed, Esplanade Road, Fort, Bombay

The Directors have satisfied themselves that the resources of the underwriters are sufficient to discharge their obligations

Applications for shares are invited on the basis of the Company's Prospectus and Memorandum and Articles of Association Copies of Prospectus and Application Forms can be had from the Main Office of the Company at 111, Esplanade Road, Bombay, or from the Company's Bankers at all its branches, or from the underwriters

Note Consent of the Central Government has been obtained to this issue of capital by an order of which a complete copy is open to public inspection at the head office of the company subject to the condition that the capital raised shall not be expended except for purposes connected with the establishment of regular shipping services in the Province of Sind and that so much of the capital raised as cannot be spent until the time has come to pay for imported machinery or until a later date shall be invested and kept invested meanwhile in the manner prescribed It must be distinctly understood that in giving this consent the Government of India do not take any responsibility for the financial soundness of any schemes or for the correctness of any of the statements made or opinions expressed with regard to them

[*The Notice in Gujerati and the Application Form not printed*]

488

M A Jinnah to Samin Jan and Abdul Qaiyum Khan

Telegram, F 666/1

10 AURANGZEB ROAD, DELHI,
27 May 1947

Samin Jan and Abdul Qaiyum, Care Superintendent Central Jail, Peshawar

Your telegram twenty-sixth [1] Shall be glad see you both If Abdul Ghaffar Khan wants meet me and if you approve I shall meet you all in New Delhi Wire date arrival

JINNAH

[1]No 485

489

F A Dignum to M A Jinnah

F 908/102

7 SUDDER STREET, CALCUTTA,
28 May 1947

Dear Mr Jinnah,

I am requested to place before you a copy of a Resolution which was unanimously adopted at an emergent meeting of my Council held at Calcutta on the 23rd May 1947

In this connection, I have the pleasure to inform you that contact has been formed with the Bengal Provincial Muslim League with whom we hope to work in close co-operation and harmony We expect that after we have jointly formulated our proposals, to request you for an interview in order to obtain your approval of our plans

With the kind regards of my Council,

I remain,
Yours sincerely and loyally,
F A DIGNUM
President,
The Anglo-Indian League, Bengal

Enclosure to No 489

F 908/103-104

COPY OF THE RESOLUTION PASSED BY THE COUNCIL OF THE ANGLO-INDIAN LEAGUE, BENGAL, AT CALCUTTA, ON 23 MAY 1947

Resolved That this meeting of the Council of the Anglo-Indian League, Bengal, after careful consideration and anxious thought on the present political events obtaining in the country in general and in the Province of Bengal in particular, is definitely of the opinion that the policy of progressive cooperation with the Congress followed by Mr Frank Anthony and the Governing Body of the All-India Anglo-Indian Association, is harmful to the best interest of the community This meeting views with suspicion and anxiety the anti-Muslim League propaganda hitherto carried on by Mr. Anthony and the Anglo-Indian Association and consequently emphatically dissociates itself with such activities as may create an ill feeling between the Muslims and the Anglo-Indians with whom this

ommunity has always been living with perfect concord, harmony nd cordiality

This meeting further places on record its considered opinion hat the move of partition of Bengal is decidedly injurious to the nhabitants of this Province and particularly the Anglo-Indians of lengal, which is regarded by the community as the homeland of Anglo-Indians and an economic unit that cannot be split up The artition of the Province which will divide the Anglo-Indians into wo halves is likely to deal a death blow to the political status of the nglo-Indians and any move for such an act will be resisted by the ommunity with all the resources at its command

This meeting opines that in Group "C" the fate of the Anglo-Indians linked up with Musalmans who alone can deliver the goods to ie community Consequently this meeting resolves to appoint a ub-committee consisting of the following members, Mr Frank Dignum and Mr Theodore E Martin, to have an interview with Ar M A Jinnah and seek his help for safeguarding the interests of the nglo-Indians in the new political set-up of Bengal

490

Muhammad Yamin Khan to M A Jinnah

F 10/22-23

ROOKVILLE LODGE, SIMLA,
28 May 1947

Dear Mr Jinnah,

It has been a great relief to read your statement in the *Dawn*[1] a few ays ago that you have not agreed to the partition of the Punjab and engal The propaganda in some papers indicated that you had agreed) the partition of these Provinces and that the Viceroy went with iaximum agreement between the parties

However, I could not understand the implication of that part of your atement when you say that you will demand a corridor between Western nd Eastern Pakistan This implies partition of U P and Bihar. Naturally us demand will force on you the partition of the Punjab and Bengal

Now I see a demand for the partition of Sind and Baluchistan in the *Hindustan Times* This may be ridiculous, but it is meant to sabotage ie demand for the corridor

Anyhow, if you are forced to accept a division of the Punjab then the best course will be

1 To demand a demarcated area of the Jullundur and Ambala Divisions for the Muslims, which may join up to Delhi and Saharanpur and run parallel to Muzaffarnagar The entire Muslim population to be shifted to this area and all Caste Hindus and Sikhs to be turned out of this
2 Delhi to be added to this area
3 The entire Meerut Division with a probable exception of Dehra Dun, the whole Rohilkhand Division, and Aligarh District, a portion of Agra District and a portion of Etah District which is close to Aligarh District, a portion of Furrukhabad District which has Pathan population, a portion of Hardoi District on either side of the Railway, a portion of the Lucknow District and entire Lucknow City should be given to 85 lakhs of Muslims

The whole Caste Hindu rural population of this area be shifted to other districts in exchange of Muslim population

The urban population and Scheduled Caste people should not be interfered with Exchange of urban population becomes complicated but the exchange of village population where people have no stakes is not so difficult

In Bihar you can choose either O T Railway or E I Railway, and I prefer the latter On both sides of the railway line stretching up to Bengal through coal area Muslims of Bihar can be shifted

If this principle is accepted I will work out details

Under these circumstances, separation of Rohtak, Hissar, and Gurgaon from Karnal will not be bad Simla will be a problem on account of so much capital of two Governments having been sunk here

Aligarh can absorb Cawnpore Muslim population and will compete in industry if properly developed with Railway facilities there

Please let me know your reaction so that I may do a little to chalk out plan

Yours sincerely,
MOHD YAMIN KHAN

[1]It is not clear as to which statement has been referred to here For Jinnah's views on partition of Bengal and the Punjab see Enclosure to No 420 and No 464

491

Mrs K L Rallia Ram to M A Jinnah

F 487/56-59

5 MASSON ROAD, LAHORE,
28 May 1947

Dear Mr Jinnah,

Look what the Hindu press writes British Government surrenders to Jinnah May God that it be so I was also delighted to read another statement from London which said that the Muslims of London had declared you to be the first Emperor of Pakistan May God bring that hour nearer when you are declared either the Emperor or the President of the Pakistan area The press now is full of material that should not go unnoticed by you and hence my packets to you are getting bigger and bigger Because I do not want anything to go unnoticed by you, I take about four English dailies just to get information for you And I often wonder how you can cope all alone with such heavy pressure of work and for remaining in touch with all the mischievous propaganda going on at top speed against you God only is giving you the strength to stand these overwhelmingly heavy responsibilities Daily the crisis is drawing nearer and nearer and 2nd of June is going to be the hour of anguish and worry for you Now that both the Muslim papers, the *Dawn* and the *Pakistan Times* are not there, it is left for the *Civil & Military Gazette* to give vent to Muslim opinions and this, as I have written to you, has been bought over by Dalmia & Co [1] and will also receive injunctions to stop giving publicity to Muslim viewpoint I can't understand why *Dawn* has also stopped My copy has stopped since long and our neighbour, Justice Munir, also says the same Then how will the Muslim League do its propaganda these days when the Muslim voice should be heard the most? The Hindu press goes on with anti-Muslim propaganda and there is nothing from the League side This is rather serious

Look what is happening in Kashmir.[2] When the Muslim Conference decided to side with the Maharaja, the Congress at once rose to foil its plan and Kripalani was busy there declaring Quit Kashmir Movement an unreasonable affair in the absence of Sheikh Abdullah, and now he says that the National Conference prisoners will be released All this is being done to foil the League movement there The Hindu Congress has its hand in every pie of the Muslims

Just read this approach of the *Tribune* [3] One feels amazed at the wails and groans of the Hindus who, after goading the Sikhs to provoke the Muslims into violence, have now taken up the attitude of martyrs I can tell you as an eye witness that the Sikhs have provoked and are still provoking the helpless Muslims Day after day innocent *tongawallas*, vegetable sellers and other poor Muslims are being dragged by either Sikhs or Hindus and killed You must have heard the Rajgarh story from the League leaders and also what the Krishan Nagar and Santnagar Hindus are doing and playing aggressive If there are more Hindu and Sikh victims that doesn't go to prove that Muslims are the aggressors This proves that they are no match for the Muslims, whereas the Hindu press makes it appear and tells the leaders that the Muslims are the aggressors It is difficult either for the Congress or the League leaders to know exactly what is happening and generally a wrong picture is presented, and this creates more and more mischief If the members of both the communities told the honest truth the picture of the whole show would be different Perverted facts are dragging both the communities to a catastrophic end, and those who see the unbiased picture have no hearing The whole atmosphere is extremely tense and it would not be surprising if the declaration of the British award on 2nd June would explode this seething volcano I do hope the British Government will take every precaution for the coming exploding events

May God keep you from all harm and give you full strength for all the responsibilities Long may you live

Sincerely yours,
MRS K L RALLIA RAM

[1] See No 486
[2] Enclosure 1
[3] Enclosure 2

Enclosure 1 to No 491

KRIPALANI MEETS KASHMIR MAHARAJA

LONG TALKS

SRINAGAR, May 25—After Acharya Kripalani 's meeting with the Maharaja of Kashmir today in Jammu the following communique was issued

"Acharya and Mrs Kripalani lunched with Their Highnesses in Jammu palace today After lunch Acharya Kripalani had long talks

with His Highness in the course of which he mentioned cases of persons under detention in his State and suggested early release of such of them as were not accused of violence His Highness replied that cases of all persons under detention were already under investigation and action would be expected in case of such of them as can be safely released "

It is understood that the Maharaja of Kashmir gave a donation of Rupees 25,000 to Mrs Sucheta Kripalani to be utilised for charitable purposes

Enclosure 2 to No 491

It was to rivet their attention on it and induce them to adopt drastic measures that *I approached the two mightiest members of the Interim Government But even such mightiness under the 1935 Constitution, which is still in force, has limitations*[1] In the midst of tremendous Indian destiny-moulding work the great men lent me their ears readily and earnestly I apprised them of the genesis of the trouble at Lahore, *I recited to them the bangle story, I gave them some idea of the attitude of the overwhelmingly Muslim League-minded police,* I referred to the significant facts that the *victims of police shooting mostly belonged to two particular communities, I pointed out that the loss of these communities in property was incalculable and their loss in life was more serious than that of the other community,* I explained how searches in particular localities and arrests of members of particular communities had affected the minority defences, in fact I mentioned every important detail of Lahore riot developments I confessed to the distinguished listeners that some of the topmost officials had been doing their best to kill mischief, but I added that their best was no good in the desperate situation, which *required a desperate measure to mend it* I proposed the *immediate imposition of Martial Law on Lahore* My argument was this *"Lahore is the heart of the Punjab If it is prevented* from deteriorating, *the Punjab can be saved Otherwise the whole provincial body politic will get affected and collapse " Martial Law, I repeated was the only cure I pleaded passionately, "Come and see things for yourselves " The great men heard every syllable of what I said with rapt attention* Quite frequently they interrupted me and asked me questions and explained their position They gave me a message for the Punjabis—particularly for the citizens of Lahore They said

"We are conscious of the trials and tribulations you are passing through *Be brave Don't leave your places Stick to your guns "*

One of them promised to try to extricate himself from high politics for a while *and snatch a visit to Lahore* As regards the use of the suggested

desperate remedy, no assurance could be given to me And I rumbled back last evening to my wounded and blistered city lying under the curfew blanket I noticed that the symbols of the creeping communal anarchy had not faded away *I could not consider myself safe in a hired tonga or taxi The fanatic's knife and gun were still bloodthirsty Our safety and salvation lie in self-reliance and self-help*

[1]Emphasis here and hereafter in the original

492

Sydney Schuder to M A Jinnah

F 162/3

5 RUKHYA MANZIL, WARDEN ROAD, BOMBAY,
28 May 1947

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

It is about seven years ago that I sought your kind help in keeping afloat the firm of Messrs Schering (India) Limited, whose Managing Director I was for over ten years I shall never forget your great efforts made then, and if in the end they were unfortunately not crowned with success, I know from the case I pursued only 18 months ago that it was for reasons entirely beyond your control

Today, another misfortune prompts me to seek your help again and I hope the following explanations will have your sympathetic consideration

When I was released from the Family Camp, Satara, with my wife in December 1945 and my pre-war firm, Schering, was in the hands of the Custodian, I was rather fortunate in being appointed the General Manager of Caprihans (India) Limited, Bombay Within about 18 months I was able to put this firm on its feet and, by having secured a good number of agencies from the United Kingdom and Canada, the prospects for the future appear to be rather bright

Recently, however, I got a notice from the Government of India, Home Department, New Delhi, saying that my wife and I are to leave this country by the first week of August I know there is a net of intrigues woven around me, caused by envy and ill feeling to pierce which I am powerless

I am trying hard to comply with the wishes of the Home Department to leave this country in time and to get a permit of entry into

either Australia where I was born, or Canada where I have business connections However, my heart remains in India where I lived for 22 years and where I would wish to stay on for the rest of my life

Since, as I read in the papers, a Pakistan will be created, I would love to settle in Sind with headquarters in Karachi My plans, in short, are now to create trade and industries in Karachi, which originally I had in mind for Bombay I am already negotiating with Schering, Germany, and I am bound to get back the *sole import rights* for the whole of India of all their world-famous medicines, pharmaceuticals, camphor, etc , with my headquarters in Karachi When re-introduction of their products is done on a large scale I shall revive my old scheme to have *Schering's products manufactured in Karachi,* a plan which was already agreed to by Schering in 1939 Moreover, I plan, with the help of foreign experts and in collaboration with Muslim friends of Bombay, to establish vegetable-ghee plants and refineries as also other industries like toilet-soap, glycerine, varnishes and high-class paints and enamels

When I was in New Delhi last, end of January 1947, I was told by the P A of the Home Member that in principle (I have proofs that these principles were not adhered to in several instances) foreigners are allowed to stay on in India, provided they are technicians and are useful for the country in the national interest At that time I was also told that if the Bombay Government can be convinced of my usefulness (my present firm's application for a personal interview remains still under consideration), the Home Department in Delhi would sympathetically review my case However, meanwhile I got a notice to leave If this is the way to successfully proceed in my case, I should be ever so grateful if instead of Bombay, now the Prime Minister of Karachi [*sic*] would claim [*sic* for permit] my staying on in Sind

For your further guidance I attach herewith a synopsis of my "career of life" and a certificate from the Commandant of the Family Camp, Satara, and should you require any further detailed information, I should be only too pleased to give you such verbally at any time convenient to you

In the hope that you might be interested in my present situation and may see some chance of retaining me and my wife in Sind, I am awaiting your kind and favourable reply Please excuse if I should have troubled you, but really I do not know of any other step possible in my present misfortune than approaching you direct

Yours very truly,
SYDNEY SCHUDER

[1]Emphasis here and hereafter in the original

Enclosure to No 492

F 162/4
Bio-data of Sydney Alexander Schuder

1893 *Born* in Sydney, Australia, on 4th May
Parents Richard and Alice Schuder, nee Podlech-Boue, both from Hamburg, Germany Father Merchant, own firm

1899 *Education* Hamburg (Realschule Hamburg) corresponding to some extent to the modern side of English first grade schools

1909 *Apprentice* in Hamburg with Messrs Warnholtz & Gossler Import & export with East Africa

1912 *Clerk* with German-East Africa Company in Tanganyika at Tabora and Dar-es-Salaam

1913 *Assistant Manager* at Head Office Dar-es-Salaam

1915 *Manager* at Dar-es-Salaam

1916 *Interned* at Ahmednagar, India

1920 *Returned* to Hamburg Established own firm Import & export of drugs, chemicals and spices

1928 *Liquidated* own firm due to slump

1929 *Joined* Schering A G , Berlin, as Manager for their office at Calcutta

1930 *Arrived* Bombay on 9th February by "*Cracovia*" *Appointed* Director of Schering (India) Limited

1931 *Transferred* Head Office from Calcutta to Bombay *Established* Branch Offices at Calcutta and Madras

1937 *Established* 4th office at Lahore Agencies appointed at Karachi, Lucknow, Rangoon and Colombo

1939 *Total Staff* in all Schering Offices in India 5 Europeans, 120 Indians
Plans ready for erecting own factory in Bombay (Worli) for manufacturing synthetic camphor and some medicinal preparations like Veramon, Atophan, Medinal, etc The scheme was based on partnership with Indian capital at a percentage of fifty-fifty The scheme was sanctioned by Schering World War II broke out Firm vested in Custodian *Interned* at Ahmednager, Deolali, Dehra Dun and Satara

1945 *Released* on 3rd December to remain in India for 6 months

1946 *Joined* on 15th March Caprihans (India) Limited as General Manager. Import-Export and Manufacturers' Representative Branch Office at Stoke-on-Trent, England So far secured 15

agencies from England, Canada and the U S A Plans ready for connections with Australia
June Allowed to stay for six months
Object Establishing own factories for pharmaceutical products, antiseptics, tonics and others after resp. [*sic*] Trade Mark articles well established and in great demand
1947 *January 17th* Caprihans (India) Limited informed by the Government of India that Mr Schuder was not allowed to remain in India indefinitely Particulars to follow in due course
May 2nd Government of India informed me that I should leave India by the first week of August 1947

493

Hasan al-Banna to M A Jinnah

F 478/11

Bismilla'ir Rahman'ir Rahim

Allaahu Akbar wa lillaa'hil Hamd

CAIRO,
28 May 1947

My dear Leader Mohammad Ali Jinnah,

I have received your kind message through our brother Mr Mostafa Momin, for which I thank you very much As to the Asiatic Conference,[1] I may say that we have not been ignorant of its aims and purposes

We have taken the occasion of the meeting of the conference as an opportunity to enable our representative—who is one of the most loyal and true Muslim Egyptians—to enter India, to contast [*sic* for contact] the Islamic Movement [leaders,] to meet you personally, and to express—not only in writing but also verbally the sincere sentiments of Egypt towards the blessed Pakistan movement.

It was also our object to countrast [*sic* for counteract] the manoeuvres and steps which were expected to be taken against the interests of the Arabs and the Muslims as was the case when the Palestine question was brought up for our discussion

I am glad to state that the whole Nile Valley supports you sincerely and is confident that your struggle towards the realisation of the unity of the Islamic Indian nation and its independence would be ultimately

successful and that there is no force on the face of the earth which can break those ties which the brotherhood of Islam has welded, or could suppress the freedom and independence of the Mohammedan nations, or could prevent the attaining of their just national claims So, [march] forward! God is with you He will reward you for your good actions

Assalaamo 'Alaikum wa Rahmatullahi wa Barakatuhu

Your devoted,
HASAN AL-BANNA
President,
al-Akhwan al-Muslimeen

[1]Refers to the Inter-Asian Relations Conference held at Delhi from 23 March to 2 April 1947

494

M A Jinnah to Habib Bank Ltd , Delhi

F 156/103

28 May 1947

Dear Sir,

I am enclosing herewith three demand drafts and one pay-order with a pay-in slip for Rs 4,088 (Rupees four thousand and eighty-eight only) which amount on realization, please credit to the Bihar Relief Fund Account opened with your Bank, and issue receipts direct to donors as per their names and addresses given in the list attached [1]

Please acknowledge and oblige,

Yours faithfully,
M A JINNAH

The Agent,
Habib Bank, Ltd ,
Chandni Chowk,
Delhi

[1]Not available in *QAP*

495

M A Hassan Ispahani to M A Jinnah

F 68/71

5 HARINGTON STREET, CALCUTTA,
29 May 1947

My dear Mr Jinnah,

I give below an extract dated 19th May 1947 from a letter received from Mr Willcox, our London friend, which speaks for itself

> "Then, the next subject on which you should turn your thoughts is that of the Muslim India Information Centre When you went away you were going to send a suitable Director for this Centre Until such a man arrives the money that is being spent is very largely wasted In rent and other expenses over £ 700 have been paid out and this would be well spent, indeed, if you had the right man here I had the opportunity of seeing Suleri in a crowd at a Reception at the Savoy and I considered that although he meant well he mishandled things from your point of view If the Muslim India Information Centre is to mean anything it must have the right Head Keep all this, please, to yourself, but I cannot leave my opinion unreported "

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,
HASSAN

PS I shall reach Delhi on the evening of the 1st June

496

Mrs K L Rallia Ram to M A Jinnah

F 487/52-53

5 MASSON ROAD, LAHORE,
29 May 1947

Dear Mr Jinnah,

Today's Hindu press editorial captioned "Disillusionment and

Disappointments"[1] is worth reading I have underlined the important parts of it They are now beginning to realize the actual facts Even the Congress President has now declared that they are willing to work the Cabinet Mission Plan without reservations when it is too late Last year when you begged of them to accept it without reservations they would not listen and Gandhi said "He would ask Assam to walk out and say thank you" Now that you have gone back to the Pakistan demand they have come round But it is too late now

Look how the Hindu can distort the fact He seems to be the past master in the art of making white black

Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan's statement[2] today is rather conciliating [sic] Why not bring him round? If Mehr Chand Khanna hadn't been there, the situation would have been different[3]

I do hope and pray that you are keeping well and fit Long may you live

Sincerely yours,
MRS K L RALLIA RAM

[1&2]Not available in QAP
[3]Enclosure contained headlines from a newspaper Not printed

497

Qasim Razavi to M A Jinnah

F 667/8-10

Wa'tasimu bi Hablil lahi Jami'an wa laa Taffarraqu

HYDERABAD (DECCAN),
29 May 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo'Alaikum wa Rahmatullahi wa Barakatuhu

I am very sorry to disturb you at the time when every moment counts, yet I have been forced by circumstances to take a little of your time

From the day I took charge as President, Ittehadul Muslimeen, I have been acting according to your advice in all basic and important issues By this time the news regarding the resignation of Mirza Ismail and the stand which I took against him must have been brought to your notice The details will be narrated to you by my colleagues bearing this letter Abul Hassan Syed Ali visited you recently with H.E H's letter[1] On return, Abul Hassan Syed Ali is freely making the propaganda that you told him that in the first instance it was unwise

to appoint Sir Mirza, and once appointed, it was extremely inadvisable to terminate his appointment at this critical juncture when he could really be of great service to Hyderabad Abul Hassan Syed Ali is also telling people that Quaid-i-Azam has full confidence in him and his leadership in Hyderabad As we know, both these sets of propaganda are lies, but I thought that I should apprise you about this and take your advice on how I should refute this

Different parties with different motives are trying to create disruption within the Majlis, details of which will be explained to you by my colleagues Sir Mirza sent in his resignation accompanied with long letters couched in threatening terms Forces are working that his resignation should not be accepted and Sir Mirza should return at his own terms My sincere opinion, after taking all circumstances in view, is that if a man is to be taken from outside he should be none but Ghulam Mohammad, and if from inside he should be Laik Ali At this critical juncture you should help the Muslims of Hyderabad with all your vigour I am sure a little pressure from you direct and through the Viceroy, to whom Mirza's correspondence has been referred, will put the matter right It is rumoured that Sir Mirza and his party will try to influence the Viceroy through Gandhi, Nehru, Patel and Monckton that in the interest of present conditions Mirza should be asked to retain [*sic* for return]

With respectful regards,

Yours sincerely,
QASIM RAZAVI
President,
Majlis-i-Ittehadul Muslimeen
Mumlikat-i-Islamia Asafiya

[1]See Nos 405 and 410

498

M Yunus to M A Jinnah

F 468/13

DAR-UL-MALLIK, FRASER ROAD, PATNA,
29 May 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am herewith enclosing a copy of the correspondence between the Congress Rehabilitation in charge and the Secretary of the Congress

official Peace Committee, Patna, which has come into my possession This speaks for itself that the Hindus here have not yet changed and the Muslims are still being harassed

Yours sincerely,
M YUNUS

Enclosure to No 498
J N Sinha to Secretary, Peace Committee, Patna

F 468/14-16

BARH SUB-DIVISION, BARH,
12/13 May 1947

Dear Sir,

As instructed by you I am sending the report which I have received from the Sub-Divisional Officer, Barh, regarding rehabilitation work in this sub-division Further I beg to report that the number of persons who have been reported to [have] come back is as follows

Barh Police Station

1	Hussainganj	16
2	Basidpur	90
3	Gurguniapur	15
4	Chondhi	38
5	Salempur	31
6	Akberpur	32
7	Walipur	31
8	Tikachak	13
9	Kazichak	13

In Fatwah Thana, Muslims of village Katarna, Sadullahpur, Hardas Bigha and others have returned, the details of which will be sent later on

In Bukhtiarpur Thana, Muslims of Tarapur, Payalapur, Majhauli, Moghalpura, Dih, Alipur and Bihta have returned and [more] are returning daily There is the difficulty of food problem for the present I have already discussed this matter with you and with the Minister-in charge of Rehabilitation If timely help regarding food and cloth is not given to them, the problem of rehabilitation will be difficult I would suggest that transit camps at Barh, Bukhtiarpur and Fatwah, like the one opened at Lodipur, should be opened without any further delay This will facilitate [their] rehabilitation before they actually return to their

homes. I have formed village *panchayats* at Harnaut, Akberpur and in some of the areas of Barh Town and will do according to the recent instructions given by you As regards changing of mentality of the Hindus I find that there are still some persons in the locality who want to obstruct rehabilitation for some future game regarding possession of their lands etc I have gone to some of the villages such as Alipur, Bihta and Mirdaha Chak in Thana Bukhtiarpur and some of the villages of Barh Thana, in this fortnight, and have tried to press upon them the bad consequences of their obstructionist policy I have sent the names of some of them to the Sub-Divisional Officer for their detention but I am told the Government has not yet sent approval for that The police also have not as yet arrested them, which they can do at least for 15 days under the rules In spite of my assurance to the Muslims that they would be arrested, it has not been done and thus they are losing confidence in our work

As regards repairs and reconstruction of houses, you will get full information from the report of the Sub-Divisional Officer but I am told that the repair work has been done haphazardly and is not able to bear even one rainy season I request the Muslims to get their houses repaired at the cost of Government but they do not show any willingness for this I do not know how this can be done satisfactorily

On the point of providing engagement [*sic* for employment] to the refugees I have suggested to the Rehabilitation Minister to direct the Department of Industries to take interest in the matter As for myself, I am trying to get them, provided specially those who are labourers, in some labour work Of course, it will require mutual confidence between the Hindus and the Muslims for which attempts are being made I have sent the names of the following villages to the Sub-Divisional Officer for putting their names under collective responsibility in protecting the life and property of the Muslims Names of the villages are as follows

Fatwah Police Station

Furtha, Phulwaria, Yusuf, Dhanraj Tola, Hardas Bigha, Ghani Chak, Hemzapur, Dhanawan Tola, Gopal Tola, Chhoti Nawada, Pachrukhla, Baikhathpur, Chewra, Chainpur, Mosimpur, Khustu Khustuput, Balwa, Rustampur, Kohima, Malpur, Biharipur, Sukerbeg Chak, Khirodharpur, Paighamberpur, Nayampur, Raja Tola and Hasanpur

Barh Police Station

Sheikhpura, Goasa, Bhagwatipur, Karmaur, Jadopur, Rais Bihari, Chak Imdad, and Manjhla Bigha

In Bukhtiarpur Thana also about 200 villages have been put under collective responsibility This has been done after making them understand

the responsibility which they will have to bear In most of the villages their signatures have also been taken in token of their acceptance But I am told the Police Officers have not yet served these notices which they are required to do under the rules and they are moving slowly in the matter The result is again that the Muslims lose their confidence As regards the small amount of money which you have sent, I am trying to spend it as quickly as possible I will send further report in the next week

Yours faithfully,
J N SINHA
MLA
In charge Rehabilitation

499

G Abraham to M A Jinnah (& Others)

F 1166/1-2

MARTUR, NARASARAOPET TALUK, GUNTUR,
30 May 1947

A meeting of the Governing Body of the Scheduled Castes Christians Federation was held on 25 May 1947 at Guntur, which passed the following minutes to be submitted to the Government of India

1 Voted to bring home to the mind of His Majesty's Government that numerous cases of anarchy, arson and bloodshed have been taking place in many parts of India ever since the declaration of their transferring power to Indian hands (United India) and their quitting India for good is causing in us great dread and dismay, as such our hearts fail us for fear since we know that more dreadful and dolorous events shall surely befall our Motherland as a matter of course after the English left India The English though [they] came to India first for commercial gains have been appointed as God's custodians to keep her safe from invasions, pillage and plunder and also from internal quarrels and flare-ups, which duties have honestly been accomplished by them until recently But now they could not wash their hands off from the said guilts as much as the Almighty is still holding them responsible for the safety and protection of India, who knew pretty well that the political leaders who demanded the transfer of power from the English on the pretence of the so-called "Freedom from British Imperialism" could neither effect an amicable agreement among

themselves nor stop the people whom they represent from communal strifes Seeing our inability to protect our Motherland from foreign invasions and internal chaos of distress we should rather lament over our want of unity and brotherly fellowship among us and agitate for the English remaining in India in order to work along with them for our peace and tranquillity, diverting our attention for the attainment of real freedom from British Imperialism (not chaos), which is certainly possible with the present British Government as they are showing their readiness to part with all

2 In the face of adverse conditions of castes, creeds, kindreds, babel of tongues and races, very peculiar to India alone, and in view of the indubitable fact that her people have been divided multifariously never to be fused into a united nation again to carry on her own Government independently without the aid of any foreign nation such as that of the British, it is resolved that the British Government be requested through H E the Viceroy to revise their decision of transfer of power either to a united India or divided India into that of granting us Dominion Status keeping our country in the British Commonwealth of Nations This request is being made not because that we are unpatriotic or owing to lack of love on our part towards our Motherland but because of the fact that we are as patriotic, if not, more patriotic than, any community in India and want to sing the glorious patriotic song in the presence of the English youths

"Rule Indicus (pet name for India), Indicus rules the waves,
Indians never shall be slaves," instead of
"Rule Britannia, rule the waves,
Britains [*sic* for Britons] never will be slaves "

But awful terrorism, dolorous destruction [*sic*] of a pandemonium (unlike eternal peace and brotherly fellowship of Heaven) now prevailing in many parts of India, hurry us back to dreadful despair and once more we are forced to agitate for the English remaining in India for their diverting [*sic*] the said dire consequences

3 Resolved to note with regret, and remark to say, that the action of the present British Government who are directing their dramatic attention and yielding to the demands of the two major parties, the Congress high caste Hindus and the Muslim League, at the express expense of Scheduled Castes' (Christians and others) safety and protection on the pretence of their being minority (but becomes a big majority when compared with the English nation), is highly unjust If our case is put before a big world court (or better still a court of Heaven) it may be argued that when Germans being a majority nation invaded Poland and

other minority nations, England declared war and subdued them But they are taking a reverse course by enslaving us, the minorities, eternally to the wishes of the two majorities simply because God was with them then and granted them glorious victories over the most powerful nations, i e Germany and Japan Perhaps He is not with them now Therefore, they have made themselves ready to yield to any weak power such as Indian Congress etc in which case we also make ourselves ready to look up to the Almighty for our protection and safety

4 The recent decision of the British Cabinet that they are willing to divide India into two big parts (one) Hindustan for the Congress and (two) Pakistan for the Muslims, makes us to note that H M Government pays little or no attention towards the cause of our Scheduled Castes (Christians and others) who being too poor and illiterate could offer now no big name or fame (though they volunteered and fought His Majesty's recent and last European wars but the Congress impeded them), nor could they make the world at large know their unmiserable [sic] condition nor the real state of other people of this land but whose (Scheduled Castes) cause has been taken up by one who accomplished great and marvellous things in recent years in bringing to nought the power of Nazism which shook the very foundations of not only the European and other kingdoms but also the British throne and her Empire, viz Mr Winston Churchill who perhaps admonished by the word of God, expecting no such name or fame but hoping for a reward and a name from an unseen source (Almighty), chose the base and small things (Scheduled Castes) of the world to serve, depicted of them with clear-cut and astounding words, recalling past British pledges regarding their protection by the British Government, produced no useful results before the present British Government We therefore appeal to them to make good the past British pledges and grant us security, safety and protection

5 In view of the unchangeable peculiar conditions inherent among the people of India from times immemorial, it is resolved to suggest to the British Government and to H E the Viceroy to grant to India the Dominion Status with a changed plan of Democratic Government while keeping the English who, with all their so-called Imperialism, rendered most meritorious services to our people in making our country from the Himalayas down to Cape Comorin as one big Indian Empire and giving peace and tranquillity which was either fully or partially absent in other ages at the helm of steering [affairs], in order to protect our people from foreign invasion, pillage and plunder and to keep her out of internal strifes has all these years been [sic] Owing to the above said peculiarities no attention should be paid to the counting of majorities or minorities but the

power of administration should be divided into three equal shares and assigned one to the Congress Hindus, one to the Muslim League and the third to the Scheduled Castes (Christians and other minorities) This ratio is suggested to be observed by the Central Government all round, the Provincial Governments to the Village Panchayat Boards In which case no one needs to clamour for Pakistan or Hindustan or any other *stan* All leaders who really love our bruised mother India will surely accept this plan and help the British Government and H E the Viceroy to avert all dire consequences from befalling our country If, on the other hand, the division of India is inevitable, the country should be divided among the three great religions, viz (1) Hindus (Congress), (2) Muslims and (3) Christians comprising all Scheduled Castes whether Christian or non-Christian and other minorities This Christianstan should be kept in the British Commonwealth of Nations having Dominion Status As has been stated by Mr Gandhi that Congress in every Province has become a strong organisation of selfish power-seekers and job-hunters, therefore it can be stated that no good Government can be expected of them

G ABRAHAM
President,
The Guntur District Scheduled Castes
and
Christians' Federation (Regd)

Copy to
1 Mr Winston Churchill through H E The Viceroy of India
2 H E The Viceroy of India
3 Hon'ble Mr Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Vice-President, Interim Government
4 Mr M A Jinnah, President, All India Muslim League

500

Yusuf A Haroon to M A Jinnah

F 274/314-315

NAPIER ROAD, KARACHI,
30 May 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Recently the Muslim League office has been flooded with complaints from Muslims all over the province, especially regarding the Control Department which controls the essential articles of daily necessities [*sic*]

such as food, sugar and cloth With increased Government control and interference in various trades under the present conditions, the Muslim merchants also flooded the Muslim League office and the office of the Muslim Chamber of Commerce with various complaints I happen to be the President of the Muslim Chamber of Commerce and I am fully conversant with the growing discontent against the Control Department amongst the Muslim merchants

In order to ascertain the real state of affairs I made certain enquiries in a letter[1] to the Hon'ble Mir Ghulam Ali Talpur, Minister in charge of Civil Supplies He took offence at this innocent enquiry and used offensive language and sentiments against me in his reply[2] addressed to me I tried to explain[3] to him that I was not interfering in the "day-to-day administration" but was merely eliciting information with a view to allaying the public grievances if the information that had been conveyed to the League office and the Chamber of Commerce was not correct Once again, the Hon'ble Mir Ghulam Ali Talpur in his letter of the 27th,[4] used very strong language In my reply[5] to his last letter, I have maintained the same stand as in my letter of the 24th instant

I beg to submit herewith copies of letters exchanged between us for your information I personally feel that if our Ministers did not extend to our organisation the courtesy of furnishing information when sought for, in their own interest, it is not a desirable stand to take I solicit your guidance in this matter

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
Y A HAROON
[*President*]
Sind Muslim League

[1]In fact he wrote three letters to him in one day See Enclosures 1 to 3
[2]Enclosure 4
[3]Enclosure 5
[4]Enclosure 6
[5]Enclosure 7

Enclosure 1 to No 500
Yusuf A Haroon to Mir Ghulam Ali Khan Talpur
F 274/316

KARACHI,
21 May 1947

My dear Mir Sahib,

I shall be glad if you will kindly send me a list of all the Syndicates which the Government is patronising, or have been formed under the auspices of the Sind Government, and I should also like to have the names of the Members of the Syndicates

Please let me know on what date these Syndicates were brought into existence and whether any new names were added after their formation and when they were included

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
YUSUF A HAROON

Hon'ble Mir Ghulam Ali Khan Talpur,
Minister for Civil Supplies,
Government of Sind,
Karachi

Enclosure 2 to No 500
Yusuf A Haroon to Mir Ghulam Ali Khan Talpur
F 274/316

KARACHI,
21 May 1947

My dear Mir Sahib,

It has been brought to my notice that about 800 tons of sugar was given to Sind for industrial purposes, out of which 750 tons have been allocated to Hindus

I do not know how far this statement is correct, but I shall be glad if you will kindly send me a list showing how this distribution was made and the names of the people to whom these Industrial Quotas were allotted

Yours sincerely,
YUSUF A HAROON

Hon'ble Mir Ghulam Ali Khan Talpur,
Minister for Civil Supplies,
Government of Sind,
Karachi

Enclosure 3 to No 500
Yusuf A Haroon to Mir Ghulam Ali Khan Talpur

F 274/317

KARACHI,
21 May 1947

My dear Mir Ghulam Ali,

I am enclosing herewith for your information copy of a letter[1] which I have addressed to the Hon'ble Pir Illahi Bakhsh Nawazali, Education Minister, Government of Sind I hope you will also interest yourself in this important matter and take whatever action you may deem necessary

Yours sincerely,
YUSUF A HAROON

Hon'ble Mir Ghulam Ali Khan Talpur,
Minister for Civil Supplies,
Government of Sind,
Karachi

[1]Not available in *QAP*

Enclosure 4 to No 500
Mir Ghulam Ali Khan Talpur to Yusuf A Haroon

F 274/318

SIND SECRETARIAT, KARACHI,
23 May 1947

My dear Yusuf,

I am in receipt of your three letters[1] dated 21 5 47 I am sorry to find out from the two letters that you require certain detailed information regarding the day-to-day administration of my department I think my advice to you should be that it would be much better if we the Ministers are allowed to work without the least interference on the part of anyone Of course, we welcome any suggestion or anything which is for the betterment and improvement of the people of Sind, but the kind of information that you have asked for in these letters requires that it would be much better for you to constrain [*sic* for refrain] from [making an] enquiry You have asked so far as sugar is concerned, and I may inform you that we get only 150 tons for industrial purposes and it is not correct that we have given all of it to

the Hindus Our policy is already laid down and we are working in that direction Besides these 150 tons, Messrs J B Mangharam are getting separate quota directly from the Government of India without the Sind Government's intervention I have already moved in [*sic*] the matter with the Government of India that whatever is given to Sind should be distributed by the Sind Government, but I am sorry to say that I have not been successful so far

You have asked for in that letter about the names to whom the industrial quota is given I assure you that I watch the interests of the Muslims if not more at least equally as you do I don't think, therefore, that much useful purpose will be served by giving you this information which I believe is not a secret one, but I would advise you that you may not waste your valuable time on these matters when we expect you to do something more substantial

Regarding your enquiry in that letter about Syndicates where you blame the Government for patronising them, I will here also advise you that it will be much better for you to restrain [yourself] from writing such letters I still feel that these informations will not be useful to you at all and, therefore, it is much better if you don't ask for these The information you have asked for is not a secret one but I object from the point of view that our Provincial President should not interfere in the day-to-day administration of the Government when it has already been laid down by the Quaid-i-Azam that the Provincial President is concerned with the amelioration of the masses in the districts and organising and supervising the activities of the Muslim League offices The administration run by the Government is entirely left in the hands of Ministers, all of whom are doing their job very well and the Musalmans are getting their proper share I hope you will not be offended by this letter

Your third letter made reference to Hon'ble Pir Illahi Bakhsh and I understand he has already replied to you I am keeping it for my record

MIR GHULAM ALI TALPUR
Minister,
Government of Sind

Yusuf Abdoola Haroon, Esquire,
Karachi

[1]See Enclosures 1 to 3

Enclosure 5 to No 500
Yusuf A Haroon to Mir Ghulam Ali Khan Talpur

F 274/319-320

KARACHI,
24 May 1947

My dear Mir Sahib,

Your letter of the 23rd instant[1] is in my hands today

I am sorry to find from the tone of your letter that you consider the Ministers to be above criticism and that no one, not even the President of our organization, has any *locus standi* in so far as matters of policy are concerned Permit me to say that you are far off the mark when you write in your letter under reply that I am interfering in the day-to-day administration of the Ministers You need not have assumed patronising airs and tried to teach me a lesson or two as to my rights and privileges as the President of the Provincial Muslim League I know my position *vis-a-vis* the Ministry without any harangue from you and I also know the obligations that I have to discharge towards the Muslims of our Province

Unfortunately, you have never had anything to do actively in an official capacity in running the Muslim League organisation in Sind Let me, therefore, tell you for your information that the Muslim League office is daily flooded with complaints against the working of the Ministry both in so far individual grievances are concerned as also regarding the general policy pursued by the Ministry The office has to sort out all these letters of complaints, and some of these which appear to be justified and genuine are forwarded to the Ministers concerned If the complaints are of a general nature and pertain to the official policy pursued by a Minister in his particular department, the Muslim League organisation has every right, which not even a Minister can challenge, to bring to the notice of the Government that there is criticism and discontent prevailing in the Muslim minds that the policy pursued is wrong

To be specific, you will please again refer to my three previous letters [2] My letter of the 21st instant asks you to give me the names of the Government-patronised Syndicates formed as also the names of the members of those Syndicates This I have asked as I have received complaints, both in my capacity as the President of the Provincial Muslim League and as the President of the Muslim Chamber of Commerce The complaints are of two-fold [*sic*] First, that the percentage

of the Muslims in such Syndicates is altogether inadequate Secondly, that of the Muslims taken up as members of these Syndicates, preference has been given to those who have some pull with the Ministry, in spite of the fact that they were never bona fide businessmen dealing with those particular commodities

Of course, you are a Minister now and probably you are cut off from the current of public opinion as it prevails in the city of Karachi and in the Province today Let me, therefore, tell you that there is a feeling of strong resentment that it is just one common click [*sic* for clique] from among the Muslim businessmen which, like the quack's pill, is applied as a remedy for all ills and quietly tacked on to every business syndicate formed under the patronage of the Government This, if true, you will agree, would be a matter for serious consideration as people are likely to run away with any wild surmises This is neither desirable in the interests of the Muslim League Ministry nor does it redound to the credit of the Muslim League organisation I firmly hold that I am perfectly justified in seeking the information that I have asked for in my letter of the 21st instant as it pertains to matters of policy and does not seek to interfere in the day-to-day administration of your department, as you wrongly seem to imagine

Another letter of mine dated the 21st also seeks information on another allegation that the Department which is under your control has allotted 750 tons of sugar for industrial purposes to the Hindus, out of a total Provincial allotment of 800 tons This is also a matter of policy and is not calculated to interfere in your day-to-day administration

Referring to my third letter of the 21st instant, regarding distribution of yarn, [it] stands at a similar footing Muslim yarn dealers had approached me in deputation and complained that the Hindus were given the lion's share out of the Provincial quota of yarn

It is my business to see that the general public which complains of iniquitous treatment to the Muslims at the hands of the Muslim League Ministry is satisfied that the charges that they are levelling against a particular Minister are entirely wrong Hence I have sought the information in my three letters of the 21st instant However, if unfortunately those charges prove to be correct, then I would certainly use all my influence to see that the iniquity against the Muslims is removed and better relationship is restored between the Muslim public and the Muslim League Ministry

I am sorry that an impression has been created in my mind by a careful study of your letter of the 23rd that you would like to consider yourself above criticism This, in a democratic organisation like the

Muslim League, would be altogether untenable Even I, as the President of the Provincial Muslim League, would not take offence if any member asked me [for an] explanation of my conduct as the President It would be my duty to satisfy that particular individual that the impression he had gathered about me was wrong and, in the alternative, it was right to try to make amends for my past conduct That, my dear Mir Sahib, is the right conduct for people like you and me to adopt as the leadership of our community is not our private property but is a trust reposed in our hands by a trusting public We must hold ourselves answerable in our conduct as representative Muslim Leaguers in whatever capacity we may be placed Surely you do not imagine that Fascist methods should be resorted to and every one of us must be held infallible Need I say any more?

Yours sincerely,
YUSUF A HAROON

Hon'ble Mir Ghulam Ali Khan Talpur,
Minister for Civil Supplies,
Government of Sind ,
Karachi

[1]Enclosure 4
[2]Enclosures 1 to 3

Enclosure 6 to No 500
Mir Ghulam Ali Khan Talpur to Yusuf A Haroon

F 274/321-322

SIND SECRETARIAT, KARACHI,
27 May 1947

My dear Yusuf,

I am in receipt of your letter dated 24 5 47 [1] I am really surprised to find from your letter that you feel that the Ministers are subordinate to the Provincial President or they have to work under the guidance and supervision of the Provincial President If you feel in that way you are very much mistaken Neither the Ministers are subordinate to you nor the Provincial President to the Ministers We have our field of activity to traverse and you have yours Neither we can interfere with and dictate to you nor you can interfere with and dictate to us You are much mistaken if you feel that you as President have any *locus standi*

to interfere either in our day-to-day administration or even our matters of policy It is certainly beyond your scope The matter is already settled by our Quaid-i-Azam and you cannot dispute the decision given by the Quaid-i-Azam If at all we are responsible, we should be responsible to the policy and programme framed by the All India Muslim League, which we are following and you as the Provincial President have also to follow Even in your letter you have mentioned that I have tried to teach you a lesson You must know that it has never been my policy nor will it be my policy hereafter to probe in your field of activities It is, therefore, no use teaching me where you stand as Provincial President and where we the Ministers stand, and I have never assumed any airs and [nor have I] tried to show you [any] in my previous letter On the contrary, I have a grouse that it was none of your concern to write to enquire in the manner in which you did in your letter dated 24 5 47

I concede that as President of the Muslim League you can certainly bring the genuine complaints regarding the policy and working of the administration to the notice of the Ministers, but I emphatically object to your assuming the role of the custodian of public conscience It is wrong on your part to presume that you can always be right and others always be in the wrong I have my full sense of responsibility towards the Muslim community and their needs and in that respect I shall not yield my place to anyone else

Regarding your specific complaints about industrial sugar I have already replied to you in my previous letter and ordinarily you should have been satisfied with it The names of Syndicates in question you could have easily ascertained from my office or Secretaries because there is nothing questionable about them My position, by the grace of God, has always been above board and beyond reproach Even my enemies will not dare to insinuate any base motives to me I have been trying in my own humble way to see that the Musalmans get their legitimate and due share in the trade, industries, agriculture and services of my departments And this I have been doing unostentatiously and without making any fuss or exhibition unlike our many present-day budding politicians

I would like to remind you that being a chosen representative of the masses and belonging to the interior of Sind I am much more conversant with the difficulties and hardships of the masses than you could possibly be, who are completely engrossed in your multifarious business activities I am confident of my record of services for the masses and shall still endeavour to make myself more serviceable to the Muslim nation in general and to the Musalmans of Sind in particular,

Insha 'Allah You are under the wrong impression that I consider myself above criticism I have always understood the principles of democracy better than you could possibly do and, therefore, I have welcomed healthy criticism which is not inspired by any personal motives

In the present case your sarcastic and offensive remarks against my policy are obviously the result of some personal grievances rather than due to your sympathy for the masses In that respect also I should always be willing to be helpful to you or to your friends if you approach me directly, but never attempt to coerce me into submission by these intimidations and bullying tactics You are my personal friend and President of the Provincial Muslim League, hence I have nothing but love and regard for you I would sincerely advise you not to throw stones at others when you are living in a glass house

Dear Yusuf, I am sorry I have had to give you certain home truths You are still a young man who has had not much experience of public life and in your over-enthusiasm for leadership you are sometimes shooting off the mark Finally, I may assure you of my fullest possible co-operation in all your efforts to organise the Muslim League and redress the grievances of the Muslim masses

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
MIR GHULAM ALI KHAN TALPUR
Minister,
Government of Sind

Yusuf Abdoola Haroon, Esq,
President, Provincial Muslim League,
Karachi

[1]Enclosure 5

Enclosure 7 to No 500
Yusuf A Haroon to Mir Ghulam Ali Khan Talpur

F 274/323-324

NAPIER ROAD, KARACHI,
31 May 1947[1]

My dear Mir Sahib,

This is in reply to your letter of the 27th instant [2] At the very outset I must say that you have entirely misunderstood the stand I have taken in my letter dated 24th May 1947 [3]

To begin with, you write, "I am really surprised to find from your letter that you feel that the Ministers are subordinate to the Provincial President or they have to work under the guidance and supervision of the Provincial President" I wonder how and why you got this impression from my letter when such an attitude was far from my mind and there is nothing in my letter which could convey this impression to any reasonable person

Further on you write, "On the contrary, I have a grouse that it was none of your concern to write to enquire in the manner in which you did in your letter dated 23 5 47" I do certainly differ from you here The Quaid-i-Azam has already laid down the programme that is to be pursued by our League Ministry and the Party has also given sanction to the Ministry to adopt that particular policy The Liaison Committee has been appointed by the Quaid-i-Azam to link up the organisation and the Ministry and I cannot agree with you that the Ministry is divorced from the Provincial League organisation or that the two should function in watertight compartments without co-operation Further, due to my own beliefs and temperament and also to the requirements of my office, I must act up to the principle of truth Naturally, therefore, when the League office receives complaints regarding our ministerial activities, I have to make enquiries and satisfy myself and the public, if possible, that their complaints are neither genuine nor based on facts The whole trouble arises when you interpret such enquiries as interference in your day-to-day administration even though only a little further down in your letter you yourself admit that I, as the President, am entitled to make such an enquiry, for you yourself write, "I concede [that] as President of the Muslim League, you can certainly bring the genuine complaints regarding the policy and the work of the administration to the notice of the Ministers" I wonder how you expect me to ascertain the genuineness or otherwise of the complaints without making enquiries from the Minister concerned If you will once again go through our whole correspondence dispassionately and without prejudice, you will find that I have done nothing else but what, you yourself admit, I am constitutionally entitled to do, namely, "to bring the genuine complaints regarding the policy and the work of the administration to the notice of the Ministers" Later you write, "the names of Syndicates in question you could have easily ascertained from my office or Secretaries because there is nothing questionable about them. My position by the Grace of God has always been above board and beyond reproach" I wonder why you read remarks in my letter which are not there at all I also wonder if you consider it undue presumption on my part that I addressed you direct rather than your subordinates If so, I may tell you

that you have indulged in belittling the dignity of the organisation to which both of us have the honour to belong

Mir Sahib, self-praise is not the sign of a great mind I will, therefore, not enter upon a discussion of the airs you have seen fit to give yourself in your letter I will also not retort to the flings and insinuations with which you have been pleased to decorate your letter Believe me, they leave me altogether cold But, I must reiterate that I have my own code of public morality, and, as the President of the Provincial Muslim League, I must act honestly and conscientiously in accordance with that code even though my conduct may not suit or serve the purposes of those who believe in a different code of public conduct There is one thing, however, which I must clear up You write, "I should always be willing to be helpful to you or to your friends if you approach me directly, but never attempt to coerce me into submission by these intimidations and bullying tactics" I am not quite sure what you intend to convey to me in these words If, however, this is an offer to me to seek your patronage either for myself or for my friends, I would request you to reserve your offer for those who need it Moreover, even if I had the necessity, I could never bring myself to compromise my principles for its sake

To conclude, I may tell you that the masses are now wide awake and no one can claim their allegiance for any considerable length of time without serving them with sincerity and integrity Those of us who are insincere or who act in an irresponsible manner and consider themselves above the control and discipline of our organisation, may very soon be overtaken by Nemesis

In view of the divergent views that we hold on the question, whether I, as the President, can seek information from the Ministers regarding the grievances of the Muslims or not, I have no other alternative but to send our entire correspondence to the Quaid-i-Azam for his information and necessary instructions

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
YUSUF A HAROON

Hon'ble Mir Ghulam Ali Khan Talpur,
Minister for Civil Supplies,
Government of Sind,
Karachi

[1]Although dated 31 May 1947, the copy of this letter was sent by Haroon to Jinnah with his letter dated 30 May 1947
[2]Enclosure 6
[3]Enclosure 5

501

Ahmad Hassan to M A Jinnah

F 162/1-2

C/O S M HASSAN, P A TO CHIEF ENGINEER,
OUDH TIRHUT RAILWAY, GORAKHPUR (U P),

PRIVATE *30 May 1947*

Dear Mr Jinnah,

I was very sorry to learn that after your return from England you were not keeping good health Thank God that you are again in the field with full vigour to fight the battle of Islam After seeing you in Lahore about two years ago in the house of my friend Nawab Iftikhar Husain, I returned to Bihar where my son was then posted

I have been watching with great interest the activities and varying fortunes of the All India Muslim League though I have taken no active part in it I have the honour of being the founder of the Indian Muslim League which was established in Lahore in early 1906 and worked as its first Secretary with the late Mian Sir Fazal-i-Husain The All India Muslim League was started towards the end of 1906 and in 1907, when both the Leagues were amalgamated, I retired from active politics and established the Orient Bank of India and some other concerns and associations which were perhaps started before time but acted, at any rate, as training ground for later operations.

I think that the Musalmans of India should have demanded from the British the return of the whole of Hindustan It was acquired by them with Indian men and money and as they are now withdrawing from India they are bound to return the whole of the country to its rightful owners—the Muslims

The present is the most critical time for the Indian Muslims The grant of Pakistan will not be the end but the beginning of our troubles and difficulties But by your indomitable will and skilful steering you will be able to carry the ship of the nation to its goal It will perhaps be necessary to have defensive alliance with the British and financial and trade treaties with the U.K and the U S A This will greatly help, at least in the beginning, to establish and consolidate the new regime

Now is the time when every Muslim should rally round the standard of the League and do his utmost for the independence of his

country and the glory of his nation I, for one, offer my humble services for any work for which I may be considered fit

With kind regards and best wishes for your success,

I remain, yours sincerely,
AHMAD HASSAN
Barrister-at-Law

502

Ahmad Ispahani to M A Jinnah

F 68/42

51 EZRA STREET, CALCUTTA,
30 May 1947

My dear Mr Jinnah,

I have disbursed the sum of Rs 25,000 sent by you along with your letter of the 30th April 1947[1] as per statement attached I also enclose receipts of the parties who received the money Out of this money, Rs 1,000 is still lying with me

Your sincerely,
M A ISPAHANI

[1]Not available in *QAP*

Enclosure 1 to No 502

F 68/43

Statement of Receipt and Disbursements

23 April 1947	Paid A Matin Chaudhury	10,000	1 May 1947	Received by cheque from M A Jinnah	25,000
2 May	Paid J N Mandal	10,000			
24 May	Paid J N Mandal	4,000			
	Balance	1,000			
	[Total]	25,000			25,000

Enclosure 2 to No 502

F 68/46

RECEIPT[1]

23 April 1947

Received from Mr M A Ispahani Rupees ten thousand [10,000] only in cash as per Mr Jinnah's written instructions to him for Assam Relief

ABDUL MATIN CHAUDHURY

[1]This amount was handed over to Syed M Sa'adullah of Assam See Annexure to this Enclosure for his receipt

Annexure to Enclosure 2 to No 502

F 68/48

RECEIPT

SHILLONG,
25 April 1947

Received the sum of Rupees ten thousand [10,000] from Mr M A Ispahani for Muslim League Relief Committee through Maulvi Abdul Matin Chaudhury

SYED M SA'ADULLAH
Treasurer
Muslim League Relief Committee

Enclosure 3 to No 502

F 68/44

RECEIPT

2 May 1947

Received from Mr M A Ispahani the sum of Rupees ten thousand [10,000] to-day for the purpose of charitable works among the Scheduled Castes

J N MANDAL

Enclosure 4 to No 502

F 68/45

RECEIPT

24 May 1947

Received from Mr M [A] Ispahani a sum of Rupees four thousand only [4,000] for social uplift work for the Scheduled Castes

J N MANDAL

503

Mrs K L Rallia Ram to M A Jinnah

F 487/60-62

5 MASSON ROAD, LAHORE,
30 May 1947

Dear Mr Jinnah,

I am forwarding all the interesting cuttings from today's press.[1] Some are very revealing

These two cuttings about the Sikhs definitely prove that Sikhs have been the aggressors in the Punjab It is they who have collected arms and ammunition in order to injure the Muslims Nowhere have the Muslims been caught with any kind of arms except *lathis* and these are mild weapons Even these have been denied to them, whereas the Sikhs, besides their permanent deadly weapon of *kirpan*, have also armed themselves with other weapons of war Searches of them have proved that they have had some design and plan The arrest of the Faridkot officers definitely proves that the States helped the Sikhs, whereas the accusation of Muslim States supplying arms to the Muslims has never come to light anywhere

If the Congress dictator Sardar Patel makes statements to the effect that non-Muslim areas would be hostile to Pakistan then how can there be any peace or settlement between the two communities? From now they look upon the Muslims as hostile and aliens when Pakistan is not there, what would happen when it does come into existence

I am forwarding a very interesting article by Professor Jawala Prashad [2] Just go through it and see what designs the Hindus have for Muslim minorities in the Hindu-majority provinces The term "minority

community" has been thoroughly analysed by him and if these are their future plans, then God save India from turning into hell Look what suggestions he makes to the Congress The article is called "States Challenges and Partition Problem" Since there are so many cuttings from the press today, I will put them in two envelopes

I do hope this will find you in the best of health and spirit The zero hour of Indians' destiny is drawing nigh May God give you wisdom and strength to bear the strain

Sincerely yours,
MRS K L RALLIA RAM

[1]Enclosures 1 and 2
[2]Not available in *QAP*

Enclosure 1 to No 503

ATTEMPT TO INCRIMINATE SIKH LEADERS?
EXTORTING CONFESSIONS
SIKH STUDENTS' ALLEGATION AGAINST POLICE

LAHORE, May 28—Allegations of maltreatment by the investigating police with a view to extorting confession from them and to obtaining a statement from them incriminating Sikh leaders have been made in a supplementary petition filed to-day under Section 491, Cr P C in the court of Mr Justice Teja Singh of the Lahore High Court, by seven students of Sikh National College, who were detained under Section 3 of the Punjab Public Safety Act following a raid on the College on May 15 last in connection with two stabbings in that area

Five out of the seven student *detenus* who were ordered by His Lordship to be produced in court, were brought in a prison van under police escort They were S Gurdit Singh, S Tarlochan Singh, S Bhan Singh, S. Ganga Singh and S Shamsher Singh

The Crown Counsel, Mr Anant Ram Khosla, requested for adjournment till to-morrow

His Lordship granted adjournment till to-morrow and ordered that the *detenus* should also be brought in court when their statements, if necessary, will be recorded

Sardar Harnam Singh, Advocate and S Sardul Singh, Advocate appeared on behalf of the *detenus*

* * *

FARIDKOT POLICE OFFICERS BAILED OUT

LAHORE, May 28—S Bakhtawar Singh, Additional Superintendent of Police, S Jagvir Singh, Sub-Inspector, Arjan Singh and Gurbux

Singh, Head Constables and six Constables—all of Faridkot State police—and Ishar Singh, driver, were prosecuted today in the court of Mr V S K Fazal, a Lahore Magistrate

It is stated that the car of accused persons was stopped by the local police when they were about to enter the Faridkot House at Lahore and during search some ammunition, rifles, pistols and cartridges were alleged to have been recovered from their possession

S Bhagat Singh Chawla, Mr Chaman Lal and Ch Partap Singh, defence counsels, presented the bail applications on behalf of the accused and submitted that they were respectable officers of Faridkot State and that they had come to Lahore on official duty The arms recovered from them were not unlicensed as they have been licensed in Faridkot State

The Counsels gave undertaking to the court that they will remain in Lahore pending decision of their case and would not leave Lahore without the permission of the court

The Court granted bail

Enclosure 2 to No 503

"JINNAH'S CORRIDOR DEMAND FANTASTIC NONSENSE"
SARDAR PATEL

MUSSOORIE, May 28—Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Home Member, characterised Mr Jinnah's claim for a corridor to connect eastern and western Pakistan as "fantastic nonsense"

Sardar Patel said that the idea of *1,200-mile long corridor through hostile non-Muslim area*[1] on the face of it is such fantastic nonsense as not to be taken seriously at all The demand itself discloses lack of confidence in the Pakistan scheme Referring to questions about the possibility of a sovereign Pakistan making agreements with foreign powers without referring to Hindustan, Sardar Patel said "The need for joint consultations on matters of defence and external relations has already been conceded by Mr Jinnah It is, therefore, inconceivable that concessions of extra-territoriality or external arrangements will be made without consultations with Hindustan *Such action would be regarded as hostile* "

[1]Emphasis here and hereafter in the original

504

H M Vangare to M A Jinnah

F 977/1-3

MURUD, JANJIRA,
30 May 1947

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

It is better known to your honour than it deserves to be expounded by us about the present dirty tactics of the front rank Congress leaders of [their] interference in State affairs quite detrimental to Muslim interests So far as the All India Muslim League is concerned, its activities have been limited up to British India only and the All India States Muslim League has done very little to contact the Muslim masses and to bring about necessary political consciousness amongst them With the fate of India in balance and with the final decision thereof a matter of a few days, I am afraid the case of the Muslims of native States may go by default and the Muslims there may remain as perpetual sufferers

Your honour might have read the inaugural address of Mr Shanker Rao Deo, General Secretary of the Congress, delivered at Janjira, in the recent political conference held there The said conference was held under the auspices of the Praja Parishad which represents a bulk of the Hindu populace and was presided over by Mr Kunte, Parliamentary Secretary to the Bombay Premier The Muslims, in accordance with the mandate of their own organisation, the Muslim Majlis, had boycotted the Conference A little [*sic* for small] number of Muslims who were present there were spectators

The speeches of both the above-referred responsible Congress leaders were full of deliberate misrepresentations, which can be judged from the facts that though H H the Nawab of Janjira has not so far announced about either joining the Constituent Assembly or declaring any Reform beyond calling up a Constitutional Advisory Committee, he was congratulated for doing so Perhaps, they think that by such coercive means they can achieve their ends

The Council of Muslim Majlis in its session held in the middle of May has drawn the pointed attention of H H the Nawab to this and has unequivocally declared their future course of action in accordance with the dictates of the League High Command and have warned H H the Nawab that if he decided otherwise, the Muslims shall not co-operate with the State authorities Further, it has decided to affiliate the Majlis to the All India States Muslim League

I have been specially instructed by the Council to seek your advice and directive, which shall be highly appreciated by both the Working Committee of the Majlis and the Muslims of the State at large

A copy of the *Janjira Darbar Extraordinary Gazette* dated 1st May 1947 is enclosed herewith for your honour's perusal

H M VANGARE,
B A
Secretary, Muslim Majlis,
Janjira State

Copy forwarded to

Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, General Secretary, All India Muslim League

Enclosure to No 504

F 977/4-6

H J No 23 of 1947

CAMP KESOLI, HUZUR OFFICE,
1 May 1947

JANJIRA DARBAR EXTRAORDINARY GAZETTE
ANNOUNCEMENT

Under my order No 35 dated 24th May, 1939, a Special Committee was appointed to make recommendations for the establishment of a State Assembly, representative of varied interests in the State, as an effective step towards implementing my desire to take my people increasingly into confidence in the administration of the State The Committee did much useful work in examining the details of the questions referred to it and made its report which, though not unanimous in regard to certain items, on the whole made useful and constructive suggestions

2 It is unfortunate that notwithstanding my earnest desire to expedite the setting up of a full-fledged Legislative Assembly with elected majorities as early as possible, the special conditions created by the World War made it difficult to take further action in the matter, as I was advised to postpone the setting up of the new structure and the holding of elections under the new plan for the duration of the war lest it interfere with the war effort of the State and the need of maintaining the traditional goodwill and tranquillity within its territories

3 The question of reviving the consideration of proposals then made has been receiving my active consideration ever since the cessation of hostilities and I have come to the conclusion that many of the recommendations made by the Reforms Committee set up in 1939 are

out of date with the present-day requirements and conditions I have accordingly decided to set up forthwith a representative Committee to review the recommendations made by the earlier Committee, in the light of the present-day requirements and existing circumstances, and to make recommendations in accordance with the Agenda (Appendix I)[1] for the setting up of a State Legislative Assembly with elected majority and for revising the constitutions of local bodies with a view to giving them increased powers and more representative character The Committee would examine and make recommendations in regard to the following points

(a) The ways and means to ensure close and effective association of the people with the governance of the State, having due regard to the special circumstances of the State

(b) The composition, powers, procedure and other details in regard to the proposed State Assembly and its relationship with the administration

(c) The proposal to set up Advisory Committees to be associated with the Government of the State in regard to some important departments, to ensure desired liaison between the non-official elements and the Government, to bring to bear the light of enlightened public opinion in the framing of policies

(d) Special provisions necessary to ensure protection of all classes in the State and to maintain the traditional harmonious relations between various communities in the State

(e) The procedure to regulate the conduct of business in the State Assembly, including matters, if any, which may be reserved temporarily or otherwise

(f) The examination of different forms of franchise, including functional representation in the light of changed circumstances in India and abroad, and to make recommendations suited to the conditions of the State The recommendations on this item should also provide for gradual automatic increase in suffrage

4 It is my desire that the Constitutional Advisory Committee proposed above may consist of majority of elected members and some official and non-official nominated members The elected members will be selected by Municipalities, Local Boards, *Inamdars*, *Sanad*-holders, *Khots* and other interests such as agriculturists, backward classes, labourers, artisans, commerce, women, etc , in accordance with a detailed plan as set forth in Appendix II[2] With a view to assisting the Committee with the details of discussions held in 1939 and to secure for it requisite assistance from official records and papers, it is proposed that the

Sarnyadhish of the State may act as Chairman of this Committee till such time as, after the preliminary stages, the members of the Committee unanimously agree to elect one of the members as its Chairman The Committee would however elect its own Vice-Presidents and the Chairmen of the various sub-committees that may be set up

5 The Committee will frame its own rules of procedure, provided that

(a) any matters on which the Committee is not unanimous in regard to the procedure of business will be referred for decision of the *Darbar* with the recommendation of the Chairman,

(b) any major communal issue would require majority of members of each of the major communities present and voting as also of all the members present and voting on the proposal Any points of difference will be submitted to the *Darbar* for decision with the recommendation of the Chairman It is my sincere desire however that in accordance with the tradition of my State there may be no occasion where any such differences may arise which are not settled amicably by members of this Committee

(c) any matter which is either in dispute or on which any doubt has arisen will be referred to the *Darbar* for decision

6 My object in setting up this Committee is to assist me in framing a liberal and progressive constitution for the State which may enable the growth of my beloved people to their full stature under which the sovereign powers of the Ruler may be exercised through regular constitutional channels without in any way affecting or impairing his inherent powers and constitutional prerogatives and the continuance of the reigning dynasty and the integrity of the State as an integral part of a free Independent India

7 I would at this juncture wish to remind my beloved people that their ancestors and mine together founded and built up this historic State For nearly 400 years we have lived and worked together as a happy family and as such, irrespective of any class, creed or community, together we have shed our blood on many a field of battle to maintain it as an independent and sovereign State Let us continue to strive hand in hand to maintain that proud tradition and to set an example before India of a happy and ordered political evolution. Let us be proud of our ancient historic State of Janjira and its invincibility of which the great Janjira Fort is a visible symbol this sacred land of our birth and of our ancestors Let us be proud of this great heritage of ours and through Janjira be proud of India, our great and common mother country To my *Inamdars*, *Sardars* and *Sanad*-holders I would say that their ancestors have rendered great and valuable services in the

past to their Ruler and their State in recognition of which they are now enjoying their *Inams*, lands, *Sanads*, grants and privileges They should rest assured that every endeavour will be made to maintain their legitimate rights and privileges by suitable safeguards in the future constitution To all classes and communities of my beloved people I need hardly give the assurance that every care will be taken to protect and safeguard their legitimate interests in the constitution

I pray that this announcement may lead to increasing happiness and progress of my people and that it may grow on the sure foundations of tolerance, service and responsibility

SIDI MUHAMMAD KHAN
Nawab Saheb, Janjira,

[1&2]Not available in *QAP*

505

M Yunus to M A Jinnah

F 468/7

DAR-UL-MALLIK, FRASER ROAD, PATNA,
30 May 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am enclosing my recent correspondence with Allama Inayetullah Mashriqi, the Khaksar leader, regarding the rehabilitation scheme in Bihar

Yours sincerely,
M YUNUS

Enclosure 1 to No 505
Inayetullah Mashriqi to M Yunus

F 468/8

KHAKSAR RELIEF AND REHABILITATION H Q,
CAMP PATNA,
29 May 1947

My dear Yunus,

The Government has accepted almost all the demands that the Khaksar

Organisation had made with respect to the rehabilitation of Bihar refugees and the work of constructing thousands of houses will now begin

In January last, Sir Shafaat Ahmed Khan, when he met me at Ichhra and we discussed the problem, was particularly keen on telling me that you had written to him that you were very interested in relief work and that your "joining" the Muslim League was not so much on account of leanings towards the League as on account of their claim to do relief work He also suggested that you should be asked to co-operate in the work that the Khaksars will undertake I am, therefore, asking you to join as a member of the Relief Committee to which I am entrusting the task of rehabilitation before I leave Patna A meeting of this Committee is going to be held today at 6 p m at the above address Please attend it

I hope you are quite well now

Yours sincerely,
INAYETULLAH

Enclosure 2 to No 505
M Yunus to Inayetullah Mashriqi

F 468/9

DAR-UL-MALLIK, FRASER ROAD, PATNA,
29 May 1947

My dear Mr Inayetullah,

Many thanks for your letter No 42488 dated 29th May 1947 [1] You have been kind enough to inform me that the Government has accepted almost all the demands that the Khaksar Organisation had made with respect to the rehabilitation of the Bihar refugees and the work of constructing thousands of houses will now begin Its feasibility would depend on the nature of your demands and of your scheme, copies of which you have not been pleased to send me, and I shall be obliged if you will kindly do so to appraise in proper perspective the value of the rehabilitation scheme

Sir Shafaat Ahmed Khan is a very dear old friend of mine In connection with his acceptance of office in the Interim Government, I had given my suggestions to him and I wish he had kept out of the Interim Government In fact, as Sir Shafaat knows, I was twice approached at the same time and I informed Sir Shafaat that Mr Jagjivan Ram was sent to me with the proposal and, while thanking Mr Jagjivan Ram, Maulana Azad and Dr Rajendra Prasad for their very kind thought towards me, I

explained my position to him that at that time I was not a Leaguer and as such I could not have any objection to accepting office but that I would serve no useful purpose I had no following in the Legislature There was not a single non-Muslim Leaguer returned to the Central Assembly, and I requested him most earnestly to approach the Muslim League and not me, as I was helpless I find that poor Sir Shafaat has been badly let down, and I wish he had followed the same course and at least waited till the final decision of the Muslim League I am really very grateful to Sir Shafaat for kindly suggesting my name to you and I am in fact very much interested in relief work It is true that I started relief work here because I am keenly interested to help the suffering humanity which had suffered at the hands of the Bihar miscreants in a manner unparalleled and unknown in the history of the world, and in spite of certain difference of opinion with the Muslim League, I agreed to join it, for I found that that was the right thing in spite of certain disagreements, especially for relief work

I am grateful to you for asking me to co-operate in the work that the Khaksars will undertake for relief work, but I can only join your Relief Committee on two conditions

Firstly, I must know what the scheme is, and, secondly, I must get that scheme approved by my Relief Committee, and then the two Relief Committees can jointly work in co-operation, and in that manner I shall be of much greater service to you than by joining you individually

Yours sincerely,
M YUNUS

Allama Inayetullah Mashriqi,
Bank Road,
Patna

[1]Enclosure 1

Enclosure 3 to No 505
Inayetullah Mashriqi to M Yunus

F 468/10

KHAKSAR RELIEF AND REHABILITATION H Q,
CAMP PATNA,
29 May 1947

Dear Mr Yunus,

I have your letter [1] On the back you will find the conditions that

have been accepted There are some others which they are likely to accept gradually At any rate, the work should start at once as people in Bengal and Sind are suffering terribly and it is absolutely impossible to rehabilitate them anywhere except on their own lands, otherwise four lakh [people] will perish and lose all honour The condition in the camps is simply terrible

You must come forward individually or otherwise The funeral is of the Biharis themselves, perpetrated through the dirty politics of the present day, and if the Biharis themselves do not do it, it will be a regrettable thing In a humanitarian work one should leave all politics I shall explain to you further if you come this evening at 6 p m

I have given invitation to Mr Jafar Imam through Syed Abdul Aziz who says he cannot join as his condition is worsening unfortunately If you can ask him to join today's deliberations I shall be pleased

Yours sincerely,
INAYETULLAH

[1]Enclosure 2

Enclosure 4 to No 505
F 468/11

PATNA,
29 May 1947

PRESS STATEMENT BY ALLAMA MASHRIQI

"Nearly five months' persistent haggling with the Bihar Government on the matter of resettlement of nearly 4 lakhs of Bihar refugees, I am glad to announce, has made the Government come to the conclusion that the problem has got to be tackled My demand that one thousand rupees per adult be given at a flat rate for reconstruction of houses has not been met in full on financial grounds, but the final proposals which Mahatma Gandhi has placed before the Bihar Government concerning the conditions on which the Khaksar organisation would or should take up the work of rehabilitation, are as follows

(1) The Government will grant Rs 1,000 for every house rebuilt
(2) In addition, a rehabilitation grant of Rs 500 for a family of 5 members will be made
(3) Building grants of more than Rs 1,000 will be made in special cases
(4) Special grants of Rs 1,500 or more will be given even to those who do not wish to resettle in Bihar on the recommendation of

the Khaksar Organisation, (this being Mr Gandhi's verbal suggestion may be taken to be the opinion of the Government)

(5) Interest-free loans repayable in 5 yearly instalments will be given to artisans and agriculturists for the purchase of seeds and implements

(6) Free education will be provided for refugees who settle.

(7) Work will be given by the Government to those adults who need it

(8) During the recuperation period, free rations will be provided to those people who help in the work of reconstruction of houses by the Khaksar Organisation

(9) Orphanages and widows' homes will be provided for and built wherever recommended

I have asked the Khaksar Negotiating Committee to start work on these lines at once as well as to keep up the negotiations with respect to the remaining demands The work of rebuilding 10,000 houses in Bihar that we contemplate is a tremendous work and it is primarily for the Biharis and not the Khaksars to complete it I am, therefore, setting up a strong Committee of Bihari intelligentsia and have invited Mr Yunus, Mr Jafar Imam, President Muslim League, and the ailing Syed Abdul Aziz and others to join it most vigorously A capable Rehabilitation Officer and an efficient paid staff will be and is being appointed The whole scheme will be headed by the *Hakim-i-A'la* of the Relief Camp and his staff I invite freely the help of every feeling person in India in this grand humanitarian scheme "

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Sheikh Muhammad Ashraf to M A Jinnah

F 1013/16

KASHMIRI BAZAR, LAHORE,
31 May 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

As desired by you, I have much pleasure to advise the despatch of two copies of *Meet Mr Jinnah* by A A Ravoof to you under a separate cover with the best of my compliments I hope you will like the printing and get-up and appreciate my humble efforts Please acknowledge receipt

The recent onslaught of serious lawlessness in the Punjab must

have proved the staunch resolve of the Muslims here to have Pakistan at any cost We have withstood all the barbarous acts of our antagonists to yield [sic] us, with firmness and courage and have made them leave various parts of the Punjab in good numbers, some of them perhaps for good

We have every faith that your leadership will carry us through this period of ordeal and turmoil and we are looking forward to the fateful decisions shortly to be made We assure you of all our sacrifices in the achievement of our dear goal

With prayers for your long life and success of our noble aims

Yours sincerely,
SH MOHD ASHRAF
Publisher & Bookseller

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The Calcutta District Muslim League and Others to M A Jinnah

F 10/24-33

8 ZAKARIA STREET, CALCUTTA,
31 May 1947

MEMORANDUM OF THE CALCUTTA DISTRICT MUSLIM LEAGUE, THE INDIAN NATIONAL MARITIME UNION AND THE ASANSOL SUBDIVISION MUSLIM LEAGUE

Our dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Permit us to lay before you the following

That the Calcutta District Muslim League and the Indian National Maritime Union, Calcutta, in their meeting dated the 29th May, 1947, unanimously decided to represent the views and sentiments of the Muslims of Greater Calcutta on the future of Bengal and the proposed partition of Bengal, to Quaid-i-Azam and the League High Command, through a memorandum and a deputation to the Quaid-i-Azam This deputation and memorandum is accordingly seeking to represent to you Calcutta Muslims' views and feelings

Calcutta the Spearhead and Pivot of East Pakistan[1]

The Muslims of Calcutta have been the spearhead of the entire League movement and the pivotal and focal point of the whole Pakistan struggle in Bengal Calcutta was the first League on mass basis and the Calcutta League was the first to organize a Pakistan Conference in

Calcutta Town Hall The tremendous struggle and sacrifices of the Muslims of Calcutta for the cause of Pakistan soon after the Bombay Resolution[2] of the Council of the All India Muslim League, rejecting the Cabinet Mission Plan and the blood-bath of Muslim Calcutta during and after the disturbances on 16th August, 1946, opened a new chapter in the history of the Pakistan struggle

Battle of Calcutta is the Battle of Bengal

The Muslims of Calcutta have been fighting the Battle of Calcutta for the cause of Pakistan with the firm conviction that the party which will win the Battle of Calcutta will win the Battle of Bengal and the people who will control Calcutta will most certainly control Bengal

Sirajuddaula lost Bengal because he lost Calcutta

Sirajuddaula, the last independent Muslim sovereign of Bengal, lost Bengal because he lost the command of Calcutta and the command of the port and sea life-line of Calcutta

That the Muslims of Calcutta have learnt it with the deepest concern and anxiety that there is a move to chop off the head and crown of Calcutta from the body of Bengal and partition Bengal into two Provinces of West and East Bengal

Sinister moves of sabotage, treachery and betrayal

Quaid-i-Azam,

Your statement[3] declaring your firm resolve to fight every inch for the integrity of Bengal and the Punjab has reassured us But as we see very sinister underground moves to sabotage Pakistan in East India Zone, we believe it our duty to freely and frankly lay before you not only our feelings and views but also our dangers The moment is critical and decisive in the history of Muslim India and it demands brutal frankness.

We belong to no party but the party of the League and *we aspire for nothing personal or selfish* but the integrity, sovereignty and greatness of Pakistan

Treachery of selfishness

The Dangers are

(A) First and foremost is the fact that we do not so much fear the Hindus. We do not even fear the British But we most certainly fear treachery, betrayal, sabotage, defeatism and surrender to enemy's machinations in our own ranks in Bengal To be free and frank, we apprehend that a certain section of leaders of East Bengal have not only failed in mobilizing forces to counter and resist the Hindu move for partition of

Bengal and the Hindu occupation of Calcutta, rather they are really supporting the Hindu move covertly and indirectly They are happy to see this partition Bengal League leaders are openly divided into two groups (1) the Divisionists and (2) the Unionists—those who want the division of Bengal and those who want the unity of Bengal For instance

Divisionists

Mr Abdul Ghufran, Minister Civil Supplies, was saying openly that the loss of Calcutta will be a good riddance as it was a white elephant which produced no food but consumed huge amount of foodgrains and that East Bengal will be happy without Calcutta

Mr Shamsuddin, Labour Minister, seems of the same view

Mr Hamidul Haque Chaudhry, MLC, who in Bengal League Working Committee always supported Greater Bengal schemes and even advocated joint electorate to secure greater Bengal, became a turncoat Divisionist overnight and is an advocate of East Bengal State It is said that he is hoping to secure a sure seat in the new East Bengal Ministry, which he hopes will be soon formed after 2nd June, 1947, under Mr Noorul Amin

Mr Noorul Amin, the Speaker of the Bengal Legislative Assembly, who was very anxious to secure a seat in the Bengal Ministry and is disgruntled for being disappointed in his campaign for reshuffling Bengal Cabinet, is aspiring to be the Premier of East Bengal He fears that he will not be able to become Premier if Bengal is not partitioned

The Retreatists and Defeatists

(B) *The Azad Group* of the East Pakistan Renaissance Society has been an advocate of partition of Bengal since 1945 They published a pamphlet on this subject with a map demarcating the boundary lines of East and West Bengal Maulana Akram Khan belongs to this group which wants to retain Calcutta for Pakistan but regards the Hooghly River as natural boundary of East Pakistan It is ready to sacrifice Burdwan Division

The Unionists

(C) *Mr H S Suhrawardy* the Bengal Premier, honestly feels that partition of Bengal will be a calamity[4] which East Pakistan State will not be able to survive at all He is obsessed with the idea that we must avoid partition of Bengal at any cost He may be wrong in his methods and diplomacy but there is no doubt that he is feeling honestly and deeply for the unity of Bengal *Khwaja Nazimuddin* seems to be not fully posted on facts He sometimes supports *Divisionists* and sometime says that division will do harm to Bengal Muslims

The Calcutta Muslims and Seamen

(D) The Muslims of Calcutta, including the Seamen, are for Pakistan—full-fledged and in its entirety They are firmly resolved to fight for the whole of Bengal

Lakhs of Bihar Refugees in Bengal—Will they be again thrown to wolves of Hindustan?

(E) The Muslims of West Bengal and the Bihar refugees settled in Burdwan and Midnapur districts strongly feel that the idea of sacrificing West Bengal will be most unjust to the refugees of Bihar who sacrificed one lakh Muslims to secure a free Homeland in Bengal It will be, they believe, most cruel, inhuman and unjust to them if the League in Bengal or the League High Command again throws them to the wolves of Hindustan If it is so, they argue, how the Muslims of Calcutta, the Muslims of Burdwan and the Muslims of Bihar and the U P can be expected to fight and sacrifice for Pakistan?

Where the Bihar Refugees will now go?

The Muslims of Bihar fought and died in thousands for Pakistan with the hope that they will get a refuge in Bengal and an asylum in Calcutta Actually no less than three lakh Bihar Muslims got refuge in West Bengal and in Greater Calcutta Now what will be the fate of these homeless victims of the fight for Pakistan? Where will they go now? Will they be forced to *Shuddhi*, serfdom and slavery? Where is the living space for more population in the most thickly populated East Bengal where density of population is more than 1,000 persons per square mile and which is deficit in foodgrains and has no industry at all?

Our Submissions

Quaid-i-Azam,

The Muslim masses of Bengal are sound and ready to fight for Pakistan The Muslims of Calcutta assure you that they will not yield an inch to the enemy

Our submissions in brief are that

1 Never agree to sacrifice Calcutta or West Bengal
2 For heaven's sake do not be misled by the false propaganda of the group of self-seekers, disgruntled defeatists and divisionists who by covertly advocating East Bengal State are really supporting Shyama Prashad Mukherjee and sabotaging your stand for integrity of Bengal
3 Kindly pay more attention to the problems of Muslims of Greater Calcutta and the problems of the better organization of the

splendid Bengal seamen

4 Do something to organize and win over the tribals of Assam, West and North Bengal and Chhotanagpur and the depressed classes of Bengal and Assam

5 As Quaid-i-Azam, order dissolution of all groups of Divisionists in Bengal League fold We are confident that this mischief of Divisionism and Divisionists Party in Bengal League fold can be nipped in the bud by your mere order No leader in Bengal has the power to go against your declared order, policy or principle But please let Bengal know that you regard Divisionism in Muslim League as a treachery and betrayal of the League's fundamental creed and ideal

Bengal Seamen and Muslim Calcutta's impregnable position in Sea Front and River Front and Dock and Port Front

In conclusion we beg to reassure you that Muslims of Calcutta hold the strongest and most impregnable position and are capable of fighting and defeating the enemy in Calcutta provided they get support and guidance from League High Command

Facts of Make-up of Calcutta

We beg to lay before you the following facts regarding the port city of Calcutta

The Jute Front of Muslim Bengal

(1) The first and foremost factor in the making and make-up of Calcutta comes jute Calcutta is the "City of Jute " It is the by-product of the jute of Bengal Calcutta is therefore rightly called the port of jute and jute is the product of mainly the Muslims of East Bengal This forms the Jute Front of Muslim Bengal

The Sea Front of Muslim Bengal

(2) The second factor in the making and make-up of Calcutta comes the Seamen of Bengal, known all over the world as *Lascars* They are all Muslims This forms the Sea Front of Muslim Bengal

The River Front of Muslim Bengal

(3) The third factor in the making and make-up of Calcutta comes the inland shipping which connects Assam with Bengal and India via Calcutta The inland shipping companies of Calcutta are mostly British but they are manned wholly and solely by Muslims from Captain to *Sarang* They control the entire trade and commerce of Bengal and Assam This forms the River Front of Muslim Bengal

The Tea Front under Command of Bengal Mariners

(4) Although tea is grown in Assam and North Bengal, it is exported through inland shipping steamers which are 100 % manned and officered by Muslim navigators of Bengal Moreover this commodity is exported mainly through the port of Calcutta which is chiefly manned by Muslims This forms the Tea Front of Muslim Bengal

The Port Front of Muslim Bengal

(5) The port of Calcutta employs 22,000 workers as dockers and port workers etc , who work on the shores and do not go to the sea or to the rivers Out of this, 17,000 are Muslims and 5,000 are Hindus and others This forms the Port Front of Muslim Bengal

Port Areas are Pakistan Areas in Population

(6) As the port of Calcutta is entirely a product of the labour, toil and sacrifices of generations of Muslim Seamen, Rivermen and Dockers, consequently the areas of port of Calcutta are overwhelmingly populated by Muslims

From Garden Reach Municipality of Matiaburj down to Chandpall Ghat and the Armenian Ghat—the entire area of the port—Muslims vastly predominated in the population

Matiaburj

In Matiaburj Municipality the population in 1941 was

Total population	1,25,000	
Muslims	1,05,000	
Hindus	20,000	
Bihar Muslim Refugees	50,000	(Approx)
Total Muslims	1,55,000	
Total Hindus	20,000	

Matiaburj is a separate Municipality

Iqbalpur, Kidderpore, Watganj and Hastings—95 P C

Iqbalpur, Kidderpore, Watganj and Hastings, which are port areas cover ward Nos 25 and 26 of the Calcutta Corporation Even before the war they were predominantly Muslim wards During the war Muslim population vastly increased due to war demand of seamen and dockers After the Great Calcutta Riots of August, 1946, the Hindu population decreased much Muslims are over 95 per cent

In short from Matiaburj to Mominpur, Iqbalpur, Kidderpore, Watganj, Hastings, Calcutta Maidan, New Market, Chandni, Riverside Ghat, Hastings Street, Calcutta High Court and Town Hall, there is one long contiguous belt of predominantly Muslim wards which cover the entire port area of Calcutta This gives Muslims a unique strategic position in the

Battle of Calcutta and the Battle of Bengal

The moment the League decides and order goes, the entire Sea Front, River Front, Dock and Port Front, Jute Front and Tea Front can be mobilized for war of Pakistan and the entire port, sea and river services of Bengal can be paralysed

Glorious War Record of our Seamen

Please also remind Admiral Lord Louis Mountbatten of the glorious part played by Bengal seamen, portmen and rivermen Here are some salient facts about their war record

Merchant Navy—Sea-going Vessels

(1) 1,72,000 took part in World War II, including engine crew, deck crew, and saloon crew
(2) 28,000 Bengal seamen fell and died fighting in the World War II (1939-45) in the seven seas, excluding war prisoners who numbered [several] thousands
(3) 52,000 seamen from Sylhet were permanently engaged in War barring others who were coming and going
(4) 32,000 seamen from Noakhali were engaged in the war
(5) 20,000 seamen from Chittagong were engaged in the war
(6) 10,000 seamen from Calcutta were engaged in the war

Inland Shipping

Bengal Steamer Service Men 36,000 mariners are permanently engaged and they are cent per cent Muslim Present strength of seamen engaged is over 55,000

Most difficult functions are performed by Muslim seamen who can immobilize the entire port any moment

Muslim seamen do all the most difficult and dangerous work, e g

Arakatis—100% Bengal Muslims

They pilot and lead in the ships from the Bay of Bengal to Calcutta Port and also pilot and lead out the ships from the port to the sea No captain can sail or move without them They alone know the safe routes for the ships Without them ships run aground and are lost in the Bay or the Hooghly River, which are very dangerous for shipping There is not a single non-Muslim *Arakati*

Kamalias—100% Muslims

They are experts in proper loading of cargo If the cargo is not loaded in order and properly, ships are unbalanced and sunk This is a very specialized difficult function There is not a single non-Muslim *Kamalia*

Dubals (Divers)—*100% Muslims*

They are the world's most wonderful divers who dive and remain in the bed of the river and sea for 45 minutes without any cover, helmet or respiratory apparatus for doing marine work There is not a single non-Muslim *Dubal*

Each *Dubal* saves Rs 10,000 If apparatus for diving is employed it costs Rs 10,000 a month

Sookanis (Steermen)—*100% Muslims*

They steer ships There is not a single non-Muslim *Sookani*

Mastmen—100 % Muslims

They are perched high up on the masts of ships and have to do their duty day and night in hazardous seas in rain and hailstorm and watch sea routes They are all Muslims

Men of Anchor-Boat—100% Muslims

They cast anchors of ships and fix them to *Bayas*

Men of Heave-up Boat—100% Muslims

They raise anchors of ships

Men of Transfer Department—100% Muslims

They transfer ships from one jetty to another which is a very difficult job

Engine Crew—100% Muslims

They work in engines deep below the sea surface in oppressive heat They have wonderful power of endurance

Sir Archibald Hurd, British authority on Merchant Navy, says that their power of endurance is wonderful and they are first class seamen

British Decorations and Honours for Bengal Seamen

The British Government recognized the War Services of Bengal seamen by conferring British decorations and titles, honours and rewards on Bengal Muslim seamen Many of them have been decorated with titles of O B E , Khan Bahadur, Khan Sahib, George Cross and other certificates, *sanads* and rewards All the recipients are Muslims Some of them were presented to His Majesty the King Emperor

How Calcutta Port and Inland and Sea Shipping can function for a day without these Muslims?

How can the port of Calcutta and the inland and coastal and sea shipping function for a day without these Muslims? Please point it out to Admiral Lord Louis Mountbatten that everyone of these men is firmly determined to defend the port of Calcutta and prevent it from shipping

[sic] out to the control of Hindus They will fight and die rather than accept the domination of Hindus in Calcutta

Our Quaid-i-Azam, we stand by you in your fight for the integrity of Bengal and the unity of Pakistan We assure you that the River Front, the Sea Front, the Dock Front and the Port Front of Calcutta will be your first line of Defence and that the Watermen will alone be able to bring the other parties to knees

But there is one proviso—the Seamen, the Rivermen, the Portmen, who are all League-minded, should be thoroughly organized under the League and trained for this job

We attach a note[5] on the different organizations of Seamen, Rivermen, Boatmen, Dockers and Portmen

We remain,

Yours most sincerely and obediently,

RAGHIB AHSAN
Member, Working Committee,
Bengal Provincial Muslim League,
Member, All India Muslim League Council

S M USMAN
ex-Mayor of Calcutta,
Secretary, Calcutta Muslim League

S A HAMID
Vice-President,
Calcutta Muslim League,
Member, All India Muslim League Council

SYED MUHIBUR REHMAN
President, Kidderpore Muslim League,
Founder, Indian National Maritime Union

ABDUL AZIZ
Secretary, Kidderpore Muslim League,
Secretary, Indian National Maritime Union

MOHAMMAD YASIN
Secretary, Asansol Subdivisional Muslim League,
President, Bihar Refugees Union of Bengal, Asansol,
Member, Council All India Muslim League

[1]Emphasis here and hereafter in the original
[2]Annex III to No 386
[3]See No 466
[4]See Enclosure 1 to No 479
[5]Enclosure 1

Enclosure 1 to No 507

F 10/178

NOTE ON ORGANIZATIONS OF BENGAL SEAMEN, RIVERMEN, BOATMEN, DOCKERS AND PORTMEN

Unions of Seagoing Mariners

(1) INDIAN SEAMEN UNION (CALCUTTA)
No 27B Circular Garden Reach Road, Kidderpore, Calcutta
President Lt Commander Aftab Ali, MLA (Central)
Members 25,000

(2) INDIAN NATIONAL MARITIME UNION (CALCUTTA)
51 Watganj Street, Kidderpore
President S M Usman, ex-Mayor of Calcutta and Secretary Calcutta Muslim League
Members 20,000

(3) INDIAN QUARTER-MASTERS UNION (CALCUTTA)
21 Rajab Ali Lane, Kidderpore
President Dr Abdul Malik, MLA
Members (*Sookanis*) 3,000

(4) INDIAN SAILORS UNION (CALCUTTA)
President Dr Abdul Malik, MLA
Members (Deckmen) 10,000

(5) BENGAL SALOON WORKERS UNION (CALCUTTA)
51 Chitranjan Avenue
President· Mr Ghani Butler
Members 8,000

(6) ALL INDIA SEA-FARERS FEDERATION (CALCUTTA)
27B Circular Garden Reach Road, Kidderpore (Calcutta)
President Lt Commander Aftab Ali, MLA (Central)
Secretary Dr Abdul Malik, MLA (Bengal)
Members All the above Unions (except No 2) and also Unions of Bombay
Members 55,000

UNIONS OF INLAND AND COASTAL MARINERS

(7) BENGAL MARINERS UNION (CALCUTTA)
27 B Garden Reach Road, Kidderpore
President Lt Commander Aftab Ali, MLA (Central)
Secretary Mr Faiz Ahmad, B L
Members 22,000

(8) SEAMEN MUSLIM LEAGUE UNION (CALCUTTA)
Wellesley Street, Calcutta
President Mr Abdul Khalique Choudhary
Members 20,000

UNIONS OF DOCKERS

(9) NATIONAL PORT TRUST EMPLOYEES UNION
41 Watganj Street, Kidderpore
Secretary Ahmadullah
Members 11,000

(10) BIRD CO, WORKERS UNION
1 Watganj Street, Kidderpore
Secretary Mr Ahmadullah
Members 5,000

(11) *DENGI MANJHEES* UNION (UNION OF COUNTRY BOATMEN) (CALCUTTA)
President Sardar Ali Khan
Members (all Muslims) 25,000
They control the entire water-front of the Hoogly River

Enclosure 2 to No 507

F 10/162-165

GLOWING TRIBUTES TO WAR SERVICES OF BENGAL "LASCARS" THEY ARE FIRST CLASS SEAMEN
"SERVED US WITH GREAT HEROISM AND ENDURANCE"
TRIBUTE IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

LONDON, May 6—During the debate on War Transport in the Commons yesterday Captain Gammans (Conservative), complained that Mr. Noel Baker, Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Transport had made no reference to Indian Merchant Seamen Captain Gammans

added "If my information is right 20% of the men in the British Merchant Navy comes from India and without them I don't know how we could have carried on We often have a lot of the India that talks and does not fight, but there is an opportunity to pay a tribute to India that fights and does not talk."

When replying to the debate Mr Noel Baker said "I have been reminded that I have not paid a tribute to our Indian seamen I gladly do so Lascars, tens of thousands of them, have served us with great heroism and endurance in our Merchant Navy and so have the seamen of our Chinese Allies " *Dawn* , 7 May 1944

SIR NAZIMUDDIN ON WAR SERVICE OF BENGAL SEAMEN

CALCUTTA, May 22—Sir Nazimuddin (Premier, Bengal), the General Officer Commanding-in-Chief, Eastern Army, the Air Officer Commanding, Bengal Command, and Brigadier General Haynes were among those who broadcast from Calcutta Station of All India Radio in its "Tunisia Day" Programme

"While celebrating the victory of our land forces we must not forget the part played by the Merchant Navy These victories would not have been possible but for the maintenance of constant supplies from India, America and England to the theatres of War We are proud of Indian seamen 90 per cent of whom are from Bengal Actually 40,000 to 50,000 Bengalis from Noakhali, Chittagong, Tippera and Dacca are on the high seas braving the elements and constantly facing the gravest of peril " *Dawn* , 25 May 1943

BRAVERY OF THE SEAMEN HELPED BRITAIN TO WIN THE WAR

Sir Patrick Dollan, Chairman of Missions to Seamen, speaking at the Indian Seamen's Hostel in Glasgow recently said "The bravery and loyalty of Indian seamen has helped Britain and her Allies to win the war and when hostilities ceased they should be admitted to co-partnership in the Empire " *Dawn*, 1 October 1944

But 90 per cent of these Indian seamen are Muslims from Chittagong, Dacca and Sylhet districts where they have no living space Co-partnership in the Empire demands that they must get whole of Bengal as their homeland To squeeze out Bengal seamen from the port of Calcutta is simply unthinkable *Dawn*, 1 October 1944

"THEY ARE FIRST CLASS SEAMEN, BRITAIN OWES THESE SEAMEN A DEBT OF GRATITUDE"—SIR ARCHIBALD HURD'S TRIBUTE

Forty thousand Indian seamen are hazarding their lives in the battle of the Atlantic, risking the attacks by U-boats, raiders, bombing aeroplanes and mines in a manner which has won the admiration of all who are familiar with the terror of the war at sea

There is nothing heroic about the physique of these men, who are known as "Lascars" but they are first class sailors Men from northern lands find it difficult to work in intense heat, and many leading British shipping companies on the "Eastward run" have long employed Indian seamen making special provision for their diet and comfort These companies include the P & O, the British India, the Anchor, the Bibby, the Clan and City Lines as well as the Cunard Company

FIRST CLASS SAILORS

Since this war broke out many of the ships in which these Indian sailors serve have diverted from the "Eastern run" to the Atlantic It was feared, at first, that they would not be able to stand the cold, but they have proved so adaptable that they are now to be met with in all the seven seas, wherever British Merchantmen are employed in carrying cargoes Their conduct and efficiency under these conditions have proved their powers of endurance

Britain owes these Indian seamen a great debt of gratitude, for it would be difficult to maintain the fight for the freedom of the seas without their aid *Assam Herald*, 13 June 1942

"50,000 INDIAN SEAMEN ON BRITISH SHIPS",
"DESERVING GRATITUDE AND REMEMBRANCE",
"WITHOUT THEIR AID BRITAIN'S SUPPLIES COULD NOT HAVE BEEN MAINTAINED"
SIR PATRICK DOLLAN'S TRIBUTE

LONDON (By Cable)—Sir Patrick Dollan, former Lord Provost, presiding over the first anniversary meeting of the Mission to Seamen in the Indian Hostel at Glasgow, said that over 50,000 Indian seamen on British ships were deserving gratitude and remembrance on the same scale as had been accorded to other Allied Seamen Without their aid, Britain's supplies could not have been maintained *Morning News*, Calcutta, 5 August 1942

SEAMEN OF BENGAL AND ASSAM ARE WRITING A PAGE OF HISTORY THAT WILL COMPARE WITH ANY OF THE VOLUMES TO BE ENTITLED VICTORY
LITTLE MEN WITH STOUT HEARTS
HOW BENGAL SEAMEN ARE HELPING TO WIN THE WAR

They do not look like heroes, these small wiry men in their gaily coloured shirts and *lungis*, their caps drawn at rakish angles across smoothly oiled heads But if leaving peaceful rural homes and going forth to have [*sic*] all the hazards of U-boat, mine and air raiders on perilous seas requires courage, then everyone of these men has it in large measure

It seemed these men were eager to face the perils of waters from which the enemy had by no means been driven, it did not take long to discover why one in every ten men had already had the experience of having his ship sunk by enemy action What did another sinking matter? The story in every instance was the same part from small details, the deadly torpedo, several days in an open boat, and the timely rescue by the ubiquitous man-of-war They made light of it

The war has made a special call on the services of Indian Seamen and boldly have they responded to it They sail in Indian, British, Panamanian, Dutch, Norwegian and Egyptian ships They brave the perils of waters from the cold N Atlantic to shark infested southern seas More than 25,000 of them recruited in Calcutta are listed as killed or missing About 900 of them are prisoners in enemy hands Yet these losses have proved no brake on recruiting The Indian Seaman is a genuine volunteer

Going to sea is in their blood They may stay at home during the harvest, tending their fields or lazing gratefully in the warm sun But comes the time when this rural existence palls When village companions grow tiresome, when the family coffers need replenishing

Then comes that call of the sea which not all the perils of the deep will allay It seems incredible that these men for the most part so diminutive in stature should be so moved by the spirit of adventure But what else can explain Habibur Rahman's urge to be at sea again after being torpedoed in two wars, or Abdul Somodi's reluctance to bask in the admiration of his fellow villagers with his coveted medal pinned on his breast [*sic* for chest]? What else could have taken Jonab Ali to Crete where he was wounded, made prisoner, and today writes cheerful letters from a hospital in Germany where he is being tended by Australian doctors, likewise prisoners? There is no doubting it Many of these men who, in their quaint colourful attire, crowd the Government Shipping Office in Calcutta every day, filling it with the babel of their strange East Bengal dialect, are moved by that call of adventure, by that challenge of the unknown that in the past has built empires Today it is helping to build victory The seamen of Bengal and Assam are writing a page of history that for cool courage and high endeavour will compare with any of the volumes to be entitled "Victory" *Statesman*, 28 February 1943

508

M A Jinnah to S D Saklatvala

F 156/108

31 May 1947

Dear Sir S D Saklatvala,

I am in receipt of your letter of 13th May[1] and I thank you for it I am very grateful to the Trustees of Sir Dorabji Tata Trust for having donated a sum of Rs 1,00,000 (Rupees one lakh) for the purpose referred to in your letter

I am also thankful to you for the suggestion you have made that this time preference should be given to other parts of India rather than support Bombay institutions I appreciate the suggestion and I shall try my best to give effect to it

Thanking you again and with kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M A JINNAH

Sir S D Saklatvala, Kt,
Sir Dorabji Tata Trust,
Bombay House, Bruce Street, Fort,
Bombay

[1]Enclosure to No 419

509

M A Jinnah to A D Shroff

F 156/107

31 May 1947

Dear Mr Shroff,

Many thanks for your letter of May 13, 1947,[1] enclosing an official letter on behalf of Sir Dorabji Tata Trust and also a cheque for Rs 1,00,000 (Rupees one lakh)

Please convey my grateful thanks to the Trustees for having placed this handsome amount at my disposal to distribute it as I may think proper in my discretion

I appreciate very much the suggestion that this time preference

should be gıven to other parts of Indıa rather than Bombay and I shal try and gıve effect to the wıshes of the Trustees

Thankıng you agaın,

Yours sıncerely,
M A JINNAH

A D Shroff, Esq ,
Bombay House,
24 Bruce Street, Fort,
Bombay

[1]No 419

510

Mır Maqbul Mahmood to M A Jınnah

F 764/16

PERSONAL

NEW DELHI
31 May 194?

My dear Quaıd-ı-Azam,

As dırected, I submıt two notes for your consıderatıon

(ı) Expert Commıttee wıth a draft resolutıon for your approval

(ıı) Prelımınary poınts relatıng to Pakıstan Constıtuent Assembly whıch would requıre ımmedıate consıderatıon

Yours devoted,
MAQBUL

Enclosure 1 to No 510

F 764/17-24

SECRET

NOTE ON THE APPOINTMENT OF AN EXPERT COMMITTEE FOR THE PAKISTAN CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

INTRODUCTION

It ıs the responsıbılıty of the majorıty party ın each Constıtuen Assembly to take the ınıtıatıve ın preparıng materıal and draftın proposals for the consıderatıon of the Assembly Even where Constıtuen Assemblıes have been formally constıtuted by the Government for th tıme beıng, the party ın power or havıng majorıty ın the Assembly ha taken over the ınıtıatıve by appoıntıng Commıttees to prepare proposal

for the consideration of the Constituent Assembly The experience of other countries has already been repeated in the Constituent Assembly now functioning at Delhi The Congress Working Committee appointed an Expert Committee "for the purpose of preparing material and draft proposals for the Constituent Assembly" No rigid terms of reference were laid down nor was any rigid procedure prescribed for this Committee Its membership was 8 with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru as Chairman

2 An Expert Committee would require to be set up for the Pakistan Constituent Assembly as soon as possible after the forthcoming Viceregal announcement The appointment may be made by the Muslim League Working Committee but in certain important particulars the requirements, the functions and the plan of work of this Committee will have to be different from that of the Expert Committee set up by the Congress In this connection, the following preliminary points would require consideration

(a) In view of the element of urgency, it would be advisable to give preference in the personnel of the Committee to a few persons who have already made a special study of the constitutional problems in India and abroad It may also be desirable to authorise this Committee to set up sub-committees for special purposes such as financial arrangements between Pakistan and the Provinces, relationship with the States, administrative relations between Pakistan and the Units, Provincial Constitutions, Pakistan Constitution, Defence, Foreign Relations, transitional arrangements for the taking over of power, minority rights, fundamental rights and allied matters

(b) In addition to asking members of the Expert Committee to prepare notes on various aspects of the questions coming up before the Constituent Assembly, it would be advisable to invite a few individuals in various departments or in public life to prepare notes on specific questions referred to them such as railways, irrigation, Central revenues and so on, such as —

Mr Mohammed Ali	Finance
Mr A S Bokhari	Broadcasting
Mr Zaffar Hussain of Railway Board	Railways
Mr Altaf [Hussain]	Publicity
Mr Majid Malik	Public Relations
H.H the Nawab of Bhopal Col El Edroos Col Hamid	Defence
Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan Mr M. H Zuberi	Posts, Telegraph, Aviation and other means of Communication

Mr I I Chundngar	Commerce
Mr Amın-ud-Dın	Exports and Imports
Mr M H Mahmood	Port Trust Development

and so on A complete lıst wıll be put up ıf so desıred

(c) It ıs desırable that the members of the Expert Commıttee shc be such as can work almost whole-tıme At the same tıme, desırable that the Commıttee should have the benefit of exp ence and advıce from outstandıng persons such as member the Interım Government, Provıncıal Mınısters, Leaders of Le latıve Assemblıes, Presıdents of the Provıncıal Muslım Leagı Members of the All Indıa Muslım League Workıng Commı and others Thıs should be ensured by allowıng for co-optıoı certaın members as and when requıred, and ıncludıng cer members as ex-offıcıo members or advısers

(d) The Expert Commıttee appoınted by the Congress consıs of eıght members, all belongıng to the Congress party whıch two are Muslıms and sıx Hındus It may be advısa to provıde for or ınvıte some representatıves of non-Mus communıtıes ın the Pakıstan area to serve on thıs Comr tee As tıme ıs short and ıt may not be known ımmedıat as to whether any of them would be forthcomıng, and ı when, to work on thıs Commıttee, ıt may perhaps be adv able to fıll some and to leave two or three places vacan be fılled ın later by the Presıdent as and when requıred fıllıng up these vacancıes, the Presıdent could, ıf necessa also nomınate a representatıve from the Indıan States If these appoıntments (ıncludıng those of non-Muslıms) made, whıch ıs not lıkely ın the begınnıng, ıt may be nec sary for the Muslım nomınees on the Expert Commıttee meet *ınformally*[1] sometımes *before* dıscussıng theır proposals a full-fledged meetıng of the Expert Commıttee

(e) In order to gıve proper lead to the Commıttee and to make members work wıth the ınspıratıon bred of proper leadershıp ıs desırable that the Quaıd-ı-Azam may hımself agree to be Chaırman The Commıttee may have a convener or Secret who may prepare all prelımınary papers under the Chaırma dırectıons so that the work of thıs Commıttee may not ınvc heavy burden on the Chaırman who would be otherwıse fı occupıed No rıgıd terms of reference or programme need to laıd down for thıs Commıttee Its dırectıons may be left ın hands of the Chaırman who may ındıcate to the Members, wl

inviting them to serve on the Committee, the main items which will have to be taken up by the Committee almost immediately A draft of this letter will be submitted if the general plan is approved No quorum is prescribed

(f) All members of the Committee may be supplied forthwith complete up-to-date set of the Resolutions of the All India Muslim League and the proceedings of the Working Committee from 1940 when the Lahore Resolution was passed The convener of this Committee may be given any other reports and papers that may be available so that he may prepare a brief note bringing out important points requiring consideration and indicating documents and books that can be consulted

(g) The Expert Committee will be required not merely to draft proposals but also to bear in mind the necessity of reconciling Provincial autonomy with an effective Pakistan Centre which may hold and command the enthusiasm and allegiance of its people It will also be necessary to bear in mind that any proposals adopted by the Pakistan Constituent Assembly should not conflict with the basic Islamic injunctions, should be fair to the minorities, compare favourably with any proposals adopted by the Hindustan Constituent Assembly, and should appeal to the imagination and help to raise the standard of living of the poorer classes For this purpose, it may be advisable to permit the Committee to invite information or evidence from persons outside the Committee, and when the Committee so decides, to depute some of its members to visit any particular Province to collect requisite information

(h) Pakistan would be the largest Islamic country in the world It is desirable that its constitution should embody the best features of the constitutions of all Islamic countries The study of these constitutions shows that it would be advisable to make available to the Committee the advice of a sound and liberal scholar of Islamic religion, such as Ghulam Bhik Nairang or Syed Fazal Shah (brother of Sir Mehar Shah) or Maulana Abdul Hamid Badayuni, whose opinion could be sought when required and who may prove a help and not a hindrance to the setting up of a progressive constitution

The aforesaid points need not appear in the Resolution appointing the Committee but may be kept in view in deciding on the plan of work

3. The Committee will have to start functioning almost immediately On the assumption that the Viceregal announcement will be

made on 2nd to 5th June, 1947, announcing the appointment of a separate Pakistan Constituent Assembly, the members of the Expert Committee may be available in Delhi not later than the *10th of June, 1947,* to take general instructions and directions from the Chairman and to have preliminary discussions among themselves in Delhi from 10th to 15th June, 1947 Thereafter, it may be advisable to let them work quietly for about a fortnight to prepare all drafts and notes on items entrusted to them in the beginning For this work the Committee may meet in Simla and, if the Chairman cannot be present there, the convener could visit Delhi as and when necessary to take specific directions from the Chairman The drafts and notes prepared by the Committee may be discussed in the first instance with Muslim Members of the Interim Government and with such others whom the Chairman may wish to consult The notes and drafts may, where so desired, be referred back to the Committee for being drafted in the light of the preliminary discussions The programme should be so scheduled that it may be possible for all these drafts and Resolutions to be available for consideration by the Pakistan Constituent Assembly at its preliminary session in the first week of July, 1947

4 The greatest need for this Committee would be an efficient and good reference library Many general books on constitution are available in the Constituent Assembly Library, the Secretariat Library, and the Chamber of Princes Library, which could be available for reference As time is short and the books are not readily available from abroad, it may be advisable for the convener or any one else to send a circular letter immediately to leading Muslim scholars, institutions, libraries, to send lists of books bearing on constitution and other questions which are likely to come up before the Constituent Assembly which are available with them

5 The draft resolution is submitted for consideration of the Quaid-i-Azam and to be placed as approved by him before the next meeting of the All India Muslim League Working Committee

DRAFT RESOLUTION

Resolved that the President of the All India Muslim League be authorised to appoint an Expert Committee for the purpose of preparing material and draft proposals for the consideration of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly The Committee shall function under the general directions of the President who will be its Chairman The Committee will have power to co-opt members and to appoint sub-committees for specific purposes, as and when required It may invite such information or evidence as may be considered necessary It may consult other persons and take necessary technical advice The Committee shall *inter alia* bear in mind the desirability of reconciling the autonomy of the adhering

Units—Provinces and States—with the setting up of an effective Pakistan State, and will keep particularly in view the legitimate protection of the minorities in Pakistan and the need for raising the standard of living of the poorer classes The President will select the personnel of the Committee

Note *Suggestions regarding the personnel*

1 Mr M A Jinnah—Chairman
2 Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan or Hon'ble Mr Hossain Imam—Vice-Chairman
3 Sir Muhammad Zafrullah
4 Hon'ble Mr Khuhro or Mr Pir Ilahi Bakhsh or Mr Gazdar (Sind)
5 Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar or Mr Abdul Qaiyum (N W F P)
6 Mr Ghazanfar Ali or Malik Firoz Khan Noon or Mr Mumtaz Daultana or Professor Omar Hayat or Begum Shah Nawaz (Punjab)
7 Khwaja Nazimuddin
8 Mr Khaliq-uz-Zaman or Abdul Matin Chaudhury
9 Mr Singha, Speaker Punjab Assembly
10 One Hindu, to be announced later
11 One Sikh, to be announced later
12 One Scheduled Caste—Mr Mandal or someone else
13 Sir Ghulam Mohammed or Mr Mohammed Ali or Mr Zahid Husain
14 One professor from Aligarh who has been assisting in this work in the past
15 Mir Maqbul Mahmood
16 One vacancy to which members may be co-opted from time to time as required

[1] Emphasis here and hereafter in the original

Enclosure 2 to No 510

F 918/247-251

SECRET

POINTS RELATING TO PAKISTAN CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY WHICH REQUIRE CONSIDERATION IMMEDIATELY

1 According to the Cabinet Mission's Plan the total membership of the Constituent Assembly in *Section B*[1] is 36 including

Baluchistan (23 Muslims, 9 General and 4 Sikhs) and 70 in *Section* C[2] (including 36 Muslims and 34 non-Muslims) It is not unlikely that, at any rate in the beginning, many if not all of the non-Muslim members may not co-operate with these Sections There is also a possibility of further reduction in these members if it is decided to partition the Punjab and Bengal, though it will not be possible to decide which members of the Constituent Assembly from the Punjab and Bengal represent Pakistan region and which of them represent Hindustan region, because members have been elected on proportionate representation by all the provincial legislatures voting as one electoral college

2 The first question to decide is whether Sections B and C would meet together or separately Even if the Sections set up under the Cabinet Mission's Plan be scrapped, it would require decision whether representatives of the Punjab, the N W F P and Sind on one side and Bengal and Assam on the other should meet separately or together The decision on this question would depend to a great extent on the nature of the forthcoming Viceregal announcement On the assumption, however, that substantial portions, if not whole of Bengal, Assam and the Punjab would be declared Pakistan areas, the following plan might be considered·

(i) At the preliminary session the existing representatives of Sections B and C *or* any new representatives that may be selected for these provinces may meet together as they would have met in the Union Constituent Assembly, if the Cabinet Mission's Plan had been accepted At this preliminary session, the rules of procedure may be adopted and sub-committees may be set up in regard to (a) staff and finance, (b) credentials, (c) steering, (d) fundamental and minority committees, (e) excluded and partially excluded areas committees, (f) Frontier Tribal Areas committee, (g) Pakistan committee to lay down principles of the Pakistan Constitution and (h) the committee to lay down Provincial and Group Constitution

(ii) Thereafter the representatives may break into Sections with instructions (a) to work out details relating to their groups and provinces in the light of the general principles proposed by the Pakistan and Provincial Constitution Committees mentioned above, subject to reconsideration of the whole plan by the Pakistan Constituent Assembly, (b) to give the fullest possible freedom to provincial representatives to meet separately province-wise, if they so desire, to suggest specific provisions which they wish to be embodied in their provincial constitutions. This will go a long way to rally the N.W.F P. opinion, but may lead to difficulties in the case of Assam

unless the representatives of the Scheduled Castes and the tribal areas from that province are their *true* representatives

(iii) Thereafter the representatives of all Sections and of such States as may desire to adhere to the Pakistan Constitution may meet together to adopt the Constitution

(iv) The number of representatives of the Constituent Assembly in Sections B and C would be small, particularly in view of the considerations mentioned in para (i) above It may therefore be desirable to increase the number *or* to reconstitute the Constituent Assembly for these Sections Following alternatives might be considered unless some provision in this behalf is made in the forthcoming Viceregal announcement

(a) The members of the Provincial Assemblies or of the areas included in Pakistan, and the same electorate which selected a representative for Baluchistan previously, may be invited to elect double the number of members community-wise which they selected previously to the Constituent Assembly to replace the existing members, *or* to elect representatives equal in number to those already elected who may be added to the previous quota Provision may be made for including some genuine representatives of Scheduled Castes and, if considered feasible, of small minorities like Christians, provided the provincial and communal proportion in the Constituent Assembly is not disturbed

Or in the alternative,

(b) The number of seats allotted to various communities under the Cabinet Mission's Plan may be proportionately increased for each community and the members of that community already elected may be invited to *co-opt* the requisite additional numbers

3 It might be feasible to make a provision both for the Pakistan and Hindustan Constituent Assemblies that resolutions in the Assembly raising any major communal issue or varying any specific fundamental provisions shall require a majority of the representatives present and voting of each of the *two* major communities If Sikhs are reasonable and come to terms the word "two" underlined in this clause may be changed to *three* in the case of the Punjab This should however be subject to provision being made in all Provincial Assemblies in Hindustan also that in the Constituent Assembly, as also in the provincial legislatures, decisions on major communal questions would require majority of representatives present and voting of each of the two major communities in the province

4 Another important question for consideration would be whether the Muslim representatives of Provinces and areas in Hindustan should hereafter be allowed to participate in the work of the Hindustan Constituent Assembly to safeguard their legitimate interests in those regions and to serve as an example of tolerance and reasonableness to non-Muslims in Pakistan areas to participate in the work of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly This matter is a vital political issue that can best be settled by the Quaid-i-Azam after full assessment of the pros and cons involved The following suggestions are offered merely as a basis of discussion

(i) Muslim representatives from Provinces where they are in a minority may be allowed to participate in the work of the Hindustan Constituent Assembly provided *firstly* that in the new arrangement envisaged under the Viceregal announcement the clause requiring majority of both communities on major communal issues is repeated, and *secondly* that they will not be treated as party to any resolutions which the Constituent Assembly may have adopted before their coming in, nor will they be stopped from raising any points in the course of further discussions which may conflict with any resolutions already adopted by the Constituent Assembly in the past

(ii) The position is difficult in regard to representatives from any portions of the Punjab or Bengal which may possibly be attached to Hindustan If they do not participate in the Constituent Assembly, their interests may go by default It may encourage non-co-operation from non-Muslim members with the Pakistan Constituent Assembly and may lead to bitterness and communal strife at a time when the best energies of all concerned should be concentrated on strengthening the sinews of the new Pakistan State On the other hand, their participation in the Hindustan Constituent Assembly might be treated in India and abroad as acquiescence in the partition of these provinces The lead in this delicate matter can best come from the Quaid-i-Azam It is suggested, merely as a basis of discussion, that these representatives may be permitted to participate in the work of the Hindustan Constituent Assembly subject to the following provisos

   (i) It should be preceded by a declaration that such participation will not be treated as their acquiescence in the partition of those provinces and that they will be free to work for that division being unsettled

   (ii) Some arrangement may be devised by which such of these

members as may so desire be associated with the work of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly without disturbing the proportionate representation of communities therein

(iii) The constitutions of the Hindustan Union and of the Provinces and Groups therein shall contain a provision as recommended in paragraph 19 (v) (iii) of the Cabinet Mission's Plan,[3] that as soon as the new arrangements come into operation it shall be open to the portions of these provinces, if any, that may be attached to Hindustan to come out of the group in which they may be placed A decision shall be taken by the representatives of the area concerned in the new legislature after the first general election under the new Constitution, and they shall also be free, as recommended in paragraph 15 (vi) of the Cabinet Mission's Statement to call for reconsideration of the terms of the Constitution after an initial period of 10 years and 10 yearly intervals thereafter

Note It is understood that apart from the setting up of the Constituent Assembly and framing of the constitution for the Pakistan State, much spade work in different directions would be required to lay sound foundations and to create friendly setting for the new State This work, as happened when the new States of Italy, Ireland, Turkey and in central Europe were created, is not less important than the framing of an agreed constitution It is desirable that this important committee may also be set up almost immediately so that it may set functioning while the other representatives are busy in constitution making This committee is most important and would require a few select outstanding and dependable men of vision, influence and integrity Above all, their loyalty to Pakistan should transcend all other considerations

If considered advisable, the personnel and the functions of this committee need not be announced publicly and it may function as an *informal* body under the personal directions of and in close collaboration with the Quaid-i-Azam Persons like His Highness of Bhopal, Mr Liaquat Ali Khan, General El Edross of Hyderabad, Aga Khan, Nawab Sahib of Chhattari (if he goes to Hyderabad) may be useful Further details will be submitted personally

[1]Emphasis here and hereafter in the original
[2]Sections B and C here refer to the Sections B and C of the Cabinet Mission Plan Section B comprised the Punjab, NWFP, British Baluchistan and Sind, whereas Section C comprised Bengal and Assam See Appendix III
[3]Appendix III

511

Ghulam Mohammed to M A Jinnah

F 264/6

BOMBAY HOUSE, FORT, BOMBAY,
31 May 1947

Dear Mr Jinnah,

I gather from the newspapers that certain prominent non-officials are likely to be associated with the official mission that shall shortly proceed to U K to negotiate a settlement with His Majesty's Government in the matter of India's Sterling Balances In this connection I take the liberty of mentioning to you the name of Mir Laik Ali, whom you know quite well In my opinion he would be a very suitable person to be one of the advisers as, with his vast industrial and commercial knowledge, his advice and opinions should be of considerable value There is dearth of good Musalmans with proper qualifications for these positions As he is so well known, it is not unlikely that the too well known may escape attention You will pardon my intruding on your most valuable time

I do hope you are in good health

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
GHULAM MOHAMMED

512

Edwina Mountbatten to Fatima Jinnah

F 23/2-3

THE VICEROY'S HOUSE, NEW DELHI,
31 May 1947

My dear Miss Jinnah,

We got back from London last night, and I brought you this little

old box which I send with my very best wishes
I hope to see you very soon
Many messages [?] to Mr Jinnah

Yours sincerely,
EDWINA MOUNTBATTEN

Miss Jinnah,
10 Aurangzeb Road,
New Delhi

513

Fatima Jinnah to Edwina Mountbatten

F 23/3A

31 May 1947

My dear Lady Mountbatten,
I thank you for sending me such a nice antique box I appreciate all the more your kind thought in remembering me in the midst of your hurricane trip to London
With kind regards to both of you from Mr Jinnah and myself,

[Yours sincerely]
FATIMA JINNAH

514

Louis Mountbatten to M A Jinnah

F 2/2

[No] 1446/2 THE VICEROY'S HOUSE, NEW DELHI,
31 May 1947

Dear Mr Jinnah,
I shall be glad if you will come to see me at 10 a m on Monday morning June 2nd
I am also inviting Pandit Nehru, Mr Liaquat Ali Khan, Sardar A R Nishtar, Sardar Patel, Sardar Baldev Singh, and Mr Acharya Kripalani

Yours sincerely,
MOUNTBATTEN OF BURMA

515

M A Jinnah to Habib Bank Ltd , Delhi

F 156/104

31 May 1947

Dear Sir,

With reference to your letter[1] No 3099 dated 28th May, enclosing cheque No 026421 on the Allahabad Bank Ltd , Moradabad, which was returned by the said Bank for the reason mentioned in their enclosed memo ,[2] I am returning the cheque herewith with the necessary authorisation for you to cancel my previous signature as required by the Allahabad Bank as stated in their memo

Please, therefore, present the cheque again and credit the proceeds to the Bihar Relief Fund

Kindly acknowledge receipt, and oblige,

Yours faithfully,
M A JINNAH

The Agent,
Habib Bank Ltd ,
Chandni Chowk,
Delhi

[1 & 2]Not available in *QAP*

516

Jinnah's Notes on Pakistan

F 10/1

Undated [*May 1947*]

Pakistan to us means not only a matter of power and security, of loaves and fishes, there are things of the spirit involved as well. It means sovereignty of the people and it will be all that Islam stands for

Will not Muslim patriots say what those Arabs said "What does it matter how weak and poor our homelands are, if only, we are masters in them "

M A JINNAH

517

M A Jinnah to Louis Mountbatten

F 2/1

1 June 1947

Dear Lord Mountbatten,

I thank you for your letter of 31st May 1947,[1] and I shall be glad to see you at 10 a m on Monday morning June 2nd

I have noted the names of other invitees

Yours sincerely,
M A JINNAH

His Excellency Rear Admiral
the Viscount Mountbatten of Burma,
Viceroy's House,
New Delhi

[1]No 514

518

Khan of Kalat to M A Jinnah
Telegram, F 699/16

QUETTA,
1 June 1947

Quaid-i-Azam, 10 Aurangzeb Road, New Delhi

Abdul Rauf left for Delhi Would be grateful if you could interview him for few minutes on third June

KHAN KALAT

519

Almas Daultana to M A Jinnah

F 156/136-138

BRIGHTLANDS, MURREE,
2 June 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

A sum of Rs 20,000 was granted by you to meet the extraordinary

expenses of the Civil Disobedience Movement carried on by the Punjab Muslim League against the Unionist regime in January and February 1947 and it was made payable to me by a cheque delivered through Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan

A sum of Rs 1,841 was advanced by me to the Provincial League organization from time to time during the Movement I have in my possession receipts for the payments made I have unfortunately left them behind in Lahore But I shall immediately forward them to you on my return The extraordinary expenses involved in the Movement were of course much larger but we were enabled to meet them by collecting donations and I did not wish to touch the money sent by you except when it was absolutely necessary and unavoidable

The balance of Rs 18,159 was paid by me to Khan Iftikhar Husain Khan of Mamdot, the President of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League, at his express orders The payments were made by the following cheques in the personal name of the Punjab President

A No L24129 on the Habib Bank Limited for a sum of Rs 15,000 dated the 10th of March 1947

B No C/A 160206 on the Australasia Bank Limited, Lahore, for a sum of Rs 3,159 dated the 10th of March 1947

I was very reluctant to make these payments out of a sum for which I was accountable to you but I did not dare to take the responsibility of disobeying the orders of the Provincial President particularly when we were in the midst of the first serious riots that shook the Punjab and the Provincial League was desperately in need of funds for immediate relief work all over the province Khan of Mamdot assured me that he would personally present a statement of account for this sum to you and that it was not necessary for me to move any further in the matter

I regret very much that there has been this long delay in the performance of my duty, but this is due to the assurance given to me by my Provincial President

We are praying fervently for your health and strength during these days of great trial, for it is you alone who can lead us to our Pakistan

With deepest respect to Miss Jinnah and yourself,

Yours respectfully,
ALMAS DAULTANA

520

American Express to M A Jinnah

F 682/262

NAVSAR BUILDING,
240 HORNBY ROAD, BOMBAY,
2 June 1947

Dear Sir,

In payment of a cable remittance of Rs 1650 received today from our New York office for the equivalent of the amount at exchange

We enclose our cheque for Rs 1650 Kindly acknowledge receipt of this payment by returning to us the enclosed receipt in duplicate duly signed by you We are informed that this remittance is from M Bakhsh

Your truly,
THE AMERICAN EXPRESS CO , INC
Manager

521

Aziz Hindi to M A Jinnah

F 1013/17-19

NAYA PARA, RAIPUR, C P ,
2 June 1947

Sir,

With reference to your interview which you had granted exclusively to the Reuter's representative on the 23rd May,[1] and in which you had said something regarding the future constitution of Pakistan, kindly observe the following

(1) That the Musalmans will in no case be prepared to accept a constitution for Pakistan which will be based on the western type of democracy

(2) That it can authoritatively be asserted that the western type of democracy is against the basic ideals and conception of Islamic life

(3) That if the Musalmans cannot build such a sovereign State exclusively for themselves in which their own laws and principles can be given effect to, then there is no need for such a bloody struggle to be

continued any further The Musalmans shall not be asked therefoı to sacrifice their life and blood for the benefit of a few privilege persons or for a particular class among themselves

(4) That our present High Command should take note of the fact th "Democracy" is not a system in itself but a "Phase" to a system onl

(5) That at present there are only two systems in vogue in th world—the Capitalist system and the Communist system Bot are at variance and at war, but both claim certain phases democracy for themselves For example, there is an America type of democracy and a British type of democracy unde the Capitalist system, and there is a claim for the U S S I democracy under the Soviet or Communist system However, I proceed further I can say with some authority that the worl has just tasted, in the shape of the Second World War, the fru of another kind of democracy which the Grand Fascist Counc of Italy and the German Reich had introduced to the world as Fascist or a Nazi democracy Hence we are not definite whic particular democracy our President relates [*sic* for refers]to

(6) That this assertion presupposes that the Islamic democracy lik others is based upon some particular system from which it de rives its inspirations and takes its shape

(7) That that particular system from which Islamic democracy derive its inspiration and takes its shape is called the Islamic system

(8) That thus the Musalmans have got a new system of their own t introduce and to enforce in this world

(9) That the Islamic system is directly the outcome of the Islami ideology which revolves on [*sic* for around] the idea of Onenes of God and which embraces all those [ideals] and brings ther into a singular formation for the service of God on this eartl who particularize themselves voluntarily for the same

(10) That by this the Islamic ideology gives birth to a particula nation or a party whom the whole task of working out its sys tem is entrusted

(11) That sovereignty under the Islamic system of course in the nam of God, rests exclusively with that particular nation or party whom we call the Musalmans

(12) That under the Islamic system the Musalmans cannot concede th right of sovereignty equally or partially to any other communit who may be living within their State's jurisdiction.

(13) That as the Islamic system does not concede the right of sovei eignty to any community other than the Muslims, hence it doe

not recognise, on the same basis, any particular community living within the Islamic State as a minority
(14) That in an Islamic State every distinct community is supposed to be a clan or a tribe-like community which will govern itself by its own free institutions
(15) That these communities would have their own elected or selected members who would constitute their own separate Assemblies for making rules and regulations for the conduct of their life, and they would have their own Executives to enforce these rules and regulations among their folks They would also have their own courts and judges to award judgements and punishments to their people Moreover, the Islamic system pre-envisages entering into pacts with these communities on matters affecting mutual interests and policies All these rights and privileges, however, would be subject to one main thing, viz the sovereign rights of the Islamic State
(16) That in a broad sense an Islamic State is a free institution of co-operation for all those who may prefer to live within its jurisdiction

2 Under these few observations I must say therefore that our Quaid-i-Azam should not commit the error of introducing some foreign constitution to our national life and must not take a hurried step towards its completion within so short a time which is at his disposal, but instead he should postpone the making of the constitution till a later date Viewing all the circumstances under which our nation is breathing to-day I would like to suggest the following

(1) That the transference of power in favour of Pakistan be asked to be made over to the All India Muslim League instead of any constitution making body
(2) That the All India Muslim League should proclaim, thereafter, a state of emergency in the areas of Pakistan for at least three years, and should set up a provisional administration with semi or full military powers, for the interim period
(3) That the expectant Muslim Constituent Assembly, when it is formed, should be entrusted only with the task of formulating those provisions and laws which are thought to be best suited to the needs and requirements of the situation under which the provisional administration would function
(4) That during the interim [period] it should be the task of the provisional administration to elect a competent body from amongst the Musalmans to propose and [draw up] the Islamic constitution for the independent Muslim sovereign State of Pakistan

3 In conclusion I must say emphatically that we the Musalmans (India have waited for centuries to turn a new leaf in the history (Islam and we are certainly not going to commit the same error as di our predecessors in creating kingdoms and empires for our own sak We are not authorized by our Merciful God to achieve these laurels fc merely satisfying the thirst of greed and pride in ourselves If, hov ever, we are bent upon creating Pakistan, it is because we want t establish His Divine Rule on His Earth We are here to impart justice t His People and to bring peace among them. We certainly want t make our Pakistan an example to the nations of the world It is m unshakable belief that the humanity is badly in need of this Divir system, and if it is properly introduced and administered in the lan we are acquiring for the great experiment we shall soon find ourselve able to kindle the torch of a new civilization in this world

Yours obediently,
AZIZ HINDI

[1]See No 464

522

I A Chishti to M A Jinnah

F 886/226-227

MEMOON MANZIL, SHEPHERD ROAI
BYCULLA, BOMBA'
2 June 194

Revered Quaid-i-Azam,

Very soon momentous decisions will have been taken in regard t the future of this vast sub-continent One hundred million Musalmar are particularly on their tiptoes in expectation They look impatientl to their beloved leader who, to be sure, must have already equippe himself fully to grapple with the great task ahead

An humble devotee, however, can hardly resist the temptation (approaching you with a few facts and a few points more, in the hop of further reinforcing your armoury, an armoury needed to resist an undue truncation of the Pakistan-to-be

The few tables and conclusions attached herewith are based o authentic data available A perusal is humbly solicited My contentio is that on the basis of the Two Nation Theory, the ratio of Hindu an

Muslim dominance in divided India must be 2 to 1, strictly commensurate with the ratio of the total Hindu and Muslim areas and populations, as covered by and included in the existing Provinces that make up British India of to-day Figures show that under the present set-up, Pakistan will get, both in points of land and people, a little more than what may otherwise be claimed as the due share of Muslim India It is to that extent alone that we can be, say, charitable towards the howling opponents

In brief, the existing Provinces of Pakistan can be made to forgo, if at all, an area only to the tune of about 40,000 sq miles and a population only to the target of 20 lakhs and not a whit beyond Further data with sketches etc are being drawn up by me and I shall be only too glad to supply them, if so desired

It may be submitted here that the most advantageous point in the Cabinet Mission's scheme was its grouping of Provinces intact with their present boundaries but the inherent defect of its juxtaposing the Muslims with the entire non-Muslim population of the provinces sabotaged the possibilities of a viable Pakistan My present analysis envisages, it is presumed, the best in the Mission Plan without the worst therein

Hoping to be excused for this last-minute interruption, and praying to Allah for Quaid-i-Azam's success at the forthcoming deliberations

Obediently and affectionately yours,
I A CHISHTI

PS Should this analysis be found helpful, instructions are solicited whether to release it for publication or to the press for propaganda purposes

Enclosure to No 522

F 886/228-229

CONCLUSIONS[1]
(*vide* Table "A")

(1) The Muslims are more than half of the Hindus, the respective percentages being 26 8 and 48 5, in British India That is to say, Muslims are, roughly speaking, in the ratio of 2 to 1

(2) In view of (1) above, power too must be divided in the same ratio, including the distribution of (a) minorities and (b) areas involved in both the Hindu and Muslim zones

(a) As to minorities

Minorities' percentage in British India	24 7%
After splitting up in the ratio of 2 to 1	
Under Hindus	16 0%
Under Muslims	08 7%

Total population inclusive of minorities must be

In Hindustan	190,919,284
In Pakistan	104,855,669

But the present population of the Pakistan Provinces comes to 107,004,783

Result

About *20 lakhs of people*[2] are in excess of Muslim share in the Pakistan areas

(b) As to areas (*vide* Table "B")

Areas of lands comprising proposed Hindustan	59 6%
Areas of lands comprising proposed Pakistan	40 4%

But the actual area that could be claimed as a matter of right

for Hindu dominance	64 5%
for Muslim dominance	35 5%

Result

Pakistan Provinces at present cover about 5% of land in excess of their due share so that they can be made to forgo an area of land to that extent only, i e an area equivalent to 42,219 sq miles or roughly *40,000 sq miles*

[1]It is an incomplete document

[2]Emphasis here and hereafter in the original

523

M A Jinnah to M A Shakur

F 682/265

2 June 1947

Dear Sir,

I am enclosing herewith Draft No 52866/2 on the U P Union Bank, Ltd , which you sent to me to be credited to the Bihar Relief Fund The

Draft has been returned to me by the Habib Bank, as the Union Bank Agency in Delhi did not honour it for reason given in their Memo,[1] which is also enclosed

Please, therefore, let me have a fresh Draft for the said amount so that it may be credited to the Bihar Relief Fund, to which the amount has been donated

Yours faithfully,
M A JINNAH

M A Shakur, Esq ,
Secretary Bihar Relief Committee,
Near City Police Office,
Pilibhit (U P)

[1]Not available in *QAP*

524

Khan of Kalat to M A Jinnah

F 34/21

KALAT,
2 June 1947

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Thank you very much for your kind letter of May 20th, 1947 [1] A copy of the letter which my Private Secretary sent to your Secretary is enclosed for your information

As you are usually very much busy, I did not wish to bother you in this matter, and, therefore, asked my Private Secretary to write to your Secretary To save you unnecessary botheration [*sic*] I would suggest that in future your Secretary should address my Private Secretary about matters concerning these guardsmen

With very kind regards from Begum Sahiba and myself to Miss Jinnah and yourself, and love from the children

Yours sincerely,
AHMAD YAR KHAN

[1]See No 449

Enclosure to No 524

F 34/22

Private Secretary to Khan of Kalat to Private Secretary to M A Jinnah

[KALAT],
2 May 1947

As arranged between His Highness the Khan of Kalat and the Quaid-i-Azam, I am sending to you Messrs [*sic*] Havaldar Durrani and Naik Peer Mohammad They have been paid in advance their expenses for the months of May and June 1947, at the rate of Rupees fifty per mensem each The amount covers their board and uniform expenses From and for July next you will kindly forward to me bills of their expenses, together with their travelling allowance (actual) if and when they perform any journey with the Quaid-i-Azam You will also kindly inform me if any unforeseen expense is incurred by you on their account

[UNSIGNED]

525

Dina Wadia to M A Jinnah

F 510/1-3

JUHU, BOMBAY,
2 /5 June 1947

Papa darling,

Thank you so much for your letter—it was really so sweet of you to write as I know how very busy you are At this minute you must be with the Viceroy I must say that it is wonderful what you have achieved in these last few years and I feel so proud and happy for you

You have been the only man in India of late who has been a realist and a[n] honest and brilliant tactician—this letter is beginning to sound like fan mail, isn't it?[1]

June 5th I am continuing this letter I heard you speak on the 3rd—I think you spoke the best and most to the point Although you have not achieved everything you want, you have come a very long way—how

the Congress have had to swallow their pride The Hindus here are not [at] all pleased with the acceptance of Pakistan and two separate Dominions etc Ahead of you now lies the greatest task, of putting into operation Pakistan I know you will succeed

Bombay has become very hot and we are all hoping that it will be an early monsoon I am leaving Juhu on the 9th as the children's school starts on the 11th When are you coming to Bombay? I hope soon Are you feeling the heat of Delhi? You must be tired as you have had so much to do I have become very brown as I went swimming so much Did you hear about Leela Sokhey's death?[1] There seems to be very little news as people are still away and one meets no one I will write again soon

I am sorry you didn't sell South Court[2] as I know you want to—I believed you had because I read about it in the *Forum* Magazine and didn't think they would print a complete falsehood As you say, people do indulge in wild rumours F E Dinshaw's house I believe has been sold to Mullaji for 19 lakhs fifty thousand I am not sure if this is certain Take care of yourself

Lots of love and kisses and [a] big hug

DINA

[1]Better known as Madame Menaka, Lady Sokhey was a great exponent of classical Indian dancing See *Civil & Military Gazette*, 1 June 1947

[2]South Court was the name of Jinnah's residence at Mount Pleasant Road, Malabar Hill, Bombay

Glossary

Term	Meaning
Abadkar	Settler on land
Achhut	Untouchable
Adibasi	Aboriginal
Ahimsa	Non-violence
Akhand	Undivided
Akharawala	Manager of a wrestling arena
Akhuwat	Brotherhood
'Ali Janab	Exalted one
Allah (Khuda) Hafiz	May God protect you
Allaho Akbar	God is Great
Ansar	Helper
Arakati	Navigation pilot
Ashram	Hermitage
Azan	Call to prayer
Aziz-i-Millat	Beloved of the community
Bait al-Maal	Treasury
Bande Matram	Hail to thee, Mother
Bani	Founder
Bania	Hindu shop-keeper, money lender
Baqr 'Id	Muslim festival of sacrifice
Barani	Rain irrigated land
Bastee	Settlement
Batai	Crop-sharing
Batwara	Division
Begaar	Forced labour
Beldar	Helper
Bihishti	Water-carrier
Biri	Indian cheroot
Burqa	Veil
Chamar	Cobbler
Chawl	Small room in a poor locality
Chowk	Crossroads
Chowkidar	Watchman
Chowkie	Police post
Crore	Ten million
Dai	Midwife
Dal	Pulses
Darbar	Princely court
Dar-es-salam	House of peace
Dargah, Durgah	Shrine
Deh	Village
Devi	Goddess
Devta	Deity
Dhobi	Washerman
Dubal	Diver
Dubary	Double-crop land
Duree	Boundary marker
Eid, Id	Muslim festival after Ramadhan
Fajr	Morning
Ganpati	Worshipper of Hindu deity Ganpat or Ganesh
Ghaddar	Traitor
Ghair Mulki	Alien
Girdawar	Revenue official
Goonda	Hooligan
Gur	Lump of unrefined sugar
Guru	Guide, teacher
Gurdwara	Sikh temple
Hadith	Saying of Holy Prophet
Hafiz	One who has memorised Qu'ran
Hajat	Prison
Haji	One who has performed *Hajj*
Hajj	Pilgrimage to Makkah
Hajjam	Barber
Hakim	Ruler
Hakim-i-'Ala	Chief Executive
Hakumat	Government
Halwai	Confectioner
Hari	Cultivator in Sindh

Harijan — Children of God

Hartal — Strike

Havaldar — Police/Army official

Hijra — Islamic calendar

Holi — Hindu festival

'Ilaqa — Region

Imam — Leader

Imambara — A place of congregation where Shia community performs religious rites

Iman — Belief, faith

Inamdar — Award holder

I'sha — First watch of the night

Jagirdar — Holder of a jagir

Jai Hind — Victory to India

Janab — Sir

Jareeb — Scale for land measurement

Jat — Name of a clan

Jatha — Contingent

Jihad — Fight for a just cause

Jirga — A council of tribal elders

Jum'a — Friday

Kabuli — Barani

Kafir — Infidel

Kalima — Affirmation of Muslim faith

Kamilia — Bangla word meaning barter

Kapra — Cloth

Karakul — Skin of an unborn lamb

Karbala — Refers to the battle of Karbala

Khaddar — Coarse cloth

Khadi — Handloom

Khalsa — Refers to Sikhs

Khalsa Panth — Sikh sect or order

Khateeb — One who delivers a sermon

Khilafat — Caliphate

Khot — Alloy

Kirpan — A dagger carried by Sikhs

Kisan — Peasant

Kohistan — Hilly tract

Kothi — Mansion

Kumhar — Potter

Langarsarai — An inn where travellors are provided free meal

Maghrib — Sunset

Mahal — Area

Majlis — Congregation

Maseeha — Deliverer

Mashaikh — Saintly persons

Masjid — Mosque

Matamkhana — A place for mourning

Maulana, Moulana — Muslim theologian

Mavali — Helper, slave

M'iraj — Ascension

Mir Waiz — Chief preacher

Mohalla — Ward

Mori — Drain

Moulvi, Maulvi — Muslim religious scholar

Muamlatdar — Revenue official

Mudd-i-maal — Item of stock

Muezzin — One who calls the faithful to prayers

Mufti — Muslim jurist

Muhajireen — Refugees

Muharram — The first month of Islamic calendar

Mulki — Native

Mullah — Muslim teacher

Murdabad — Death to

Musafir Khana — Inn

Term	Meaning
Musallemah	Admitted fact
Naib	Deputy
Naib tehsildar	Revenue official
Namaz	Muslim prayer
Nazim-i-A'la	Chief organiser, chief administrator
Netaji	Esteemed leader
Niabat	Territory in charge of a deputy governor
Nij jot ryot	Self-cultivating ryot
Pan	Betal leaf
Panchnama	Judgement pronounced by members of a local committee, known as panchayat
Panchtantra	The oldest extant Sanskrit collection of beast-fables, in five books
Pandal	Canopy
Pesh Imam	Prayer leader
Pir	Muslim spiritual guide
Piri-Muridi	An order of Muslim saints and disciples
Piyalee	Cup
Purdah-nashin	Purdah observer
Qazi	Judicial officer
Qibla	Form of address to a revered person
Qurbani	Sacrifice
Ram Raj	Ram's rule
Safar	Second month of Islamic calendar
Salaam	Greeting
Salar-i-A'la	Chief commander
Salar-i-Suba	Provincial commander
Salar-i-Zila	District commander
Sardar, Sirdar	Chieftain
Shaban	Eighth month of Islamic calendar
Shahinshah-i-Millat	Emperor of the Muslim community
Shari'at	Islamic code of law
Shudhi	Purification (generally used for conversion to Hinduism)
Shuhada	Martyrs
Siddhanta	Scientific treatise
Swaraj	Independence
Tabligh	Propagation
Ta'leem	Education
Taluka	Agricultural unit
Tapedar	Revenue official
Taqva	Piety
Tasleem	Obedience
Tauheed	Oneness of God
Thana	Police station
Thiyagee	One who renounces the world
'Ulama	Muslim religious scholars
Vazir, wazir	Minister
Zindabad	Long live
Zulm	Oppression

Arabic Terms

Al Hamdu Lillah	Praise be to God
Allah Subhanahu Wata'ala	God, the Glorious, the Exalted
Assaalamo Alaikum wa Rahmatullahi Wa Barakatuhu	Peace be upon you and the Mercy of God and His Blessings
Bismillah 'ir Rahman ir Rahim	In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful
Hu al Aziz	He is the Glorious!
Insha Allah	God Willing
Jazakomullaho Ahsanul Jaza	May Allah reward you the best reward
Kalila wa Dimna	A literary book translated into Arabic from Hindi-Persian in the second century of Hijrah
Ma essalaam	With greetings
Subhan Allah	Purity belongs to Allah!
Wassalam	And Peace
Wa'tasimu bi Hablil lahi Jami'n wa laa Taffaraqu	And hold the rope of Allah together and do not get disunited
Zakat	A fixed rate of contribution by Muslims possessing specified assets

Note Terms usually defined in the dictionaries have not been inclu

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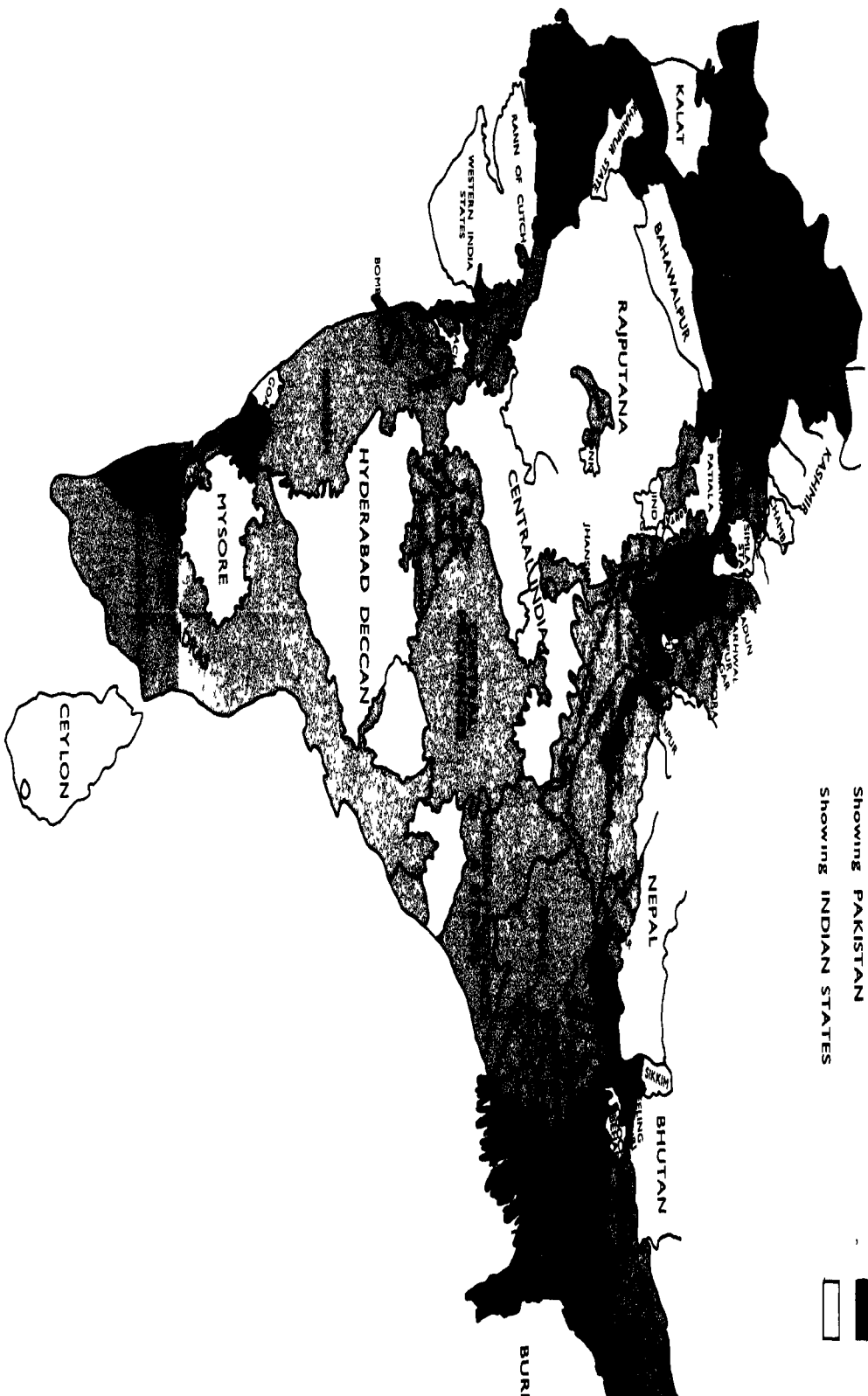
Bangalore
Pondicherry (Fr)
Ootacamund
ANDAMAN ISLANDS
NICOBAR ISLANDS
Trincomalee
CEYLON
Colombo
INDIA BEFORE PARTITION
The representations of boundaries are reproduced from the map in the India Office List, 1940, prepared by the Edinburgh Geographical Institute and printed by John Bartholomew and Son Ltd They are not necessarily authoritative
British India
Indian States and Territories
Scale
Miles
0 50 100 150 200 250 300 350 400

Note The Index of Persons and the Index of Subjects have both been painstakingly prepared by Mehnaz Siddiqui and Rehana Bokhari, members of the staff of QAPP

POLITICAL MAP OF INDIA
Showing boundaries of PAKISTAN & HINDUSTAN
after partitioning of provinces on population basis
Showing HINDUSTAN
Showing PAKISTAN
Showing INDIAN STATES
KASHMIR
KALAT
BAHAWALPUR
KHAIRPUR STATE
RAJPUTANA
PATIALA
JIND
JHANSI
CENTRAL INDIA
RANN OF CUTCH
WESTERN INDIA STATES
NEPAL
BHUTAN
SIKKIM
HYDERABAD DECCAN
MYSORE
CEYLON
BURI